

From 'Yellow Peril' to 'Model Minority'

Madeline Y. Hsu

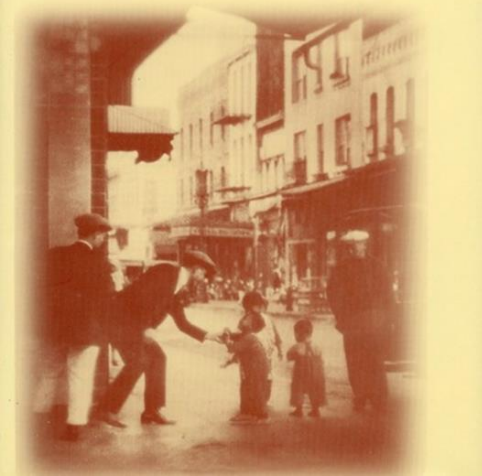
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"ASIAN AMERICAN IDENTITY: IMMIGRATION HISTORY AND
TRANSGENERATIONAL IMPACT," 1990 INSTITUTE, SEPT. 18, 2024

Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home

Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882-1943



A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS

RECONSIDERED

US SOCIETY IN AN AGE OF RESTRICTION
1924-1965

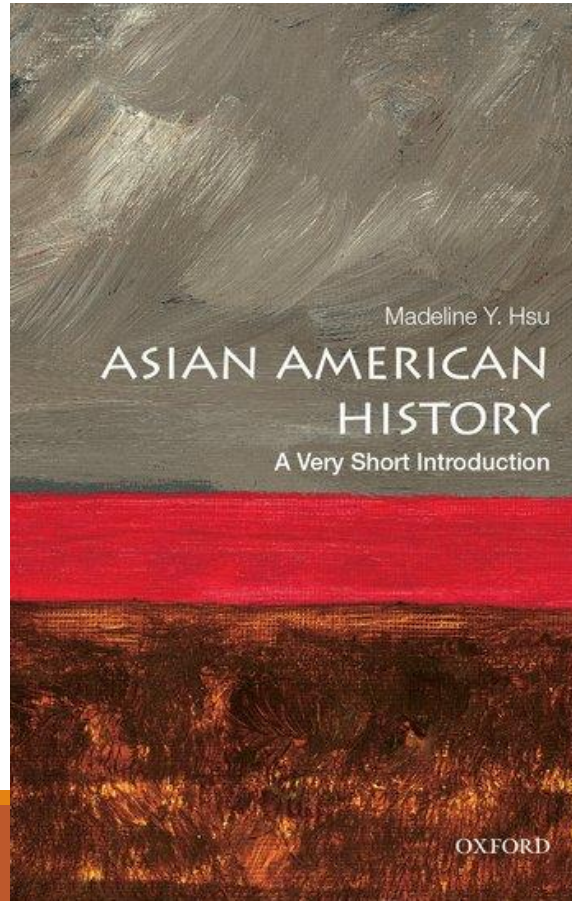


UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS 2019

TEACH IMMIGRATION HISTORY

www.immigrationhistory.org

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Madeline Y. Hsu

ASIAN AMERICAN HISTORY

A Very Short Introduction

OXFORD

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF

GLOBAL MIGRATIONS

VOLUME II
Migrations, 1800-Present

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AND MADELINE Y. HSU

GENERAL EDITOR
DONNA GABACCIA

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THE GOOD IMMIGRANTS

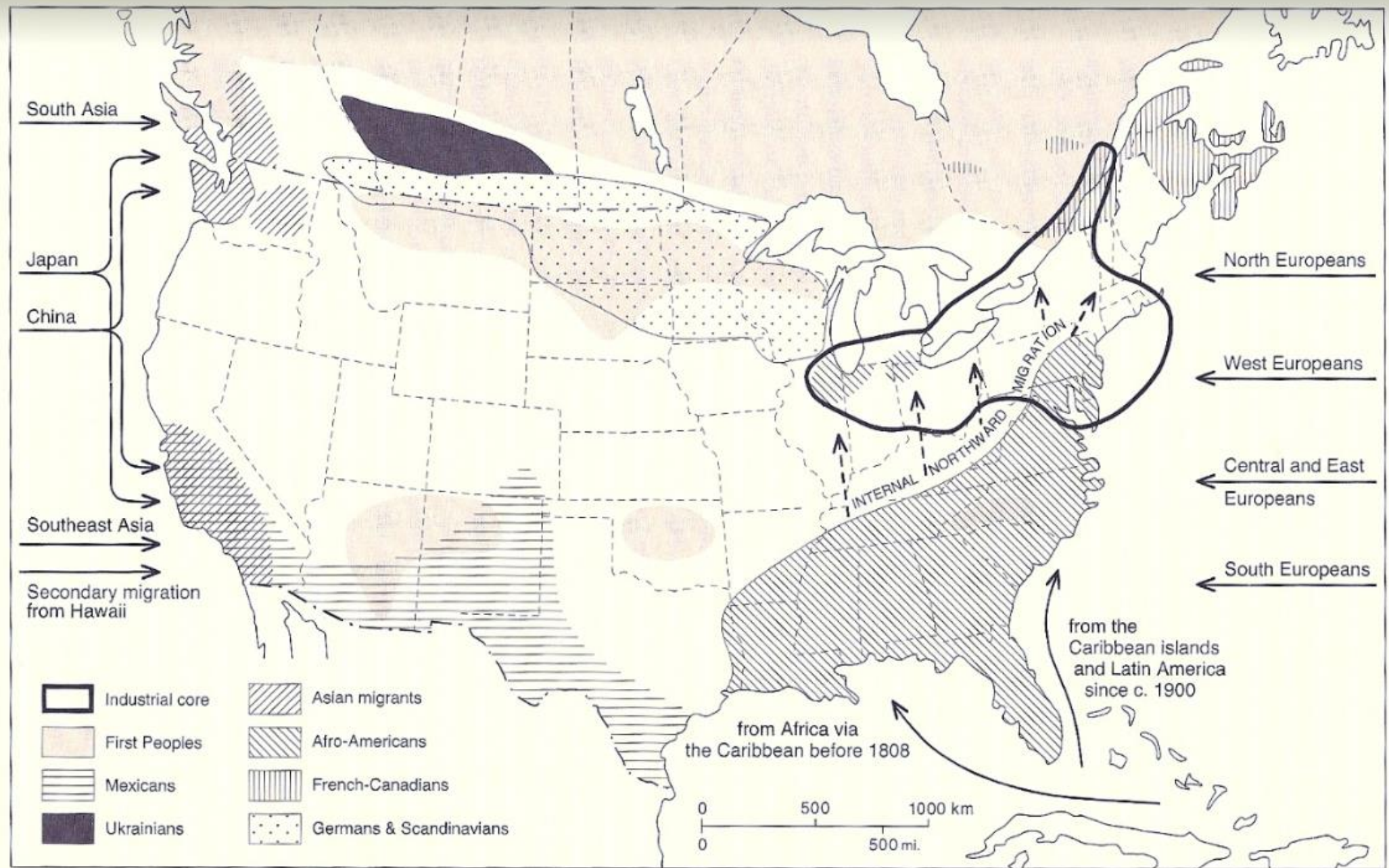
how the YELLOW PERIL became the MODEL MINORITY

Madeline Y. Hsu



STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 2001

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS 2015



14.3 Migration to North America, 1865–1924, and Bicultural Regions

Key Immigration and Citizenship Laws for Asians in the United States: 1790-1898

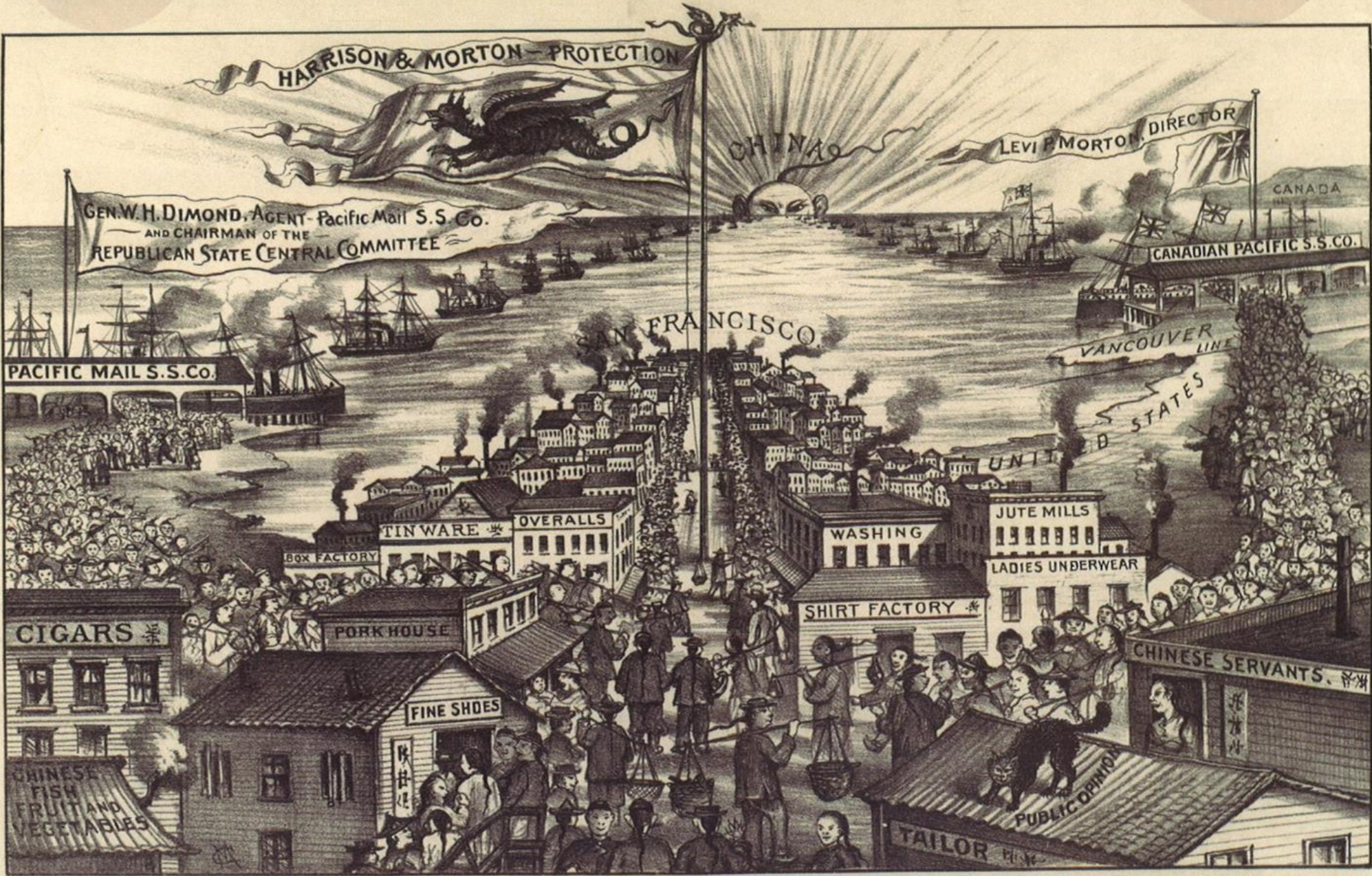
1790 Nationality Act: The right of citizenship by naturalization was limited to “free white persons.” In practice, only white male property owners were allowed to naturalize. This law was the basis for the discriminatory category “aliens ineligible for citizenship” which discriminated against Asians until 1952.

Fourteenth Amendment (1868): Enacted birthright citizenship for “all persons” born in the U.S. Required equal protections and due process for citizens and residents.

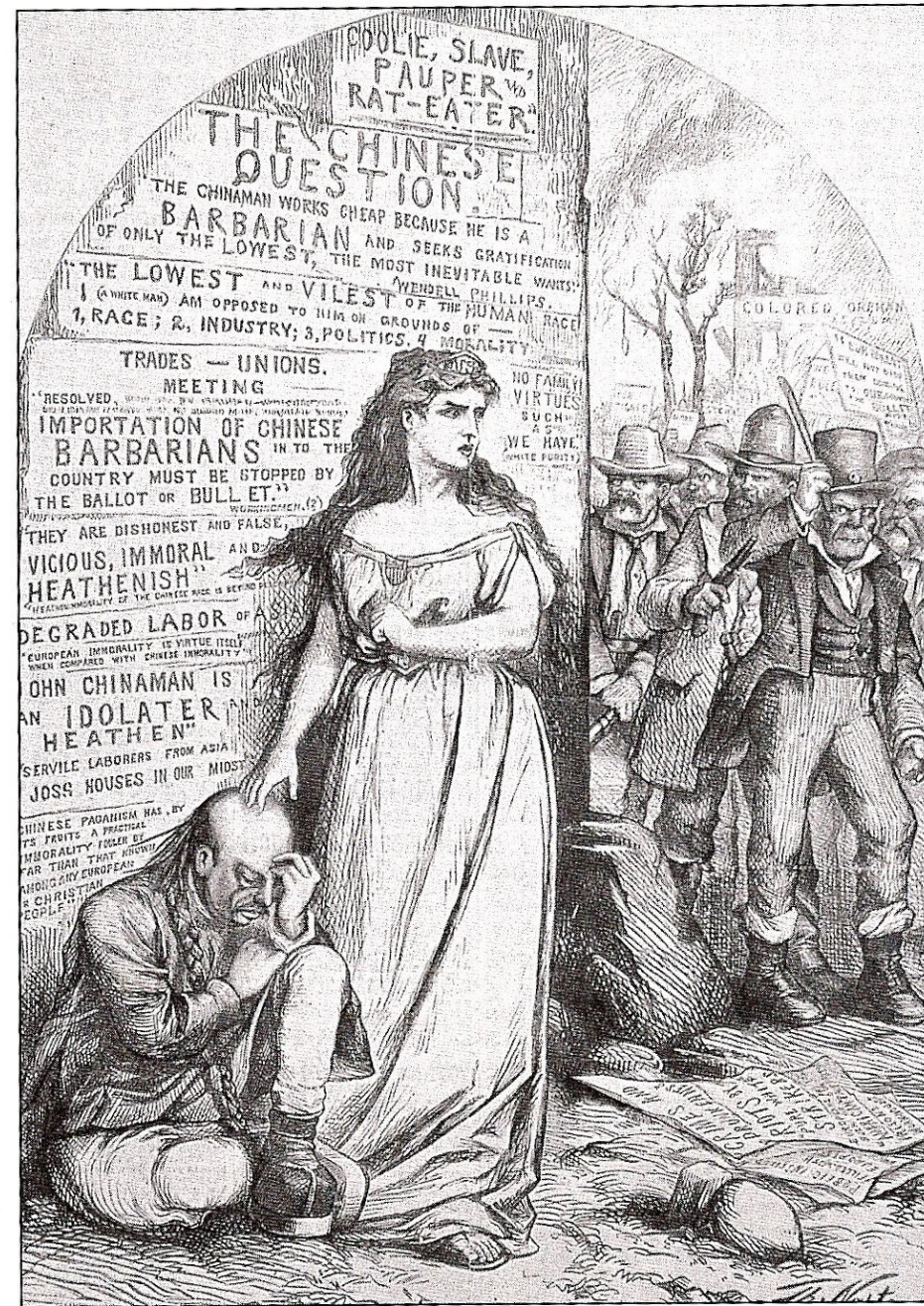
1882 Chinese Restriction Act: Restricted the entry of Chinese by race to six exempt categories: merchants, merchant family members, diplomats, tourists, students, returning laborers. Later known as Chinese Exclusion Law.

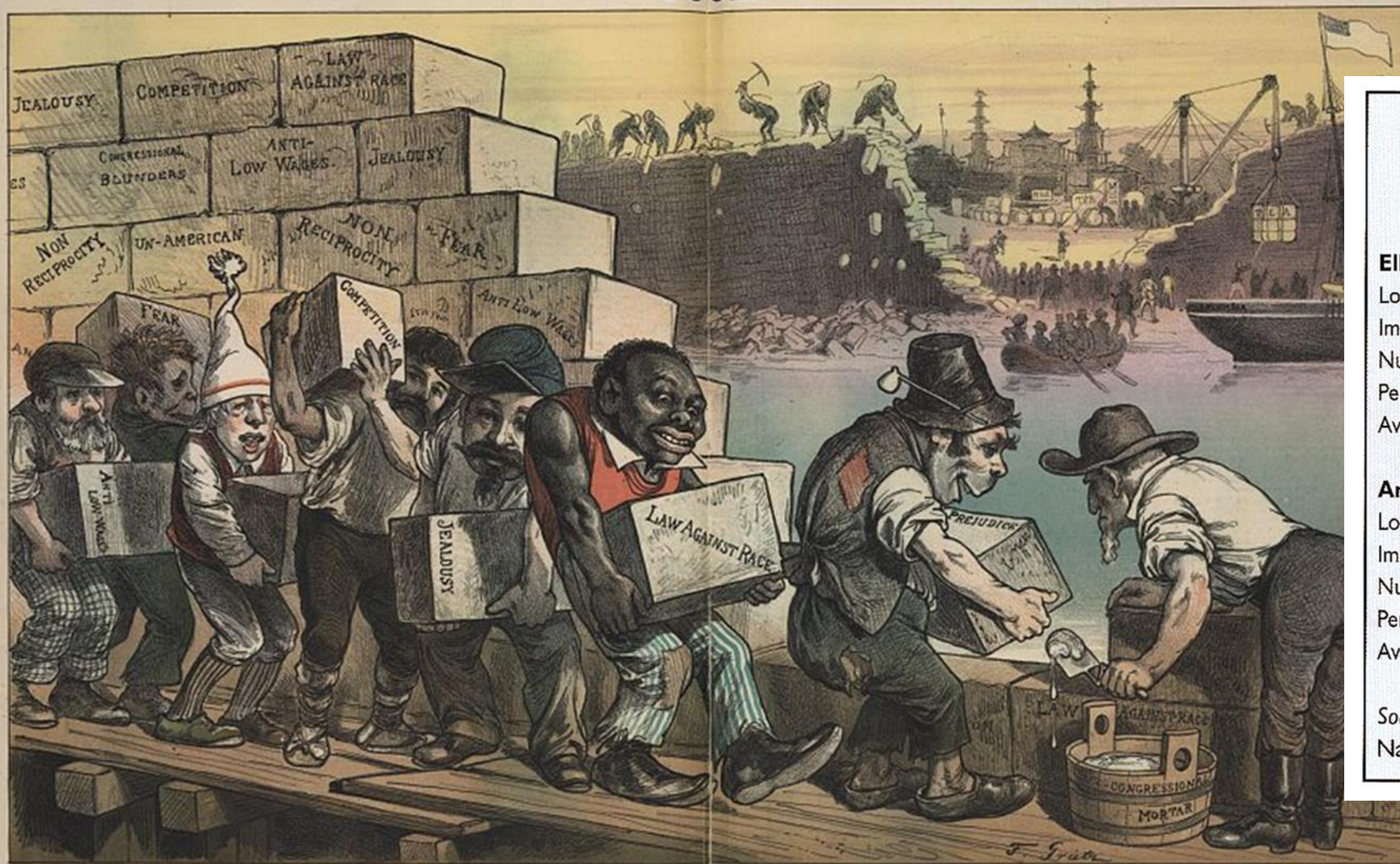
1892 Geary Act: Extended the Chinese Exclusion Law for ten more years and required that Chinese carry Certificates of Residence, a precursor to the current green card system.

1898 Wong Kim Ark Landmark Chinese American birthright citizenship based on the Fourteenth Amendment



Can "coolies" ever become Americans?
If not, should they be allowed to enter the U.S.?





THE ANTI-CHINESE WALL
The American Wall Goes Up as the Chinese Original Goes Down.

Angel Island and Ellis Island, 1910–1940: A Comparison

Ellis Island

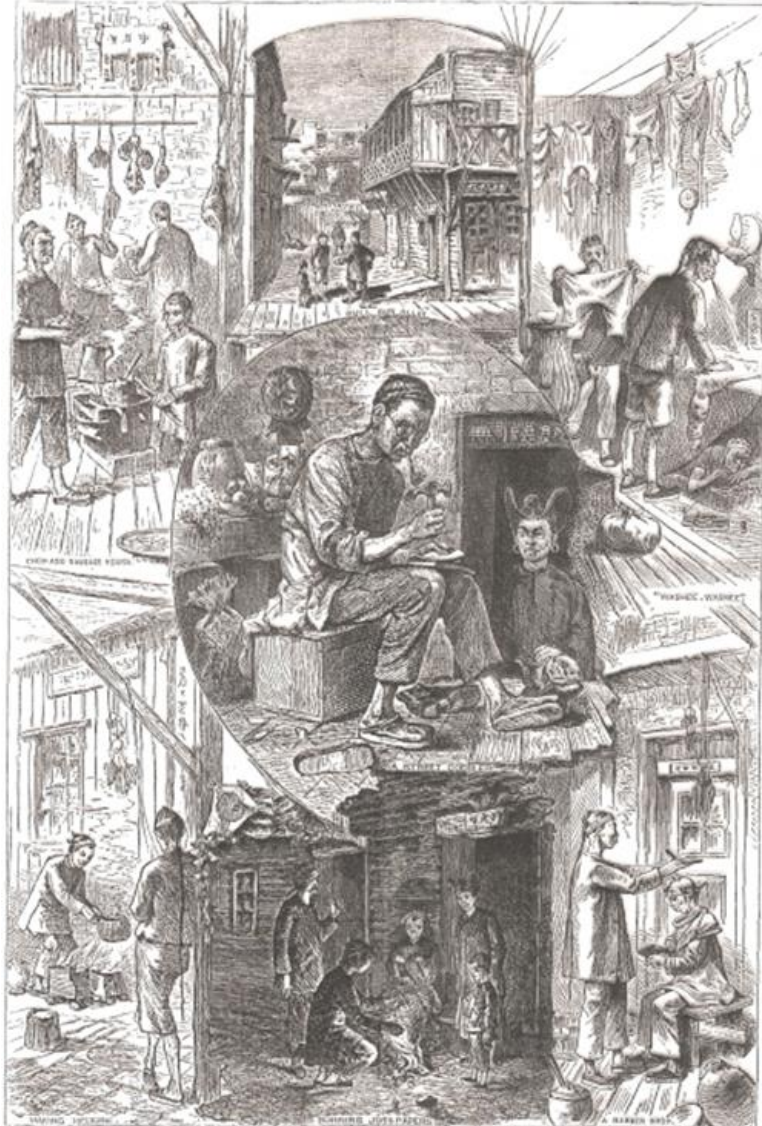
Location:	New York Harbor
Immigrants processed:	19 million
Number rejected:	1.2 million
Percentage rejected:	6%
Average length of stay:	1 day

Angel Island

Location:	San Francisco Bay
Immigrants processed:	150,000
Number rejected:	50,000
Percentage rejected:	33%
Average length of stay:	2–3 weeks

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

Successive waves of Asian entrepreneurs and laborers



GRANT AVENUE LOOKING SOUTH, 1944. "Largest Chinatown outside of China—a kaleidoscope of Oriental fascinations," read the caption for this magazine ad. Behind the gilded facade, however, was a ghetto beset with growing pains and political conflicts. (Courtesy of Felicia Lowe.)



Key Immigration and Citizenship Legislation for Asians in the United States: 1907-34

1907 Gentlemen's Agreement: Compromise between President Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese government whereby Japan would restrict the emigration of Japanese laborers traveling to the U.S. Japanese already in the U.S., however, retained the right to bring family members giving rise to the picture brides practice.

1913 and 1920 Alien Land Laws: Restricted “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from leasing or owning land.

1917 Barred Zone Act: Creation of a “barred zone” extending from the Middle East to Southeast Asia from which no persons would be allowed to enter the United States.

1921 Emergency Quota Law (An act to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States). Acting on the eugenics research and recommendations of the Dillingham Commission (1907-1910), this temporary measure intended to limit the numbers of immigrants to the United States by imposing quotas based on country of birth. Annual allowable quotas for each country of origin were calculated at 3 percent of the total number of foreign-born persons from that country recorded in the 1910 census.

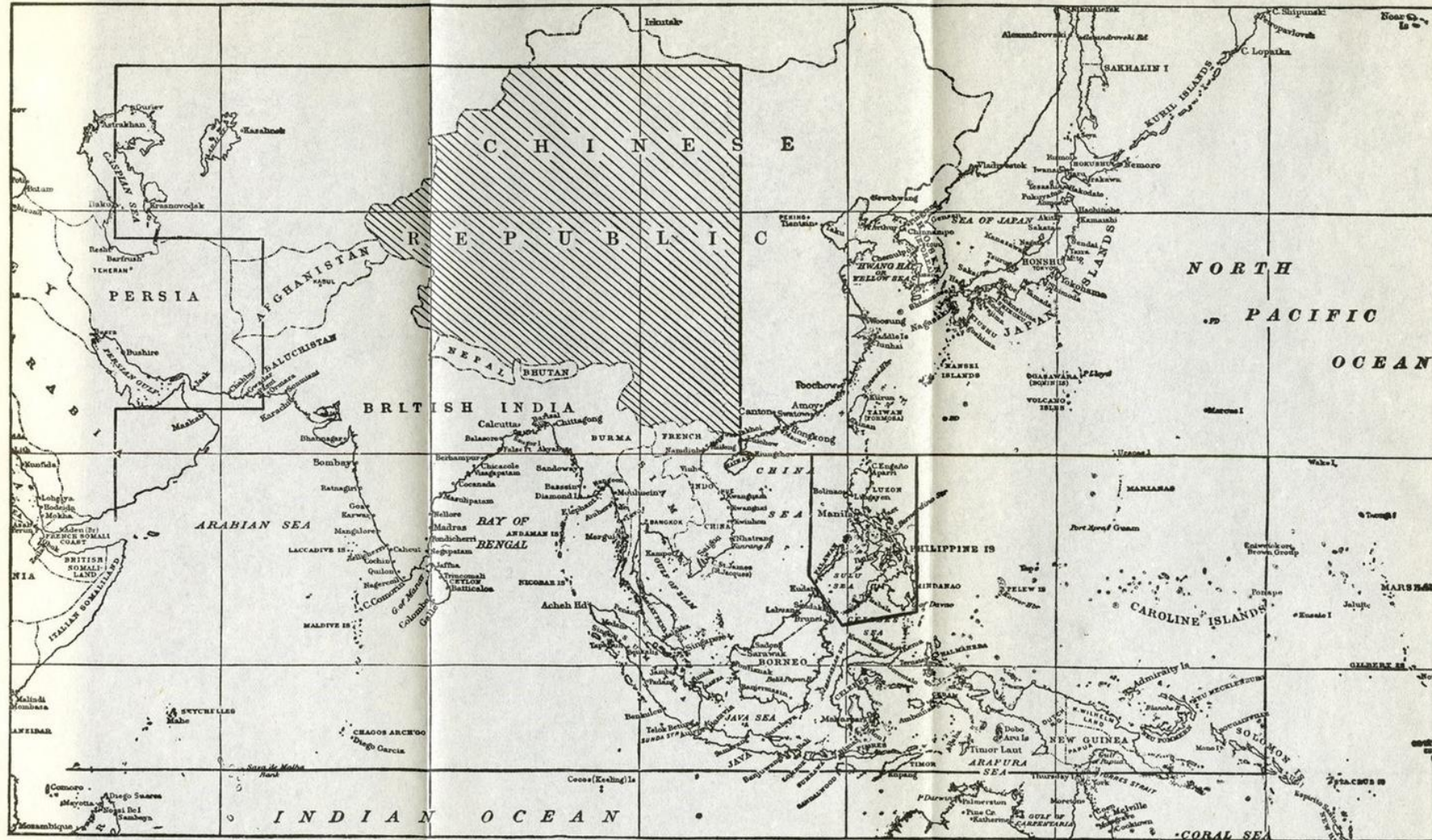
1922 Ozawa v. US and 1923 Thind v. U.S.: The Supreme Court affirmed Asian ineligibility for citizenship, despite acculturation and racial categorization of Aryans as white.

1924 Immigration Act: Permanent enactment of terms of 1921 law. “Aliens ineligible for citizenship” were banned from entering, greatly offending Japan.

1917 Barred Zone

MAP SHOWING ASIATIC ZONE PRESCRIBED IN SECTION THREE OF IMMIGRATION ACT, THE NATIVES OF WHICH ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE UNITED STATES, WITH CERTAIN EXCEPTIONS.

(Section indicated by diagonal lines covered by treaty and laws relating to Chinese. The Philippine Islands are United States possessions and therefore not included in barred zone.)



Naturalization challenges: Ozawa v. US (1922) and Thind v. U.S. (1923)





Carlos Bulosan
(1911?-1956);
America is in the
Heart (1946)

"Western people were brought up to regard Orientals or colored peoples as inferior, but the mockery of it all is that Filipinos are taught to regard Americans as our equals. Adhering to American ideals, living American life, these are contributory to our feeling of equality. The terrible truth in America shatters the Filipinos' dream of fraternity." (1937)

AMERICA
IS IN
THE HEART



by Carlos Bulosan

Introduction by Carey McWilliams

Pearl Harbor Dec. 7, 1941: The Japanese attack finally drew the US into WWII. The FBI started arresting Japanese American leaders a few hours later. Japan's attack on the Philippines started Dec. 8, 1941.



**WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION**

Presidio of San Francisco, California

May 23, 1942

**INSTRUCTIONS
TO ALL PERSONS OF
JAPANESE
ANCESTRY**

Living in the Following Area:

All of that portion of the County of Santa Clara, State of California, lying generally north and northwest of the following boundary: Beginning at the point on the Santa Cruz-Santa Clara County line, due west of a line drawn through the peak of Loma Prieta; thence due east along said line through said peak to its intersection with Llagas Creek; thence downstream along said creek toward Madrone to the point where it is crossed by Llagas Avenue; thence northeasterly on Llagas Avenue to U.S. Highway No. 101; thence northerly on said Highway No. 101 to Cochran Road; thence northeasterly on Cochran Road to its junction with Sibley Road; thence easterly on Sibley Road to Madrose Springs; thence along a line projected due east from Madrose Springs to its intersection with the Santa Clara-Siskiyou County line; together with all portions of Santa Clara County not previously covered by Exclusion Orders of this Headquarters.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 96, this Headquarters, dated May 23, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Saturday, May 30, 1942.

No Japanese person will be permitted to move into, or out of, the above area after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Saturday, May 23, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Northern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

Men's Gymnasium,
San Jose State College,
4th and San Carlos Streets,
San Jose, California.

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency.

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Sunday, May 24, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Monday, May 25, 1942.
2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:
 - (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
 - (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
 - (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
 - (d) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.
4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.
5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.

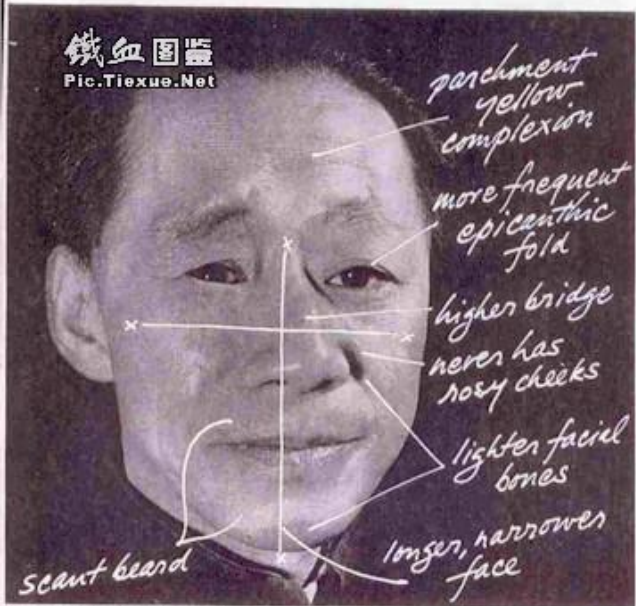
6. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center. Private means of transportation will not be utilized. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

**Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M.,
Sunday, May 24, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M.,
Monday, May 25, 1942, to receive further instructions.**

J. L. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

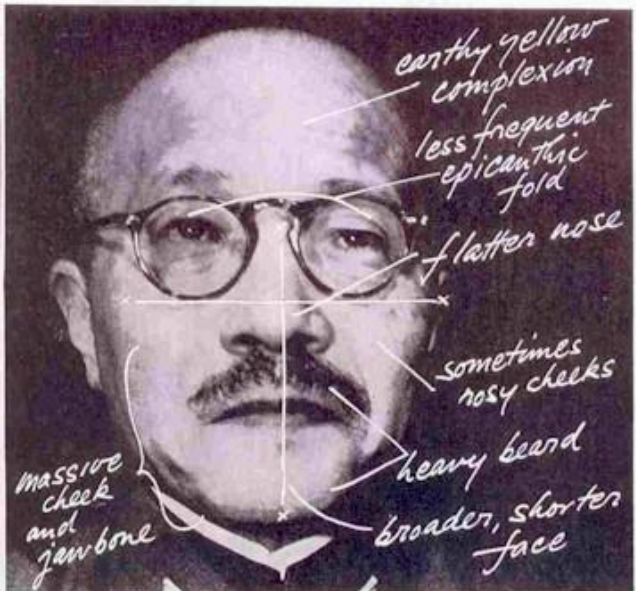
EO 9066 issued Feb. 19, 1942: The incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were US-born citizens, was one of the most severe violations of civil rights in US history and the judicial ruling of "military necessity" used to justify it remains active.





Chinese public servant, Ong Wen-hao, is representative of North Chinese anthropological group with long, fine-boned face and scant beard. Epicanthic fold of skin above eyelid is found in 85% of Chinese. Southern Chinese have round,

broad faces, not as massively boned as the Japanese. Except that their skin is darker, this description fits Filipinos who are often mistaken for Japs. Chinese sometimes pass for Europeans, but Japs more often approach Western types.



Japanese warrior, General Hideki Tojo, current Premier, is a peasant, closer to type of humble Jap than highbred relatives of Imperial Household. Typical are his heavy beard, massive cheek and jaw bone. Peasant Jap is squat Mongo-

loid, with flat, blob nose. An often sounder clue is facial expression, shaped by cultural, not anthropological, factors. Chinese wear rational calm of tolerant realists. Japs, like General Tojo, show humorless intensity of ruthless mystics.

HOW TO TELL JAPS FROM THE CHINESE

ANGRY CITIZENS VICTIMIZE ALLIES WITH EMOTIONAL OUTBURST AT ENEMY

In the first discharge of emotions touched off by the Japanese assaults on their nation, U. S. citizens have been demonstrating a distressing ignorance on the delicate question of how to tell a Chinese from a Jap. Innocent victims in cities all over the country are many of the 75,000 U. S. Chinese, whose homeland is our staunch ally. So serious were the consequences threatened, that the Chinese consulates last week prepared to tag their nationals with identification buttons. To dispel some of this confusion, LIFE here adduces a rule-of-thumb from the anthropometric conformations that distinguish friendly Chinese from enemy alien Japs.

To physical anthropologists, devoted debunkers of race myths, the difference between Chinese and Japs is measurable in millimeters. Both are related to the Eskimo and North American Indian. The modern Jap is the descendant of Mongoloids who invaded the Japanese archipelago back in the mists of prehistory, and of the native aborigines who possessed the islands before them. Physical anthropology, in consequence, finds Japs and Chinese as closely related as Germans and English. It can, however, set apart the special types of each national group.

The typical Northern Chinese, represented by Ong Wen-hao, Chungking's Minister of Economic Affairs (left, above), is relatively tall and slenderly built. His complexion is parchment yellow, his face long and delicately boned, his nose more finely bridged. Representative of the Japanese people as a whole is Premier and General Hideki Tojo (left, below), who betrays aboriginal antecedents in a squat, long-torsoed build, a broader, more massively boned head and face, flat, often pug, nose, yellow-ocher skin and heavier beard. From this average type, aristocratic Japs, who claim kinship to the Imperial Household, diverge sharply. They are proud to approximate the patrician lines of the Northern Chinese.



Chinese journalist, Joe Chiang, found it necessary to advertise his nationality to gain admittance to White House press conference. Under Immigration Act of 1924, Japs and Chinese, as members of the "yellow race," are barred from immigration and naturalization.

ZENITH HAS THIS!



ZENITH WAVEMAGNET PORTABLE
 U. S. PATENT No. 2184251
WAVEMAGNET
 RECEIVES IN TRAINS, PLACES, AUTOS
 A NEW INVENTION—IT'S DIFFERENT
 THE PORTABLE RADIO GUARANTEED TO PLAY WHERE OTHER PORTABLES FAIL... OR YOUR MONEY BACK

AT HOME OR AWAY, THE YEAR-ROUND COMPANION

A most remarkable invention... the Patented Movable Wavemagnet in this new portable radio which you can carry in one hand, self-powered with a light, one-piece battery pack. Ordinarily it works without outside aerial, outside wires or ground.

LISTEN WHILE YOU TRAVEL... PLAY... OR WORK
 Take this wonder portable where ordinary portables will not work efficiently in a train, airplane, bus, ship, room or any windowed building where metal construction keeps out reception. The secret of why it works while others fail is in the Patented Movable Wavemagnet, exclusive with Zenith.

Check up on your next radio trip. See how many Zeniths are starting well... and how many other makes fail to do so. Your money back if Zenith fails.
Works on Light Socket or Battery
 If you want to save your battery, plug into any light socket... 110 volt AC or DC

Under No Other Name But Zenith
 ... Or you obtain this radio or a portable that is, as, and does so many things! Patented Wavemagnet—built-in-reversible—combination battery and lighting circuit operation—insensitive and explosion-proof—adjustable to varying conditions—reception at home or travelling. Don't buy until you see and hear the Zenith Universal Portable at authorized Zenith Dealers everywhere.

EARPHONES FOR PRIVACY
 Earphones available for sporting events, travelling and the like of business. Zenith. Head-sets for use in bed. (Both extra equipment.)

IF IT HASN'T A WAVEMAGNET—IT ISN'T A ZENITH
 Made in Brown, Green, Ivory and Black. Absolute Fidelity and Superior and Genuine Zenith.

AGAIN A YEAR AHEAD
ZENITH RADIO
 AMERICA'S GIGANTIC MANUFACTURER OF FINE RADIOS FOR THE HOME



Tall Chinese brothers, full length, show lanky, lithe build of northern anthropological group that has suffered most in China's recent history from flood, famine and war with Japs. Average height of Northern Chinese is 5 ft. 7 in., sometimes exceeds 6 ft. Most Chinese in America come from southern and coastal cities, Canton and Shanghai. They are shorter than Northern Chinese, but retain the slight proportions of the young men shown here. When middle-aged and fat, they look more like Japs.



Short Japanese admirals, full length, exhibit the squat, solid, long torso and short stocky legs of the most numerous Japanese anthropological group. Since Navy is relatively new and junior service, Jap naval officers carry numbers fewer than 1000, has more of the round-faced, flat-nosed peasant type. Over 6 ft. tall, Admiral Nomura shows traits of the big, fair-skinned hairy Ainu, aborigines who still live on reservations in Northern Japan. Special Eminence Kurusu, also atypical, looks European.



CONTINENTAL DISTILLING CORPORATION, PHILA., PA.

TEETHING PAINS RELIEVED QUICKLY

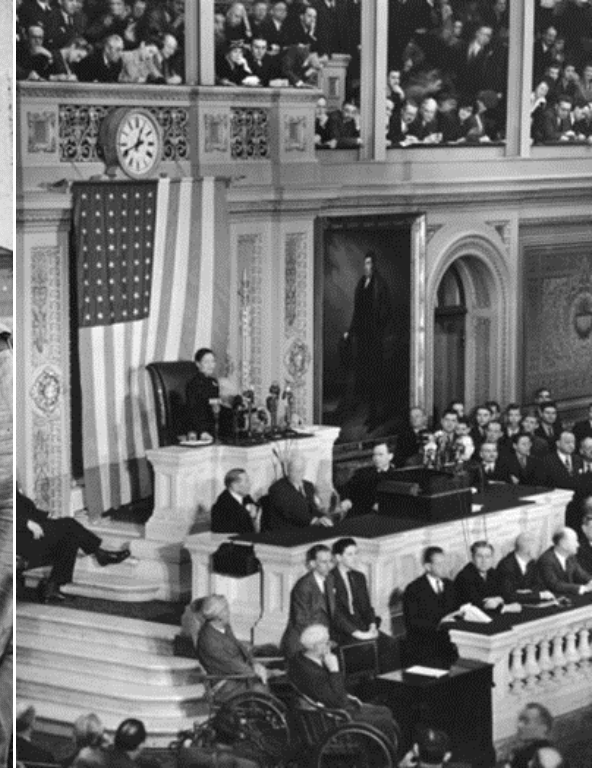
WHEN your baby suffers from teething pains, just rub a few drops of Dr. Hand's Teething Lotion on the sore, tender, little gums and the pain will be relieved promptly. Dr. Hand's Teething Lotion is the prescription of a famous baby specialist and has been used by mothers for over fifty years. The bottle is usually enough for one baby for the entire teething period.

Just rub it on the gums
DR. HAND'S TEETHING LOTION
 Buy it from your druggist today



The Present with a Future
WEST BRANCH
 Cedar Hope Chests
 WEST BRANCH CREDIT, MONTICELLO, VA.

During World War II, Asian Americans claimed U.S. belonging through military service and displays of patriotism. Asian Americans from U.S. allied states gained clout to demand reforms.



Abolishing Overt Racism in Immigration Laws Targeting Asians

1943 Repeal of Chinese Exclusion: Chinese gain naturalization rights and become subject to quota restrictions like other immigrants.

1946 Luce-Celler Act: Filipinos and Indians also gain quotas and naturalization rights.

War Brides Acts (1945, 1947): allowed veterans to bring wives so that for the first time, Asian immigration skewed female.

1948 and after—setting aside of domestic discriminatory laws in employment, property ownership, and miscegenation. The U.S. military integrates.

1952 McCarran Walter Act ends racial barriers on naturalization, gives quotas to all countries, permits non-quota family reunification and imposes the Asia-Pacific Triangle limit of 2,000. Implements first preference for employment immigration and grants parole authority to the Attorney General for refugees.

Through piecemeal measures, Asian immigration slowly increases with new characteristics: war brides, transnational adoptees, other forms of family reunification, refugees and asylees, and as students then skilled workers.

20,000 caps for eastern hemisphere countries (now 25,000)

Preference system: 75% family, 20% employment, 5% refugees [refugee admissions now administered through the 1980 Act]

Unless applicants qualify through relatives, employment certifiable by the Bureau of Labor, as refugees, or investors, there is no “line” to immigrate to the U.S.

Asians immigrate disproportionately through the employment preference, which favors educated immigrants with specialized skills. For this reason they display model minority attributes, which provide the legal basis for their immigration.

First numeric cap on immigration within the western hemisphere which illegalized the hundreds of thousands of Canadians and Mexicans who previously had migrated annually.

1990 H-1B visa program grants temporary visas for “skilled workers” and can provide a pathway to citizenship. In 2011 70% of recipients were from Asia; 60% from India.

1965 Hart-Celler Immigration Act

2010: Ethnic Asian students collected 25% of US research doctorates:

- 45 percent of all engineering Ph.D.s
- 38 percent of math and computer science Ph.D.s
- 33 percent of the physical sciences Ph.D.s
- 25 percent of life sciences Ph.D.s

About half of all Indian immigrants receiving green cards in 2011 did so through employer sponsorship. Predictably Indian Americans lead all other groups in income and education with 70% aged 25 or older holding a college degree.

The percentages of recent Indian immigrants holding college degrees hit 81.0 percent in 2010, up from 52.4 percent in 1980. In India, only 10 percent attend tertiary education.

In 2011, almost 60% of H-1B recipients were born in India, almost 10 % in China, among a top ten that includes workers from the Philippines, South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Pakistan

21st century: education and employment

Major Refugee and Asylum Acts

1967 Human Rights Protocol: International agreement signed by the U.S. requiring consideration of asylum applications.

1975 Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act

1980 Refugee Act raised the annual ceiling for refugees from 17,400 to 50,000, created a process for reviewing and adjusting the refugee ceiling to meet emergencies, and required annual consultation between Congress and the President. It also changed the definition of “refugee” to a person with a “well-founded fear of persecution,” aligned with United Nations

refugee conventions and protocols.

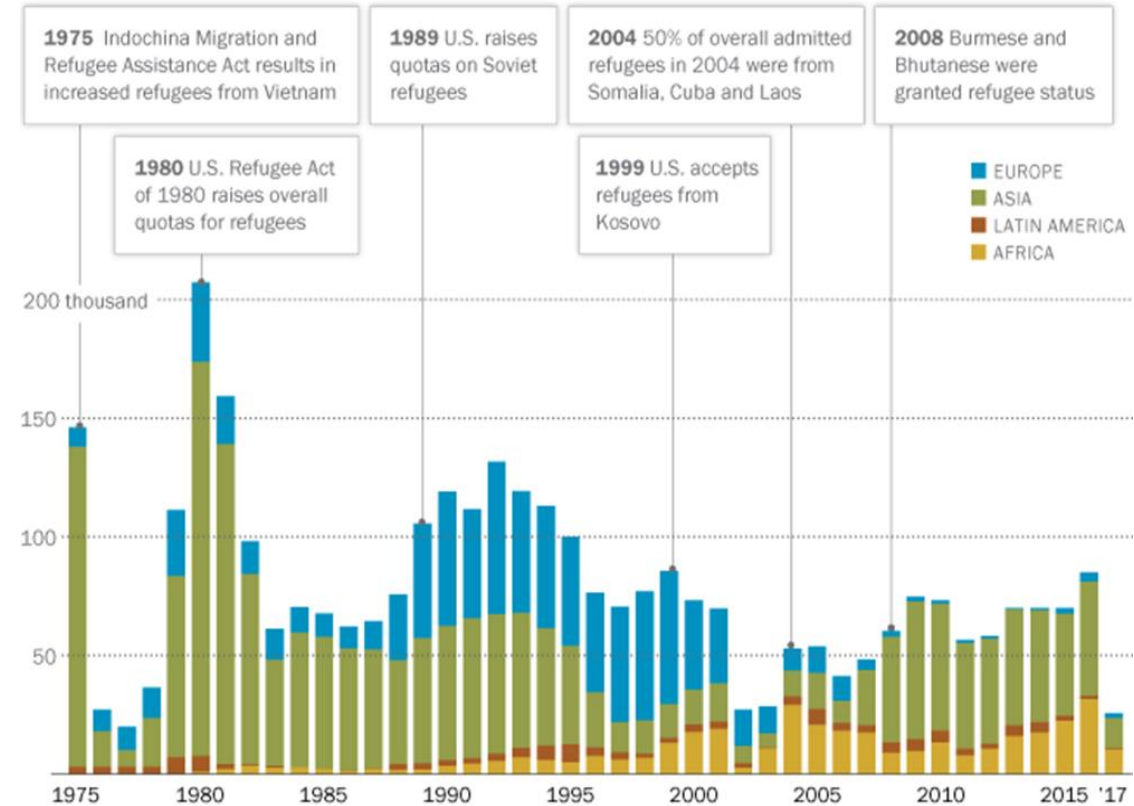
1987 Amerasian Homecoming Act: Provided legal immigration for children with one US parent, and their close relatives. About 25,000 US offspring immigrated, accompanied by about 70,000 relatives.

1990 Immigration Act provided for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for asylum seekers.

1992 Chinese Student Protection Act

The shifting origins of refugees to the U.S. over time

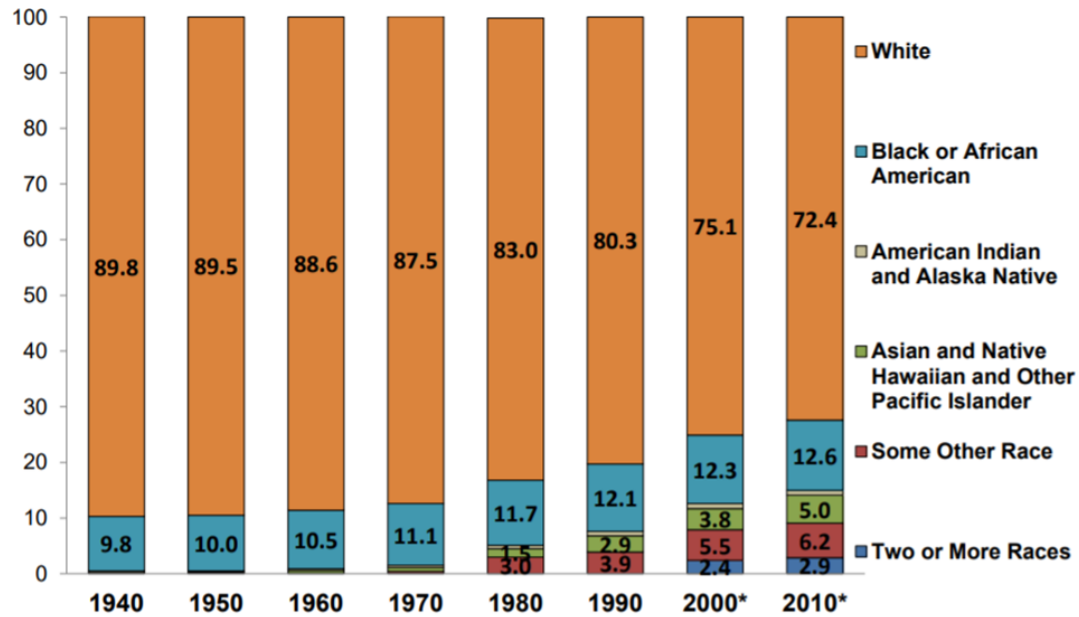
Number of refugees admitted to the U.S., by region of origin of principal applicant and fiscal year



Source: Refugee Processing Center, 1975-2016.

Note: Data do not include special immigrant visas and certain humanitarian parole entrants. Does not include refugees admitted under the Private Sector Initiative. Europe includes former Soviet Union states. Asia includes Middle Eastern and North African countries. Africa includes sub-Saharan Africa, but also Sudan and South Sudan. Latin America includes Caribbean. Data for fiscal 2017 are through Dec. 31, 2016; fiscal 2017 began Oct. 1, 2016.

Population Distribution by Race: 1940-2010



*Data are shown for the White, Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, and Some Other Race alone populations.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, decennial census of population, 1940 to 2010.

Asian-American Population by Birthplace, 1940-2000



By 1940, there were few Asian Americans and over half were US-born, paving the way for the diminishing of anti-Asian restrictions.

Comparative statistics 2000

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Immigrant Groups by Home Country Area

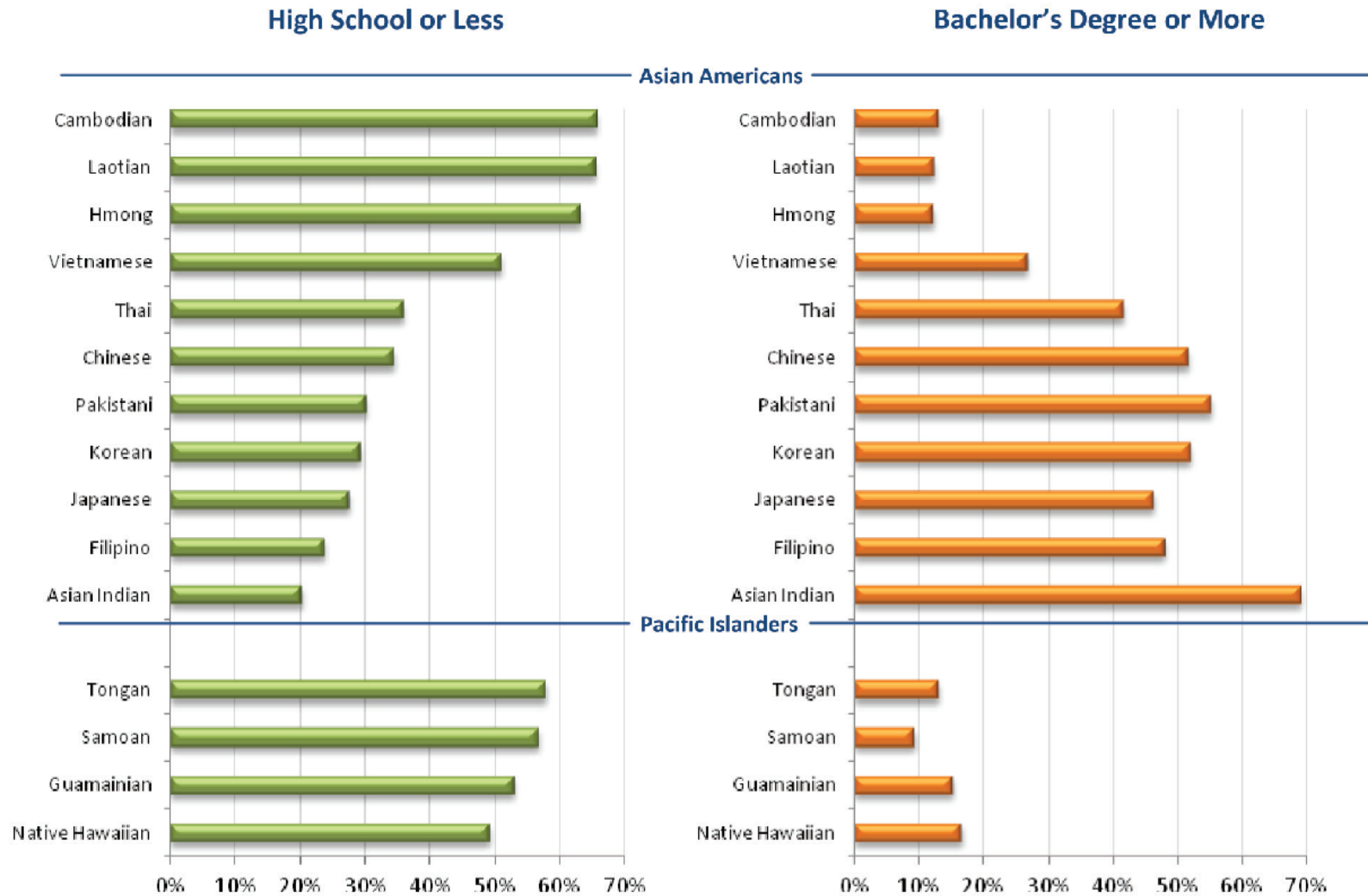
Numbers are in percentages, except for income. Click on a column heading to sort up or down

	Not Proficient in English	Less Than High School	College Degree	Advanced Degree	High Skill Occupation	Married, Spouse Present	Homeowner	Median Personal Income	Median Family Income	Living in Poverty	Public Assistance
All U.S.-Born	0.6	17.5	25.1	2.6	19.8	60.8	74.8	\$22,100	\$46,000	11.7	1.8
All Immigrants	30.3	39.1	23.3	4.2	20.2	62.1	55.7	\$15,800	\$42,000	17.0	2.8
Asia & Pacific Islands	23.4	21.2	42.5	6.8	34.3	67.9	60.2	\$20,600	\$36,800	12.4	2.4
Africa	7.6	12.1	43.8	8.2	29.1	58.7	44.1	\$20,000	\$45,005	15.7	2.6
Europe, Russia, & Canada	11.5	23.2	28.9	5.8	27.5	64.9	69.7	\$26,000	\$49,015	10.9	1.7
Latin & South America and Caribbean	44.0	57.4	9.1	1.9	8.0	58.0	47.7	\$15,600	\$42,400	22.3	3.0

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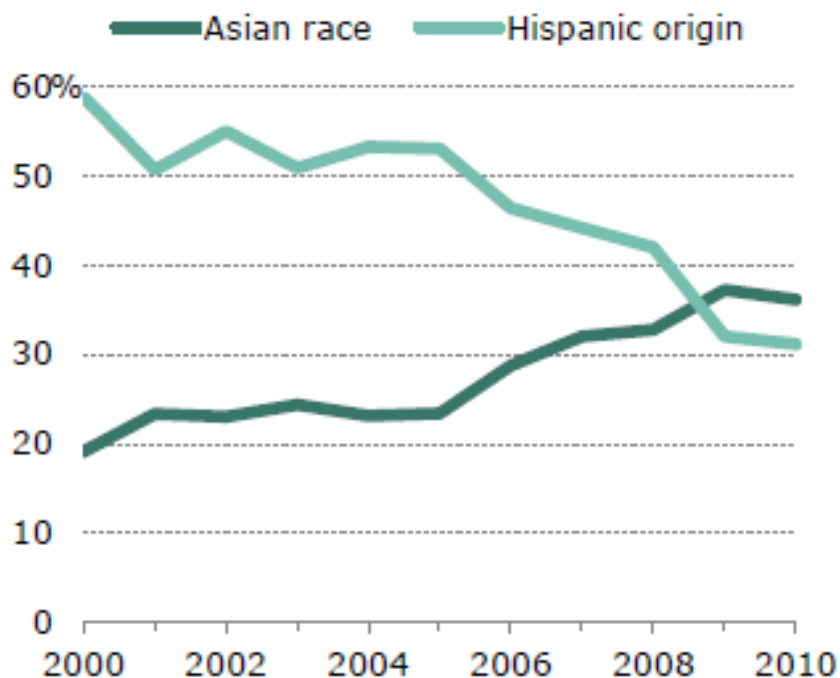
Educational Attainment among AAPIs (3-Year Average), 2006–2008

Robert T. Teranishi (2012): Asian American and Pacific Islander Students and the Institutions that Serve Them, *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, 44:2, 16-22. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00091383.2012.655233>



Meet the New Immigrants: Asians Overtake Hispanics

% of immigrants, by year of arrival, 2000-2010



Note: Based on total foreign-born population, including adults and children. Asians include mixed-race Asian population, regardless of Hispanic origin. Hispanics are of any race. The 2010 ACS includes only partial-year arrivals for 2010; arrivals for 2010 adjusted to full-year totals based on analysis of 2005-2009 ACS data on partial-year arrivals.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2010 American Community Survey, Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS) files

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Exemplary Immigrants

In 2009, Asians became the fastest growing immigrant group in America for the first time, overtaking Hispanics. In 2010, 430,000 Asians—or 36 percent of all legal and illegal immigrants—immigrated to the United States compared to 370,000 Hispanics at 31 percent. The Asian American population in 2012 reached 17.3 million or 5.8 percent of the US population, up from less than 1 percent when the 1965 Immigration Act was first passed. 74 percent of Asian-American adults were foreign-born, of whom 61 percent of those aged 25 to 64 arrived with at least a BA degree—double the percentage of non-Asian arrivals. (2012 Pew Report, “The Rise of Asian Americans”)