

ASIAN AMERICAN POLICY REVIEW

Volume VIII • 1998

APAs and the Nonprofit Sector



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Effective Participation? Asian American Community-Based Organizations in Urban Policy & Planning—*Paula Sirola, Paul Ong and Vincent Fu*

The Nature of the Nonprofit Sector: Professionalism Versus Identity Politics in Private Policy Definitions of Asian Pacific Americans—*Jiannbin Lee Shiao*

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FORUM: Campaign Fundraising and APAs

Which Path to Political Empowerment?—*Sumi Cho*

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INTERVIEWS

Elaine Chao—*Distinguished Fellow, the Heritage Foundation*

BOOK REVIEWS

The Political Participation of Asian Americans, Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics, Dragon Ladies: Asian American Feminists Breathe Fire, Strangers at the Gate Again: Asian American Immigration after 1965, The Dream Shattered: Vietnamese Gangs in American

ASIAN AMERICAN POLICY REVIEW

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The *Asian American Policy Review* is published annually by graduate students at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Articles, commentaries, interviews, or book reviews appearing in the *Asian American Policy Review* do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors, the sponsoring university, or the members of the advisory boards.

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Subscriptions

\$34 per issue for libraries and other institutions; \$14 for individuals. Back issues of Volumes II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII are also available at the same prices.

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Donations in support of the *Asian American Policy Review* are tax-deductible as a nonprofit gift under the John F. Kennedy School of Government's IRS 501(c)(3) status. Grants and other contributory assistance should specify intent for use by the *Asian American Policy Review* in order to facilitate accounting.

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ISSN# 1062-1830

ASIAN
AMERICAN
POLICY
REVIEW

Volume VIII

Asian Pacific Americans and the Nonprofit Sector

Winter, 1998



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FROM THE EDITORS

As government at all levels has continued to out-source and privatize public services, the nonprofit sector has become an essential element in the delivery and creation of public policies that affect the Asian Pacific American (APA) community. Although the nonprofit sector has played an important role in our public life since the 1960s, the devolution, privatization, and out-sourcing trends of the 1990s, make study of the sector more important than ever. The evolving relationship between government, the "Third" sector, and public policy has enormous implications for the type of government support available for APAs, as well as for who provides that support to the community. In an era in which government is becoming less important, who will take care of the social needs of APAs?

The Feature section of Volume VIII explores the relationship between APAs, the nonprofit sector, and public policy. In the opening article, **Paul Ong**, **Paula Sirola**, and **Vincent Fu**, all of the UCLA School of Public Policy, examine the effectiveness of APA community-based organizations in advocating for inner-city APAs under the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community program. In another article, **Jinnabin Lee Shiao**, the University of Oregon, argues that the racial categories used by grantmaking foundations affect the extent and scope of foundation support for APA nonprofits. The Feature section also includes two pieces by practitioners in the field. **Mary Chung**, National Asian Women's Health Organization, offers new data on APA smoking habits that provide a very different APA health picture than that available from official government sources. **Steve Paprocki**, National for Responsive Philanthropy, and **Albert Chung**, New York Regional Association of Grantmakers, highlight findings of a study on corporate giving to APA nonprofits and causes.

The Forum section features commentaries on the controversy over APA involvement in illegal campaign contributions during the 1996 election cycle. **Sumi Cho**, Depaul University School of Law, issues a call for greater grassroots APA political activism. **Paul Watanabe**, University of Massachusetts, Boston, decries the lack of media self-criticism over its insensitive and perhaps, racist coverage of the fundraising controversy.

In the Interview section, **Elaine Chao**, the former president of the United Way of America and a current Distinguished Fellow at the Heritage Foundation, speaks about her involvement in politics and the nonprofit sector. Finally, the Book Reviews section offers reviews of five recent books dealing with APA issues.

Without the hard work of the staff of Volume VIII, and IX and the generosity of individual donors, the current edition would not exist. A financial short fall almost postponed indefinitely the publication of the journal. As the *Review* moves forward, we are heartened by the support of all those who believe that the journal is an important resource for policy makers and scholars, and are committed to its survival into the next decade.

—*Traci Endo and Phuc Tran*

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Effective Participation? Asian American Community-Based Organizations In Urban Policy & Planning¹

Paula Sirola, Paul Ong, and Vincent Fu*

The authors examine the process that resulted in Empowerment Zone/ Empowerment Community applications from six cities—Boston, Lowell, MA, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Oakland. From interviews with key participants, a content analysis of the final applications, and other research, the authors conclude that Asian American participation in shaping urban anti-poverty policy is often precarious because of the lack of Asian American organizations with experience in economic development.

Many recent Asian American (AA) immigrants struggle with real poverty, and sizable number of these immigrants reside in inner-city ethnic enclaves. On the surface, many of these neighborhoods appear vibrant, filled with restaurants, grocery stores and other businesses. These activities provide us with a glimpse of what is achievable through Michael Porter's notion of the competitive advantage of the inner city. According to Porter, economic development in the inner city will succeed if it caters to the existing skills of residents, meets the needs of both local residents and workers in the downtown nearby, and links internally with a network of suppliers and business associations that enhance the multiplier effect (Porter 1995). Unfortunately, there are serious limitations to this approach to community economic development. This approach creates neighborhoods of working poor. The appearance of self-sufficiency in economically depressed AA neighborhoods has led policy makers to overlook and underestimate the extent of urban poverty within them.

Although Asian American poverty takes a very different form than the underclass poverty associated with many African American ghettos, Asian immigrant enclaves do face multiple problems associated with the working poor, such as a lack of health benefits, unstable employment, and underemployment. Advocates for AAs have made efforts to "educate" decision makers about AA poverty in the inner city (AARW 1992; Hum et al. 1992; Kwong 1987; Le 1993; Ong et al. 1993; Ong and Umamoto 1994; Zimmerman 1989). This paper examines that education process and looks at the capacity and the willingness of AA advocates to engage in urban anti-poverty policy making at the local level. Specifically, it analyzes the participation of AA advocates in local governments'

* Paula Sirola and Vincent Fu are students at the UCLA School of Public Policy. Paul Ong is a Professor of Public Policy at the same institution.

responses to the federal community economic development initiative known as the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) Initiative.²

BACKGROUND

It is important to understand the nature of Asian American participation in EZ/EC Initiative because of the scale and scope of the program. In terms of scale, it is the largest federal economic development policy for inner cities since the War on Poverty in the 1960s (Office of Community Planning and Development 1994). The initiative is the most current version of the policy to revitalize the inner city through community economic development. Although there are limitations to this approach, the federal government has frequently adopted it (Halpren 1995). According to the 1993 enabling legislation, EZ/EC designated areas would receive, over ten years, \$3.8 billion in federal assistance to create employment for local residents by helping local businesses become more productive (Office of Community Planning and Development 1994).³

In terms of scope, the initiative targets poverty-stricken areas, regardless of the race and ethnicity of the areas' residents. This means that inner-city AA communities have the same opportunities to benefit from this policy as do other, more visible low-income populations. In the first round of competition for EZ/EC status, local governments applied to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to request EZ/EC designation for economically distressed areas that had the potential for successful economic development. To qualify for EZ/EC funding, HUD required that 90 percent of the census tracts in the nominated areas had poverty rates of at least 25 percent. Fifty percent of the census tracts in the nominated area had to have poverty rates over 35 percent (Office of Community Planning and Development 1994).

HUD also specified that each application for EZ/EC designation had to emerge from a participatory process that included a broad range of community interests. HUD envisioned this application process as an opportunity for government officials, leaders from community based organizations, local business owners, and community activists to negotiate a plan for the future of their neighborhoods. Although limited funding would preclude the inclusion of all eligible areas in a proposed EZ/EC zone, the participatory requirement created a potential opening for Asian American inclusion in the EZ/EC planning process. Thus, the challenge for AA advocates was to take advantage of the participatory process and make the case for the inclusion of qualified AA neighborhoods in the local EZ/EC application.

METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on a specific group of advocates for poor urban Asian Americans, community-based organizations (CBOs). We chose to focus on CBOs because in the actual planning process, they, along with government entities, were the major players negotiating the details of the EZ/EC application.⁴ The

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term CBO incorporates many types of organizations that undertake a wide range of community activities. However, all CBOs are non-governmental, non-profit organizations that grow out of neighborhood-based, or race/ethnicity-based efforts to address local concerns. The paper focuses on two distinct types of CBOs. The first includes social service and advocacy organizations, which provide various forms of counseling, language training, and job placement services. The second includes community development corporations, which engage in local development projects, such as residential and commercial construction, financial and technical assistance to small businesses, and job training. Clearly, these two groups are not mutually exclusive and have overlapping activities. Nonetheless, this distinction is conceptually useful for our analysis.

This paper uses a case study approach as the primary methodology, and focuses specifically on the process of participation.⁵ It relies on two sources of information to analyze the scope and nature of AA CBO participation: interviews of key CBO staff and local government officials, and a content analysis of the EZ/EC applications submitted by each city. The interviews focused on the participation of AA organizations in the application processes. We selected the interviewees through a snowball sample, and conducted the interviews in July and August of 1994, soon after communities submitted EZ/EC applications to HUD. The content analysis of the EZ/EC applications focused on whether local planning officials identified AA needs, and whether they proposed solutions to address those problems. It also sought to determine the extent to which the applications reflected the planning process articulated by the interviewees.⁶

Although there are several methods to judge the meaningfulness or effectiveness of participation, this study takes an ethnographic approach of listening to the 'subjective' views of the interviewee (Crapanzano 1977; Devereux 1967). It gauges their remarks against 'objective' measures of inclusion in the process, such as whether AAs were part of a planning group, whether they provided input in the process, or whether they voted on details of the plan. Clearly, all these responses are subject to interpretation. Using similar methods across different settings revealed fundamental differences in AA CBOs' levels of participation in different cities.

Sample Cities

This study includes six cities: Boston, Lowell (MA), St. Paul (MI), Oakland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.⁷ We selected them using three criteria:

1. Cities with AA enclaves that qualified for inclusion based on the EZ/EC guidelines;
2. Demographic diversity across the study areas in terms of size, socioeconomic and ethnic composition; and
3. A mix of older and more recently established AA neighborhoods.

Tables 1 and 2 in the Appendix provide demographic statistics on the six urban areas included in this study. As the tables indicate, cities with large

percentages of Southeast Asian refugees had high overall AA poverty rates. In Lowell and St. Paul, Southeast Asian refugees composed the the majority of the AA population, and they had poverty rates of 60 percent and 40 percent, respectively. Both these cities were predominantly white, non-Hispanic. In both Boston and Oakland, Southeast Asian refugees made up a quarter of the AA population and were second in size to the Chinese population. Poverty rates for Asian Americans in Boston (28 percent) and Oakland (23 percent) were comparable to the other minority groups in those cities. In San Francisco, AAs were the largest minority group, comprised primarily of Chinese Americans. In absolute numbers, Los Angeles' AA population was the largest in the country, but the AA population was relatively small compared to other minorities in the city. Los Angeles had the most ethnically diverse AA population of the six cities that we studied—no one group dominated. In both Los Angeles and San Francisco, the AA poverty rate was low compared with other minority groups, 12 percent and 13 percent respectively.

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

Just as there was considerable heterogeneity in the demographic composition among the six cities in the study, there was also considerable variation in the processes for putting the EZ/EC applications together and in the outcomes. How an Asian American enclave was included in an application hinged on two factors: the serverity of the AA poverty rate and the ability of the AA community to exert political influence. In some cases, the AA poverty rate in the community was so overwhelming, local government officials and other participants would have found it difficult to exclude them. In these instances, AA CBOs secured their legitimacy to participate in the planning process based on the rules and criteria established at the national level. The second factor, which produced inclusion, was the ability of AA groups to exercise political power to ensure inclusion. This depended on whether AAs had an established power base that they could tap to influence political outcomes. Although these two factors are not conceptually mutually exclusive, in practice, no AA communities in the selected cities had both characteristics.

Asian Americans in Lowell and St. Paul gained inclusion based on extremely high poverty rates. In San Francisco and Los Angeles, AAs won inclusion by exercising political power. Finally, in Oakland and Boston, local planning officials included AAs based on poverty rates. Nonetheless, AA CBOs never became a meaningful part of the planning process in these two cities. The following sections analyze more closely these three sets of cities.

FINDINGS

Lowell & St. Paul: Inclusion by Criteria

Asian American CBOs in Lowell and St. Paul gained inclusion in the planning process based on three material factors. First, in the two cities the AA poverty rate

was the first and second highest, respectively, among racial groups, at levels equivalent to those found in underclass neighborhoods. Thus, the AA population fit essentially the federal guidelines for site designation. Second, poor AAs composed a significant share of the total poverty population, making them highly visible. Third, the poor AAs in these cities were largely refugees. Many of these refugees had little or no formal education and few marketable skills for an advanced economy. Consequently, refugees were one of the poorest groups within the two cities. Large numbers of them relied on government assistance to survive.

Lowell and St. Paul have hosted many Southeast Asians who fled after 1975, and the resulting communities were among the largest refugee communities in the nation. The settlement process created a large network of AA and non-AA social service organizations with extensive experience working with this group. This experience created a heightened sense of awareness and responsibility towards AA needs among nonprofit and community leaders, and this orientation was basis for the effort to include AAs in the EZ/EC process.

In Lowell, the dynamics of the EZ/EC planning process were not typical for two reasons. First, early on in the process, the city manager temporarily dissolved the city planning department to reorganize it (Hart 1994). Because it lacked a planning department, the city appointed a steering committee, comprised of the directors of social service organizations and members of the University of Massachusetts-Lowell, to coordinate and facilitate the planning (Hart 1994). This group understood the shortcomings of redevelopment plans of the early 1980s that had focused primarily on physical infrastructure. Consequently, these academics and community leaders believed that their EZ/EC plan should address social as well as physical aspects of economic development (Office of City Manager 1994).

Second, there was an element of paternalism in the steering committee's treatment of AA participation in the planning process. Although the steering committee did make a concerted effort to involve Asian American CBOs in the planning process (Hart 1994), AA participation functioned within a larger structure in which non-AAs dominated and directed the entire process. This problem was compounded by the fact that Lowell's AA organizations were very young social service organizations with little knowledge about economic development or experience in urban policy issues. Nevertheless, the committee's sensitivity to the refugees' needs resulted in a plan that addressed the problems of this population, despite no clear evidence that AAs functioned as key decision makers (Bounphafayfonh 1994; Pen 1994).

St. Paul's Southeast Asian population was one of the most challenging minority groups to serve in terms of economic development (Zimmerman 1989). Almost 65 percent of the Asian American population in St. Paul were Hmong, political refugees from the mountains of Laos. Prior to coming to the United States, most Hmong existed by subsistence farming or by serving as covert soldiers for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency during the Vietnam War. After settling in St. Paul, not only did the Hmong have to cope with socio-psychological problems of political refugees, but they also had to struggle with making a living in an

urban, industrialized America where they had few marketable skills from their past (Zimmerman 1989). Consequently, 60 percent of the Hmong in St. Paul lived in poverty, and they had the highest poverty rate of any ethnic group in the city. The Hmong concentrated in St. Paul's public housing, where Hmong occupied over 70 percent of units in 1988 (Zimmerman 1989).

St. Paul had several Asian American CBOs that worked with the Hmong, as well as other ethnic AA groups. These organizations shared similarities with AA organizations in Lowell. They were primarily social service organizations with little political clout or expertise in economic development. Like in Lowell, we found that social service organizations, public officials and academics actively recruited AAs to participate in the planning process. However, unlike Lowell, there was evidence that AA CBOs played a more central role as indicated by their active participation on the steering committee.

It is difficult to determine whether Asian American recruitment to the planning process resulted from the number and geographic concentration of AA poor or a civic culture disposed to inclusive community participation. (The Twin Cities, which St. Paul is a part, have a reputation of promoting active civic participation.) It appears that in Lowell the former was the case, and in St. Paul, the latter. Lowell did not include all minority groups in the planning process, whereas St. Paul had an explicit policy to include as many interest groups as possible (Zimmerman 1989).⁸ Whichever the case, public officials, as well as community groups, were instrumental in advocating for the right of AA organizations to participate in the process in both cities. Their actions resulted in AA consultation in the planning process from the outset (Lor 1994; James 1994a). Consequently, in both cities the EZ/EC proposal identified problems and solutions that were specific to the AA community.

San Francisco & Los Angeles: Inclusion by Politics

In the absence of overwhelming material deprivation, Asian American CBOs in San Francisco and Los Angeles needed to exercise political power to achieve EZ/EC designation. In both cities, the AA poverty rate was lower than the city-wide average, and considerably lower than the rates for African Americans and Hispanics. At the same time, there existed pockets of concentrated poor AAs in the inner city. Consequently, planning officials could not automatically exclude AA areas from EZ/EC consideration. Within this context, the ability of CBOs to win inclusion in the planning process hinged more on political power rather than the program's eligibility criteria.

In San Francisco, Asian Americans were the largest minority group, at 29 percent of the total population. San Francisco's AA population consisted of economic immigrants from China, the Philippines, Japan, and Korea, and political refugees from Southeast Asia. The AA community was (and is) one of the oldest in the United States, and it had established a strong political, economic and social infrastructure that included several large, organizationally mature CBOs. However, despite the AA presence on the economic and political fronts in San

Francisco, there was no AA participation in the initial stages of San Francisco's EZ/EC planning process. Officials from the Mayor's City Planning Department and the Redevelopment Agency designed and implemented the planning process. This body decided among its members which census tracts would be included as EZ/EC areas (Ly and Lowe 1994).

The planning process was well underway when Asian American community leaders learned that government officials had not included AA neighborhoods in the designated EZ/EC areas. A coalition of organizations lobbied the city to include two AA neighborhoods, Chinatown and the Tenderloin, which met the federal guidelines. When the city would not consider including these two areas, the coalition decided to submit its own separate EZ/EC application (Fong 1994; Ly and Lowe 1994; Wong 1994a; Yu 1994a, 1994b).

At this point, the city was forced to reconsider its original position. Because HUD would look unfavorably at two applications coming from a single city, San Francisco's local government decided to incorporate the AA application into its own application (Fong 1994; Ly and Lowe 1994; Wong 1994a; Yu 1994a, 1994b). The final San Francisco application therefore appeared quite successful in including Asian American CBOs in the planning process, identifying AA needs, and providing solutions to those problems. However, underlying this facade of inclusiveness, lay a highly contested political struggle with the local government.

In Los Angeles, which has the largest Asian American population of any city in the country, AA political power was less established. Unlike San Francisco, which has some of old and strong AA CBOs with established relations to city government, Los Angeles' AA CBOs were younger, with little experience in economic development and tenuous connections to City Hall. On the other hand, Los Angeles' AA CBOs had already mobilized to form a coalition two years earlier in response to the 1992 civil unrest following the verdict in the Rodney King beating. The coalition won some concessions in the aftermath of the unrest when the city sought to develop a response to underlying racial and economic problems. Perhaps the most important gain was the recognition that AAs were an integral yet unique part of the complex dynamics of Los Angeles' inner city. A part of the claim for this legitimacy rested on the fact that AAs, and Koreans in particular, had borne a disproportionate share of the financial losses caused by looting and arson (Ong and Hee 1993). This legitimacy secured the Los Angeles coalition a place, although at times only a symbolic one, at the table where local leaders and government officials discussed, formally and informally, inner city strategies. The precariousness of the coalition's political role in local government became apparent in the EZ/EC planning process.

The official EZ/EC steering committee, comprised of city officials, selected the target areas. The committee invited the general community to provide input in the planning process through public hearings and the member organizations of the Coalition of Neighborhood Developers (CND), a multi-cultural coalition of community based organizations (Anderson 1994). The city hired CND and a consultant team "to provide information for and to write portions of the plan" (Anderson 1994, iii-1). The CND's members were organizations whose primary

interest and experience were in community development through housing projects in South Central Los Angeles (Coalition for Neighborhood Developers 1994). Consistent with the earlier gains made by Asian Americans, CND included two AA CBOs. Nonetheless, the AA CBOs felt that they lacked the political clout necessary to have their voices heard and their needs addressed within CND (Arguelles 1994; Doi 1994; Nikano 1994). One respondent stated that only community development corporations that were well versed in the language of community economic development really had their voices heard. The organizations that exerted influence in CND were older ones created during the late 1960s and 1970s and as a result of the Civil Rights movement and the War on Poverty, had evolved from social service organizations into community development corporations. The comparatively more recent AA organizations had a more difficult time in the EZ/EC planning process because as social service organizations, they had limited experience with community economic development (Arguelles 1994). Consequently, it was not surprising that the EZ/EC application did not include, in a meaningful way, areas and program interests relevant to AAs.

Although the Los Angeles Asian American coalition felt relatively powerless in CND, it mobilized and successfully lobbied government officials to include two areas with large AA populations in the EZ/EC application, Koreatown and Little Tokyo. Though the AA coalition was able to build on the political momentum created after 1992, there were real limitations to its influence. Even with the inclusion of the two AA neighborhoods, the EZ/EC application did not address basic needs of the AA population, such as ESL training for adults. Furthermore, these AA neighborhoods were not in the areas with Los Angeles' poorest AA population, Southeast Asian refugees concentrated near Long Beach. Southeast Asian refugees there have some of the highest poverty rates of any ethnic groups in Los Angeles (Louie 1996, 6).⁹

Oakland and Boston: Problematic Inclusion

Although having the poverty "numbers" helped insured site designation, inclusion in and of itself did not insure meaningful participation in the planning process. Effective participation hinged on having a high poverty rate combined with a critical mass of Asian American poverty or political clout in the AA community. In the cases of Oakland and Boston, despite their inclusion into the planning process, AA CBOs often failed to make a concerted effort to participate. Two factors shaping the nature of AA participation were: 1) the goodwill of non-AA CBOs, and 2) the very uncertain nature of the AA position in the process (as perceived by AA CBOs) due to a lack of overwhelming poverty or political power.

In Oakland, a steering committee of public officials and urban "experts" selected the EZ/EC designated areas (Brown, Bennett, and Izumizaki 1994). Even though there was no AA participation in the selection process, one of the designated areas had a plurality of AAs, 36 percent. Asian Americans had the

second highest poverty rate amongst Oakland's minority groups and were the second largest minority group. Only after city officials selected the targeted areas for inclusion in the application did city officials invite a large number of AA organizations to participate in the subsequent planning process (Brown et al. 1994).

Despite the Asian American concentration in the proposed EZ/EC area, several of the AA CBOs chose to participate minimally or not at all (Galedo 1994; Kakishiba 1994; L. Lee 1994a). The lack of participation did not result from a lack of understanding of the EZ/EC Initiative. Instead, AA CBOs were cynical about the feasibility of EZ/EC strategies as solutions to urban poverty (Chai 1994; L. Lee 1994a). Some AA CBOs participated in the process, but they did not put much effort into it. Others thought that public officials were predisposed to addressing the needs of other minority groups (Chai 1994; Kakishiba 1994; L. Lee 1994a, 1994b). One representative of an AA CBO noted that although other minority groups had coalitions and the members of the coalition were invited to participate in the process, this did not occur for the AA coalition (Kakishiba 1994). Thus, many AA CBOs did not think that their concerns were heard within the public meetings (Chai 1994; Kakishiba 1994; L. Lee 1994a, 1994b). However, this person did note that the AA coalition was an informal coalition. The informal nature of the coalition raises questions about the extent to which the AA coalition was integrated into broader community issues.

Because of this self-described indifference to participation on the part of Asian American CBOs, the EZ/EC steering committee voiced some concerns about the need to undertake community outreach by AA community organizers to gauge the needs of AAs. Nevertheless, the outcome of not having a large AA contingency in the planning process was that the economic development projects focused specifically on African American and Hispanic projects (respectively, developing/reviving jazz clubs and a Hispanic marketplace, the "mercado"). The only project targeting an AA population was an event, the celebration of the Vietnamese New Year (Brown et al. 1994).

Boston had similar problems of indifference by AA CBOs, but the final outcome was more positive. In Boston, the AA poverty rate ranked second among minority groups. In absolute numbers, however, the AA population was not very large compared to other minority groups. Nevertheless, from the outset of the planning process the city's EZ/EC steering committee was sensitive to the need of having AA representation on the committee. This awareness was not due to having one of the oldest or largest AA communities in the nation, rather the awareness resulted from the recent, rapid growth of Southeast Asian refugees, as had occurred in St. Paul and Lowell. Many refugees came from Vietnam during the 1980s, and consequently, the Vietnamese composed the second largest Asian ethnic group in Boston, after the Chinese (Sagara and Kiang 1992).

With the increase in the Asian American population, Boston had also experienced a rise in AA CBOs. Planning officials invited one AA CBO to represent Chinatown in the initial stages of planning its EZ/EC application. It was at this stage in the planning process that the decision would occur over which census

tracts to include. After several meetings in which the representative from this AA organization failed to attend and for which he did not send a replacement, the committee found a replacement from another AA organization (Cusick 1994; C. Lee 1994b; Wing 1994). Thus, one should direct any criticism about lack of AA participation in the initial stages of the process at the first AA CBO's organizational weakness (and not the committee). It is important to note that it was the Southend Neighborhood Action Program (SNAP), a non-AA CBO, which took specific steps to advocate for Chinatown representation on the steering committee (Cusick 1994).

Because AA representatives did not participate in the early stages, planning officials did not initially include sections of Boston's Chinatown in the application. Asian American CBOs then lobbied the steering committee to reconsider a portion of Chinatown for the EZ/EC designation. Although they did incorporate this section of Boston, the resulting boundary of the final EZ/EC area still did not include several AA CBOs that were located outside the boundary but whose clients were inside the boundary. As a result, other AA CBOs began negotiations with the steering committee to give the excluded AA CBOs the same benefits as CBOs with offices located within the zone (C. Lee 1994a; Ly. Lowe 1994; Wing 1994).

The final application accurately represented the problems of the Chinatown district and proposed adequate solutions. Asian American organizations worried that other AA organizations, particularly a Vietnamese social service organization that is located within the proposed EZ/EC area, did not participate in the planning process (Le 1994; C. Lee 1994b; Wing 1994b). Nevertheless, the proposed plan did include programs that would address that population's needs, such as job training, ESL courses, and assurance that translations services would be available for various programs.

CONCLUSION

As the country's Asian American population grows and becomes more ethnically diverse, it is important that public officials recognize and incorporate their needs into urban policies. Asian American CBOs act as agents for the AA population, and they seek to meet those needs by engaging in the broader economic development policy arena. This case study of AA CBOs in six different cities analyzed the capacity of these organizations and the political dynamics under which they represented their clients. The 1994 Federal Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community Initiative provided an opportunity to analyze how and under what conditions AA CBOs participate in shaping economic development plans that targeted low-income populations. The analysis highlights the ability of Asian American CBOs to work with non-AA CBOs, as well as in coalition with other AA CBOs.

In the six urban areas we studied, two variables shaped the the extent of Asian American CBO participation: socioeconomic conditions and political power. The EZ/EC guidelines focused on urban areas with high levels of poverty.

When the AA population was one of the largest minorities and burdened with an extremely high poverty rate, local governments sought AA CBO participation in the process. In other words, AAs gained in the planning process based on EZ/EC criteria. This type of inclusion occurred most frequently when the AA population consisted mainly of Southeast Asian refugees.

In cases in which the Asian American population in the city was not proportionally one of the poorest racial groups, AA CBOs needed political power to participate in the planning process. The population size of the racial group, per se, did not influence whether local planners incorporated a group into the planning process. Asian American CBOs' political power was a function of their ability to engage in coalition building. When the problem was one of simple inclusion of AA populations in the plan, AA CBOs needed a pan-Asian coalition to open policy making doors and gain inclusion. However, once AA CBOs found a place at the planning table, the AA CBOs had to participate effectively in non-AA coalitions to have specific AA needs addressed. Within these broader coalitions, CBOs negotiated among themselves for their clients' interests, and the results of these negotiations produced a package for local governments. That very few of the AA CBOs were community development corporations limited the effectiveness of Asian American participation within broader coalitions.

A third situation represented a variation of the influence of extreme poverty and political power. In these cities, Asian American populations had high levels of poverty but were not necessarily the most populous racial or ethnic group. Under these circumstances, the AA community won inclusion in the planning process based on the EZ/EC criteria. However, AA CBO participation in the process proved problematic. Either AA CBOs lacked the skills to participate effectively, or they purposely chose not to participate because they did not have the political clout to shape urban policy or because they could not mobilize the AA community.

While the first and second set of cases represent the extremes of Asian American CBO participation in urban policy making, the third case probably occurs more often in American cities. This would strongly suggest that AA CBOs must not only develop economic strategies that address their communities' needs, but that they must also articulate those needs with other economic development CBOs to insure AA participation in the planning process. From this study, it is evident that AA CBO participation in broader urban policy making is important both for the potential benefits it would direct toward Asian American communities, and for the experience such participation would provide these organizations as they attempt to become mature and politically sophisticated players in urban policy making.

Endnotes

1. We are indebted to the support provided by UCLA's Graduate Division, which provided summer support for Vincent Fu, and the LEAP/UCLA Asian American Public Policy Institute, which provided additional funding for this project.

2. Although cities applied for either EZ, EC, or both designations, for purposes of simplification, the single designation EZ/EC is used throughout the paper. Essentially, the two programs differ only in terms of scale.
3. Designated Enterprise Zones and Communities were awarded funds through EZ/EC Social Services Block Grants (SSBG) from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Each urban EZ received \$100 million, and each rural EZ received \$40 million; each EC received \$2.95 million. The grant is very flexible and can be used to fund a variety of economic, social, and community development activities, as determined by Zone and Community residents (Office of Community Planning and Development 1994).
4. CBOs are not the only 'voice' speaking on behalf of inner-city Asian Americans. Business associations and traditional community organizations, such as 'home-town' associations, also purport to speak for this population. More recently, there are also voices emerging in electoral politics.
5. While we recognize that the outcome of participation is an important area of future research, it is beyond the scope of this paper. Time limitations did not permit a systematic comparison of the applications across the cities, and the applications themselves contain elements that are not specific to AA communities. Further, the implementation of these proposals are only starting to occur, so the material outcome of the process are, as of yet, not evident.
6. Although this study has sought to be as broad-based and reliable as possible, it does face certain limitations. As with all studies dependent on interview data, the answers were the respondents' opinions of what happened and the recording of the responses was subject to the interviewer's biases. To minimize these problems, we conducted interviews with individuals from each area. The descriptions of the application processes by the respondents from the same areas tended to corroborate each other. The majority of the subjects that were interviewed were either Chinese American or Korean American.
7. The application for EZ/EC designation in Los Angeles was a joint venture between the city and the county of Los Angeles. The city of Los Angeles was responsible for overseeing the process.
8. It is interesting to note that in Lowell, AAs had—in absolute numbers—the highest poverty levels of any minority group, with Hispanics a close second. However, as a percentage of their minority group, Hispanics had a higher rate of poverty than AAs. Nevertheless, Hispanic CBOs did not have representation on Lowell's Steering Committee.
9. One could argue that the exclusion of Southeast Asians in Long Beach did not indicate that the AA CBOs failed. The city-county agreement effectively limited the debate to identify which Los Angeles city tracts could be included. On the other hand, this raises a question about why the AA CBOs were not effective in influencing the city-county agreement.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. Population by Race/Ethnicity

Cities	White	Pct.	Black	Pct.	Asian	Pct.	Hispanic	Pct.
<i>Boston</i>	339,458	63	137,756	26	30,060	5	59,692	10
<i>Lowell</i>	79,747	77	1,839	2	11,419	11	10,089	10
<i>St. Paul</i>	219,890	81	19,777	7	18,820	7	10,318	4
<i>San Fran.</i>	338,917	47	76,944	11	207,457	29	96,940	13
<i>Oakland</i>	105,927	29	160,640	43	53,818	15	49,267	13
<i>L.A. City</i>	1,305,647	38	460,893	13	329,270	9	1,370,476	39
<i>L.A. Cnty</i>	3,634,722	41	946,862	11	924,291	10	3,306,116	37

Source: US Census 1990, STF.3, non-Hispanic race

TABLE 2. Poverty Rates by Race/Ethnicity

Cities	White	Pct.	Black	Pct.	Asian	Pct.	Hispanic	Pct.
<i>Boston</i>	47,209	13	34,599	24	8,426	28	19,644	33
<i>Lowell</i>	9,653	12	,649	28	4,667	40	4,562	5
<i>St. Paul</i>	22,135	10	7,751	39	11,360	60	2,579	25
<i>San Fran.</i>	35,205	9	20,096	26	26,426	13	15,548	16
<i>Oakland</i>	10,603	9	38,549	24	12,456	23	10,547	21
<i>L.A. City</i>	236,285	13	119,875	25	49,672	15	393,262	29
<i>L.A. Cnty</i>	523,435	10	203,286	19	24,614	12	744,383	22

Source: US Census 1990, STF.3

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The Nature of the Nonprofit Sector: Professionalism Versus Identity Politics in Private Policy Definitions of Asian Pacific Americans

Jiannbin Lee Shiao*

Using a variety of data sources, including interviews and archival research, Professor Shiao argues that differing visions of community—ethnic pluralism, multiracial pluralism, and assimilatory community—guide the grantmaking priorities of independent foundations. Within this context, the author maintains that Asian Pacific American (APA) nonprofits have a more difficult time obtaining funding than mainstream and other minority organizations. However, he notes, that there are differences in the perception of APAs between foundation Program Officers, those who initial screen grant proposals, and foundation Trustees, those who ultimately award large grants. These varying assessments of the needs of the APA community give APA nonprofits hope for future funding.

Recent scholarship in the sociology of race and ethnicity has pointed sociologists to the central role of government agencies in shaping racial and ethnic phenomena in the United States. These phenomena include the relative freedom of Americans to embrace or renounce collective traditions, the relative coincidence of socioeconomic inequality with group membership, and the relative salience of historical experiences for contemporary members of a group. A logical extension of recognizing the important role of government would examine specific public policies for their effects on ethnic freedom, racial inequality, and the continuing salience of historical events. A less obvious path is the examination of *privately constructed policies* involved in social policy formation. The priorities of philanthropic, grantmaking foundations and the experiences of minority nonprofit grantseekers, however, are important components of the process in which foundation actors include, or exclude, Asian Pacific American (APA) communities in their social policy considerations.

This article opens with a theoretical discussion of why the professional knowledge of the nonprofit sector is an important factor in racial and ethnic policy formation. It proceeds to distinguish three visions of community that

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underlie the priorities and practices of many nonprofit actors: ethnic pluralism, multiracial pluralism, and assimilatory community with its two variants, assimilatory individualism and assimilatory pluralism. Finally, it presents the results of interviews and archival research into how nonprofit actors have included, or excluded, APAs in their professional understandings of racial and ethnic priorities.

The main implication of the research findings is that APA panethnicity, or collaboration across APA ethnicities, in the nonprofit world is worth further attention from foundations. This is true for a number of reasons. First, APAs have civic needs beyond the narrow arena of immigrant adaptation. Second, the APA experience—both personal and nonprofit—is distinct from the experience of African Americans and European-ancestry Americans. Finally, as an expression of APA needs and experience since the late 1970s, APA panethnicity may also serve as a potential model for foundation efforts to implement the value of diversity. With nonprofit panethnicity, APAs are ready to move beyond ethnic self-help to broader participation in U.S. racial politics.

WELFARE STATE, SOCIAL POLICY, AND PRIVATISM

Social movements and government agencies are not the only actors in social policy; nonprofit organizations also play significant roles. The importance of recognizing the nonprofit sector as an important social policy player is intimately connected to its role in racial politics broadly defined, and its relationship to the “welfare state” in particular.¹ The welfare state has been the model state in political theory—including racial formation theory²—because scholars have regarded it as the ideal typical response to certain conditions of advanced capitalist economies. Although true welfare states seldom exist, empirically, each nation, including the U.S., has some kind of “welfare system” or institutional response to crises of unemployment, capital accumulation, civil rights, and social emiseration more generally.

In the United States, organizations in the nonprofit sector have long played significant roles in the welfare system, and in recent decades, they have even taken on government duties (Smith and Lipsky 1993). These organizations interpret social needs, implement social policies, and even represent citizens through issue lobbying. Because of the long-standing and important role of the nonprofit sector in the U.S. welfare system, we should consider its potential to also shape racial politics.³

The nonprofit actors with the most potential for shaping racial politics are, arguably, philanthropic institutions. Among these, community foundations are an ideal type for philanthropic institutions as a whole because community foundations combine in one organizational form key aspects of the entire field of philanthropic organizations in America. Community foundations are a particular form of philanthropy—institutional, expertise-directed, endowed, bureaucratically complex, regionally focused, and grant-awarding. Unlike individual donors, they are incorporated entities separated from the original donors of money by at

least one degree of legality. Unlike individual givers, they have at least one paid staff member who screens proposals for funding before they ever reach the organization's board of trustees. Unlike most private or family endowed foundations, community foundations are collections of multiple trusts and have boards appointed by local elites rather than by donors. Consequently, they usually support a wider range of activities than private foundations. Differing from the national foundations that also give to a wide range of fields, community foundations have regional orientations.⁴ Finally, community foundations are mostly grantmaking institutions in contrast to operating foundations, which have endowments but implement their own missions.

In comparison with government entities, nonprofits are not centered around the idea of public accountability because nonprofit officials cannot be impeached or otherwise voted out of office. Citizens do not elect the people who serve as directors of nonprofit organizations, or evaluate the grant proposals submitted to a philanthropic institution. Executive directors do not campaign for their job among agency clients, and foundation staff do not campaign for their discretion over proposals. Only the board of trustees can remove or fire directors. Likewise foundation directors do not hire staff persons for representing electoral constituencies but for understanding the social needs that may motivate them.

The logic of private responsiveness, not public accountability, therefore dominates the nonprofit sector and infuses the U.S. social welfare system with a culture of privatism. This privatism is evident in the roles of Grantseekers (or Grantees), Program Officers, and Trustees, all of whom represent the most important actors in the foundation grantmaking process. The Grantseekers are often the nonprofit staff members who write the grant proposals through which organizations receive funding from foundations to maintain existing programs, consider new directions, or experiment with new programs. The Program Officers are the paid foundation staff who initially review and screen proposals before allowing them to move up the chain of command to the executive director and eventually the board of Trustees.

The Trustees are the final decision-making body of a foundation and therefore have the most power. While the Trustees may give staff a discretionary pool of grant money, the Trustees often retain the authority to approve larger grants. In a community foundation, these Trustees are often appointees of local elites, and therefore represent the leading citizens of a region, at least in the eyes of local politicians and business people. Though their fellow citizens cannot vote them in or out of office, as such, Trustees are the most publicly accountable members of the foundation world.

PROFESSIONALISM, IDENTITY POLITICS AND PANETHNICITY

An important aspect of privatism is professional knowledge. Here I use professionalism in the sociological sense of the word: having primary control of a body of knowledge and societal recognition of that control. Mitchell and Kerchner categorize the organization of work into four ideal types: labor, crafts,

arts and professions(1983). In this sense, just as laborers sell their time and craftspeople their expertise, professionals sell their judgement. Moreover, not only does a professional aspirant have to learn the technical craft, she has to be recognized as trustworthy to practice, i.e. to make judgments. Professionalism so defined combines the elements of foundation privatism: expert knowledge and elite recognition, both insulated from electoral accountability.

Professional definitions of Asian Pacific Americans are thus important components of the process of social policy formation that affect them. Traditionally, in social policy determination⁵ identifying the social needs for policy is primary. The social needs of APAs thus dominate professional definitions of APAs. These definitions rely on the consolidation of knowledge, usually in quantitative form, about APAs as a population. However, as I will show below, what data professionals choose to consolidate and articulate into measures of APA need depends upon their experience and contact with APA nonprofits. In brief, participation has a qualitative effect on one's professional definitions.

While professional definitions of Asian Pacific Americans are important components of the process of social policy formation about APAs, they often compete with other definitions of APAs, particularly those rooted in identity politics. A more explicit vision of community through identity politics is often the primary motivation of those who join minority nonprofits as staff and volunteers. The active construction of community through collective definition, not knowledge consolidation, motivates the non-elite actors in the nonprofit sector.

The tension between professionalism and identity politics is a general one for the nonprofit sector as a whole, and hardly confined to APAs. However, because of the uncertainty surrounding a panethnic APA identity, it is especially with APAs that this definitional tension coincides with ambiguities over the meaning of group membership and thus becomes an opposition between social actors.

Panethnicity is a concept that consists of "the construction of larger-scale affiliations, where groups previously unrelated in culture and descent submerge their differences and assume a common identity" (Espiritu 1992, 3). Older scholarship about race and ethnicity tended to take group membership for granted. According to the original formulators of panethnicity theory, "as an emergent phenomenon, panethnicity focuses attention on ethnic change and thus allows one to assess the relative importance of external, structural conditions, as opposed to internal, cultural factors in the construction and maintenance of *ethnicity*" [italics mine] (Lopez and Espiritu 1990, 198).

Panethnic groups are not merely interest-based, such as a temporary bipartisan coalition. Instead, one can understand panethnicity in the APA community as a cross between ethnic identity and political interest. Panethnicity enables the multitude of APA ethnic groups to participate in a broader society structured by race, and in social policies originally designed to address the concerns of other minorities—especially African Americans. Because each APA ethnic group is an extremely small percentage of the U.S. population, aggregating themselves into

a panethnic group increases their political clout and expands their possibilities for social comfort. While segments of the "Asian" group are sometimes differentiated (e.g. East Asian vs. South Asian), the larger society has historically cast them all as racial foreigners because they are neither White nor Black and because of their identification with "the East," which only exists in contrast to "the West" with which most Americans identify. Finally, panethnicity along "racial" lines reinforces attention to how European Americans have been privileged (*vis à vis* APAs) not by virtue of cultural superiority but by their inclusion in the White category. Without panethnicity, APAs would participate in civil society as small ethnic groups, with partially redundant claims and orientation toward cultural conformity while racially excluded.

Asian Pacific American panethnicity is a prime example of the racial formation dynamics that scholars associate with racial and ethnic change in the America. In particular, Michael Omi and Howard Winant have argued that it has been not internal cultural dynamics, economic inequalities, or even colonialism but the process of conflict between social movements and the state that has motivated such change in the U.S. (1994).⁶ The social movement of largely U.S.-born Japanese, Filipinos, and Chinese Americans in the late 1960s and 1970s for racial empowerment generated the demand for a panethnic "Asian American" identity, to which government agencies such as the Census Bureau responded. Subsequently, the Bureau's collection of "Asian" statistics justified the distribution of government funding to nonprofit organizations. Consequently, new Asian immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s face an institutionalized panethnicity in both government knowledge and nonprofit infrastructure, regardless of whether they agree with or even knew of the earlier social movement. Thus, definitions of panethnicity motivate and control the place and the political definitions of APAs in U.S. social policy.

The relative ability of professionalism to address panethnicity is therefore a test of professionalism's capacity to include civic participation as a social need for social policy to address. However, panethnicity is not a universal identity among APAs. Unlike the external ascription of, for example, Chinese and Vietnamese as members of an Asian race, panethnicity has internal roots, albeit in responses to external ascription. Not every Asian understands panethnicity or wants it, and yet it arose internally. Furthermore, panethnicity is a core component of APA nonprofit infrastructures, especially in relationships with the broader non-APA world of organizations and communities. In a word, panethnicity is constantly emergent, rather than either baggage from the old country like ethnicity or accepted essentialism like race. Whether, how, and where panethnicity—and APA civic participation in general—fits in nonprofit visions of community is crucial.

COMMUNITY VISIONS

In order to make private policy, nonprofit actors rely on visions of community that define the underlying assumptions for their grantmaking priorities. By

community, I do not mean the APA population, but the community within which APAs are a minority.⁷ Each of these visions of community has implications for how one defines APAs within them and for how nonprofit actors include or exclude APAs in private policies regarding race and ethnicity.

Ethnic Pluralism

One vision of community is implied in the reports of the National Committee on Responsive Philanthropy (1989): a region that watches out for its disadvantaged members with respect to the labor market and political institutions and that prioritizes the majority of its public resources for the disadvantaged.⁸ In this vision, alleviating poverty and other social problems are the main priority of the foundation. Ethnic culture and communities are resources for sustaining individuals against poverty. In addition, nonprofits function as an American version of European social welfare programs, albeit privatized.

To be true to this vision of the community prioritizing the disadvantaged, foundations might strengthen their present emphasis on the social needs of Asian immigrants in ethnic-specific self-help efforts. The goal would be an *ethnic pluralism* where Asian immigrant clients are emphasized and defined as short-term priorities, bridging immigrant culture with mainstream economic life. Some proponents of this view might criticize my theoretical characterization as overly assimilationist in tone; after all, they are not being prescriptive about how second and higher generation APAs must live their lives. However, I suggest that neither would they recognize APA-specific issues past the immigrant generation.

Multiracial Pluralism

In the vision of "Third World Solidarity" and the new community of "Progressivism," a diffuse coalition of social movements value the non-mainstream over the mainstream and, within the non-mainstream, prioritize the disadvantaged.⁹ The rationale for not focusing on the mainstream is that it is already taking care of itself through normal channels, and that community surplus should thus devote itself to those at the margins who push the envelope of mainstream acceptability. The difference between the above community and this one is that the former focuses on liberating individuals from their disadvantaged condition, while the latter values their minority condition as a resource in itself. In other words, community should take the form of European social democracy, albeit American-style, replacing labor with people of color, sexual minorities, women, et cetera, whose minoritization is the premise for their corporate inclusion in governance. In this vision, supporting racial and other non-mainstream movements is the main priority of the foundation. Ethnicity is translated into race through class mobility and generational transition, and nonprofits function as an American version of European corporatism, brokering social surplus to the discretion of minority leadership.

To be true to this vision of the community, foundations might prioritize the Asian Pacific American collaborations that leverage support for ethnic-specific projects and panethnic access to traditionally Black-White institutional

arrangements. The goal would be a *multiracial pluralism* where racial identity is emphasized and defined as a long-term priority. Panethnicity would serve as the institutional power broker for immigrant needs and APA participation in the broader society. Some proponents of this view might argue my theoretical characterization as too restrictive of the rights of APA ethnic groups to participate or not in collaborations; after all, they are not being prescriptive about how APA sub-groups must operate within the nonprofit sector. However, I suggest that they would consider it a setback for APAs to turn organizational control over to new immigrants or groups who are new to the idea of panethnicity or who do not recognize racialization as an inevitability in the U.S.

Assimilatory Community

One can find a third distinct conception of community in one of the National Committee on Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP) community foundation reports. In that report, the director of one major foundation reserved the right to include a response in the appendix, where he outlined his differences with NCRP on what and how “community” ought to be served. Steven Minter, the African American executive director of the oldest and second largest community foundation in the U.S., wrote:

It is important to reach out directly to the disadvantaged, but the Cleveland Foundation cannot agree with your requested quota requiring 50 percent of its unrestricted funds to be granted exclusively to programs aimed entirely or primarily at the disadvantaged. If those who occupy the lower rungs of a community’s economic ladder are to have the opportunity to climb out of poverty, then that community must be strengthened as a whole, and grants from a community foundation must be made with that goal foremost in mind.(1992)

In other words, the primary goal of a community foundation should be to encourage greater participation rather than income maintenance or political transformation. Because no matter how much aid is given directly to those outside of the mainstream, if it is itself weak, the larger community cannot assimilate the disadvantaged. Given the central place of incorporation in this viewpoint, mainstream institutions occupy the central place in foundation priorities—though the mechanism whether “top down” or “bottom up” appears open. Thus, incorporation could be to (1) mainstream institutions or (2) alternative bridging institutions.

To remain true to the vision of the community in terms of incorporation, foundations might (1) generally support mainstream institutions and leave substantive racial-ethnic policy to them or (2) promote APA participation in mainstream organizations and the connectedness of the mainstream organizations with panethnic organizations. How one defines “incorporation” depends on the level at which one facilitates it. Foundations can design the rising tide to lift either individuals or groups. The goal is either an (1) *assimilatory individualism* where territory totally defines community or (2) *an assimilatory pluralism* where

race is viewed as the secondary community to territorial community. Proponents of either view might view my theoretical characterization as overly homogenizing and glossing of specific needs in various communities. However, I suggest that they would view that effect worth the avoidance of possibly fostering dependency and committing themselves to the correction of history.

METHODOLOGY

Examining how nonprofit actors have figured Asian Pacific Americans in their understandings of racial and ethnic priorities, I interviewed 45 persons in foundations and other nonprofit organizations in the San Francisco Bay Area and the Greater Cleveland Area. The two foundations that I looked at in particular were The San Francisco Foundation (SFF), and The Cleveland Foundation (TCF).¹⁰ Since these two cities have had divergent experiences with immigration, they provide an important comparison for understanding the APA nonprofit sector. Since the 1965 Immigration Act, which eliminated racial quotas on immigration from Asia, the San Francisco Bay Area has become increasingly immigrant in population composition. On the other hand, Cleveland's racial demographics have remained firmly Black and White in the last three decades. While Cleveland provides a needed baseline, the Bay Area provides an excellent case study for the APA nonprofit sector.

My interviews sought to investigate two main empirical questions about the APA nonprofit sector. What effect has the national discourse about race had on local grantmaking culture and practices, especially in the face of divergent political and demographic changes at the local level? More specifically on APAs, what has been the history of U.S. philanthropy for the APA nonprofit sector, and how has the nonprofit sector defined APAs? To ensure fuller disclosure and to comply with the University of California's human subject protocols, I conducted these interviews under conditions of personal anonymity and when necessary, also organizational anonymity. The interview excerpts used below are thus only generally, not personally, attributed.

In addition, I conducted a content and discourse analysis of the national magazine of the foundation field, *Foundation News*, from 1960 to 1990 to identify the distinct flavor of professional philanthropic policies on race and ethnicity.¹¹ The independent contribution that foundations have made to the nonprofit sector has resulted from their relative autonomy from the public sector. As an institutionalized field, philanthropic foundations have had a professional dialogue on race and ethnicity, distinct from federal debates. Appropriately, the research for this paper included a study of the history of race and ethnicity concerns in the foundation field, as represented by the field's national magazine.

The five major findings below rest on analysis of the following specific data. Finding #1 relies on all of the interview data from both San Francisco and Cleveland. Finding #2 and Finding #3 rely primarily on San Francisco interview data. Finding #4 relies on the *Foundation News* data. Finding #5 relies on the San Francisco interview data.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following research provides evidence that professionalism is in conflict with an emerging Asian Pacific American identity. Professional knowledge about racial minorities and general concerns about race have traveled along national networks, from which APAs are relatively isolated. Foundation trustees rely on a community vision of ethnic pluralism at variance with APA nonprofit staff's reliance on a community vision of multiracial pluralism. Only the presence of Program Officers, who adhere to an assimilatory notion of community and have nonprofit experience, bridges the social needs and civic participation definitions of APAs. In their absence, foundations may define APAs as a nonsense group of non-Blacks, i.e. within the vision of ethnic pluralism. Even in a situation where foundation Program Officers have shifted from managing identity politics to doing identity politics themselves, nonprofit staff felt that panethnicity has been misunderstood and neglected in favor of a particular focus on diversity and that definition of racial diversity appears to gloss over the actual effort necessary for pan-Asian collaborations. Professional recognition of identity politics thus remains potentially in conflict with emergent APA panethnicity

FINDING 1: In contrast with Black and Latino nonprofit organizations, the APA nonprofit sector has a uniquely local character that is related to its relative isolation from electoral politics and national foundation attention.

Although panethnic formations in politics and culture are common to both San Francisco and Cleveland, telling differences lie in the contrast between Cleveland's Black nonprofit sector and the Bay Area's Asian Pacific American nonprofit sector. The uniqueness of the San Francisco's APA nonprofit sector comes from two factors: (1) the organizations were founded locally, and (2) the organizations began with the mission to serve the APA community.

Unlike the Bay Area, Cleveland does not appear to have a racially-defined local nonprofit sector. The Black organizations that survived the 1960s and 1970s were primarily local chapters of national federations, such as the NAACP and the Urban League, rather than local innovations. Instead of a plethora of Black-initiated organizations, when Cleveland residents speak of the "Black nonprofit sector," they are generally speaking of either (1) local chapters of national Black-specific organizations or (2) non-Black-specific organizations originally designed for White ethnics, which have experienced recent leadership transitions to African American directors as they have retooled themselves for increasing numbers of African American clients.

Asian Pacific American organizations in San Francisco are not as nationally and politically connected as Black and Latino organizations. In terms of funding, most of the existing APA nonprofit organizations were latecomers to War on Poverty money, and the older organizations were shut out of consideration by a discourse of Asian undeservedness. According to one interview subject, the

federal Office of Economic Opportunity debated in the 1960s the question of whether Chinatown was a ghetto. In that debate, liberal proponents of expanded programs for African Americans promoted the exclusion of APA ghettos based on stereotypes. It would take the interview subject's subsequent research into Chinese urban problems to put sweatshops and youth gangs into San Francisco discourse about urban policies. Consequently, as APA organizations matured, they faced ostensibly "minority" social policy grounded in the Black experience and framed within a national orientation, both inappropriate for their concerns articulated within a local orientation.¹²

TABLE 1. "Ethnic" Nonprofit Sector in Greater Cleveland and the San Francisco Bay Area

	Cleveland Black Nonprofits	S.F. Asian Nonprofits
<i>Character of Surviving Group-Specific Organizations</i>	Advocacy Chapters of National Organizations	Locally Founded Social Service and Advocacy Agencies
<i>Examples of Group-Specific Organizations</i>	NAACP Urban League	Asian Health Services, East Bay Local Development Corp., East Bay Asian Youth Center, Asian Law Caucus, Chinese for Affirmative Action

I delineate the differences in what is meant by an "ethnic" nonprofit sector in the Greater Cleveland Area versus the San Francisco Bay Area by examining typical nonprofit organizations in the two geographic areas. In Cleveland nonprofits tended to be founded with the mission to serve white ethnics, and as demographics changed over time, have become not group-specific in providing services. In San Francisco, specifically looking at Asian American nonprofits, the organizations tended to originate to and continue to serve APA ethnic and panethnic groups. Further, while the leadership history of APA nonprofits in San Francisco has consisted largely of APA from the start, in Cleveland, nonprofits have seen a shift of leadership from White to increasingly Black. These characteristics reflect differences not only between demographic histories but also between how each city experienced the local political and social movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

According to a TCF staff person, "this [regional] community has been better than most in absorbing [or alternatively not marginalizing] militants." This statement exemplifies an often provided reason for the non-racially defined nature of the Cleveland nonprofit sector. Read another way, the local business sector took an active interest in co-opting or substantively responding to early movement demands. Furthermore, the early appearance of a Black mayor in the 1960s and the subsequent appearance of a Black-led political machine in the 1970s did not provide a political context against which local Black leadership might have consolidated to invest in local nonprofit organizations with the explicit mission to serve African Americans (Chatterjee 1975). By contrast, in San Francisco APA activism during the 1970s did not focus on voting rights or electoral campaigns.

APAs remained largely outside of city politics until the 1990s, and were not discouraged from building separate institutions by recruitment into political coalitions with local White liberals.

My interview subjects in the Bay Area agreed that Black and APA political involvement in the ethnic power movements was indeed different and had different consequences.¹³ Speaking of the generation of activists of color in the 1970s, one agency director explained the different orientation of Blacks and APAs:

The legacy of the Civil Rights Movement is that Blacks are heavily in civil service, politics, and pure numbers... Asians have not been defined by voting rights the way Blacks have been. There was a generation of [activists of color] on the heels of civil rights and anti-war movements, and Asians focused on access to services, on creating programs for the community; the response was on capacity building[, instead of political power].

Discussing Latino, African American, and Asian Pacific American community organizations in the Bay Area, another agency director reported that:

Latinos are very strong in San Francisco and Oakland both. African Americans, however, don't have very strong community-based organizations but they're much more in city politics whereas the larger part of Asian leadership has stayed in the nonprofits. In city politics, it's Blacks, then Latinos, and then Asians.

Besides the "diversion" of Black leadership into electoral politics, another political factor discouraged African Americans from separate organizational consolidation. In the 1960s and early 1970s, existing urban regimes sought to incorporate increasingly active urban Blacks by using federal programs to attract Black electoral support (Mollenkopf 1983). Rather than share the local resources that voting organizations distributed to their core members, political entrepreneurs channeled War on Poverty moneys to new and growing government agencies and nonprofit organizations that helped social services clients who were disproportionately African American. While this context discouraged African Americans from building separate organizations from scratch, its exclusion of APAs encouraged them to do exactly the opposite. Left to their own devices, Asian Pacific Americans did not abandon the idea of separate institutions, as most African Americans did in their efforts to integrate—notwithstanding the more notable, albeit small, efforts of nationalist and socialist militants.

The unique localism of APA nonprofits has implications for important studies of the racial-ethnic nonprofit sector that exclusively focus on national organizations (Minkoff 1995). Furthermore, it is not surprising that the foundation field itself has not recognized the alternative model presented by the APA nonprofit sector. Rather than Asian-specific, often panethnic, efforts at both client services and leadership development, foundations instead looked for APA versions of the Black sector, i.e., (1) mainstream organizations including APA primarily as clients, or (2) the generally ethnic-specific refugee mutual aid associations once also

employed by white ethnic groups. The next finding underscores this lack of understanding.

FINDING 2: Trustees view their work through the lens of addressing professionally quantifiable social needs while APA nonprofit staff view their work through social needs and the additional lens of identity politics.

Foundation Trustees saw quantifiable Black/White inequalities, such as differential infant mortality rates, as obvious social concerns. Simultaneously they took APA entrepreneurship as evidence that APAs had no significant social needs. On the other hand, APA nonprofit grantees viewed issues like bilingualism and culture shock daily, and found that APA entrepreneurs held perspectives and interests dissimilar and even contrary to Grantees' motivations and perceptions of social needs. An example of this misfit emerged in the contrast between a Trustee's and a Grantseeker's understandings of public health issues. The Trustee glossed over organizational issues for comparisons of infant mortality rates (IMRs) across different ethnic neighborhoods, while the Grantee argued that other measures such as the percent of population with limited English proficiency were a better indicator of APA health needs.

Trustees: Professionalism Alone at the Pinnacle

Trustees defined APAs primarily through two frameworks. The first was a community needs assessment for the entire region without *explicit* regard to group specific problems. However, the above public health example suggests that the community of need was *implicitly* African American and that foundations would assess other minorities for problems already apparent among Blacks. The second framework was a focus on immigrants and their possible needs, in particular, concerning rates of entrepreneurship. Business proliferation was an indicator of the discipline necessary to adapt and survive in U.S. society. Taken together, Trustees focused on social problems and split them between native minority deficiencies (the disadvantaged) and immigrant adaptation (newcomers). In other words, they relied on a community vision of ethnic pluralism.

Most Trustees appeared not to know details about the APA nonprofit sector. More precisely, they were not oriented toward APA Grantee organizations as much as they were toward non-ethnically defined social needs. There have been many debates about the validity, capacity, and internal structure of panethnicity in academic, nonprofit, religious, government, and economic APA circles. Still, Trustees did not voice knowledge of such complexities and focused instead on social needs, independent of the existing structures that attempt to meet those needs.

When asked about the foundation's racial and ethnic priorities, one Trustee answered that the foundation was in the business of scanning the region for social needs not organizational needs: "We make no distinctions in grantmaking on race and ethnicity...we prioritize education most, then community health, and

finally social services. The main objective is to improve the quality of life in the Bay Area, whoever's in that geography."

Furthermore, the Trustees generally constructed APA nonprofit issues in a conceptual framework that linked them to immigrants and small business development. Asked about the foundation's major racial and ethnic priorities, one Trustee answered in part by referring to an area of San Francisco which has sometimes been nicknamed "the new Chinatown" for its plethora of Asian restaurants, groceries, and other ethnic small businesses:

They're very successful and hardworking, the Chinese. Now, I wouldn't say they're like the Japanese who work 25 out of 24 hours (laughs). Their neighborhoods were stable and looked industrious. [Q: This was in the early 1980s?] Not just in the early 1980s but before then. Out in the Richmond, it seemed that the Asians were new arrivals yet seemed to speak better English than those in Chinatown. They were more industrious than some of the other minorities. The troubles that all philanthropy in San Francisco and Alameda County faced was that Asians were replacing Blacks who were making little effort. Thus those organizations trying to train Blacks got a disproportionate amount of the dollars from us.

Without prompting, most Trustees discussed racial and ethnic issues by conflating or confusing the APA nonprofit sector with heavily APA neighborhoods, the APA small business sector, or San Francisco's Chinatown. Ultimately, they believed that Asian immigrants were self-sufficient because of visible entrepreneurship.

Grantees: Identity Politics in the Trenches

Whereas Trustees were not concerned about the details of the APA nonprofit sector beyond their work to address quantifiable social needs, for APA Grantees, these needs were primarily informed by panethnicity. Grantee organizations started with social movement agendas for "people's power" in the 1970s and defined APAs through a framework of panethnic participation in social transformations. Their motivation came not only from addressing societal dysfunctions or immigrant adaptation but also from brokering pan-APA inclusion in the broader society. In other words, they relied on a community vision of multiracial pluralism.

Demographic change has been the broadest challenge facing the APA nonprofit sector since the 1980s. Every Grantee staff reported being overwhelmed by extreme growth in the immigrant population. Vast immigration from Asia and the Pacific occurred at a time when funding for social services seemed either to shrink or was flat. Nonetheless, the organizations expanded their APA client base from Cantonese Chinese, Japanese, and/or Filipinos to many other Asian ethnics. The organizations experienced this expansion as an increase in *Asian Pacific American community need*, rather than simply an increasing refugee presence. A typical Grantee description of organizational history during the 1980s follows: "22 years ago, [we] primarily served Chinese immigrants (Cantonese speakers

specifically) from South China and Hong Kong. Now, we also serve refugee populations with 12+ different languages or dialects; the Chinese portion is now only 30 percent." Unlike the Trustees, the Grantees, in both social services and community development, did not experience the new immigration as merely an increase in "diversity" with newcomers simply helping themselves, but as a rapidly ballooning group responsibility for already existing APA nonprofits.

I found similar evidence with both housing and economic development organizations. In addition to pressures of client volume created by new immigration, their neighborhoods of operation experienced related shifts, either as (1) APAs moved out and other people of color moved in or (2) as APA newcomers began settling into other neighborhoods that were predominantly of other people of color. Whatever their respective options, these organizations chose to broaden their clientele not only ethnically among APAs but also racially to include other low income community members. A grantee organization director described their change in mission:

Seven years ago, we did a strategic plan and consciously decided to broaden to low-income people in the East Bay. Consequently, the staff is also fairly diverse, especially the property management staff. We decided to go beyond Chinatown and follow the Southeast Asian refugee community to West Oakland and East Oakland because people were moving out there since there was no vacant housing in Chinatown anymore.

Finally, unlike Trustees, Grantees did not presume either a natural affiliation between small business proliferation and nonprofit stability, or a necessary correlation between immigrant business successes and APA community well being. In fact, they concluded that entrepreneurs held attitudes that did not naturally coincide with the Grantees' nonprofit work. Grantees believed that APA businesses were most likely to support ethnic-specific nonprofits, not the pan-APA "flagships" of the group's nonprofit sector and that immigrant entrepreneurs often did not understand the necessary scope of social services. Discussing the prospects for fundraising from ethnic businesses, one Grantee observed:

Some ethnic-based nonprofits may be able to get money from small business communities, but I don't see that base for Cambodian or Vietnamese organizations here...And if you're "Asian" then you don't have that business base at all. Especially if you're "mental health" or "substance abuse"...[F]or "elderly" sure, especially if you have an ethnic designation. Partly it's a generational thing; by the second or third, "Asian" means something but in the first [generation], it's just a concept.

Rather than emerging from an immigrant cultural and business context, these APA nonprofits emerged from a general, social advocacy context. While they addressed social problems, including those of immigrants, they did so in ways unthinkable for most of the first generation of APAs who proliferated the APA small business sector. That is, they did it panethnically, within coalitions with non-APAs and in nontraditional fields like mental health.¹⁴

At the heart of the differences between Trustees and Grantees was the relationship between entrepreneurship and nonprofit work. Trustees viewed APA small businesses as evidence of general group successfulness and grounds for prioritizing APAs below other minorities. Grantees viewed APA small business more ambivalently because that sector looked askance at supporting the full range of services and advocacy work performed by the APA nonprofit infrastructure. The immigrant cultural milieu that drove entrepreneurship was quite removed from the panethnic social justice milieu which drove Asian nonprofit work. I suggest that Trustees saw minority concerns through a Black-centered lens that associated low levels of entrepreneurship with high levels of group need. Through this lens, Trustees defined Asians as having lower levels of need and glossed the actual tensions between entrepreneurship and the civic impulses to address group needs. It was primarily the Grantees who observed the difficulty in expecting immigrant businessmen to support panethnic social efforts by second and later generation APAs.

FINDING 3: The personal background of Trustees removes them from practical understandings of the visions of the nonprofit leaders, but Program Officers with nonprofit experience are able to bridge the two distinct views of community.

Between Trustee visions of ethnic pluralism and Grantee visions of multiracial pluralism, Program Officers operated from a vision of assimilatory community, specifically assimilatory pluralism. They managed a presentation of their organizations as equitable, accessible, and diverse, and bridged the “problems” vs. “movements” differences between Trustees and Grantees.¹⁵ Their past experiences in and current work with APA nonprofits enabled their incorporation of panethnicity into the *practice* of community foundation grantmaking. However, their positions as grantmakers made them wary of making panethnicity an explicit part of the professional knowledge of foundations themselves. As one Program Officer explained, “you have to be careful in community foundations not to make priorities for a particular group, or you’ll be caught opening the floodgates for every group to demand foundation priorities.” Instead, she preferred a policy of explicit accessibility.

In both The San Francisco Foundation and The Cleveland Foundation, Trustees came from similar social backgrounds that insulated them from practical experience in nonprofit work. White Trustees in both organizations had largely corporate backgrounds, albeit combined with experience on the board of the local United Way or other mainstream institutions. In both organizations, Trustees of color had largely risen through human services fields to top executive and administrative positions. In this regard, the Black Trustees were very similar to

their Program Officers. White, especially White male, Trustees were usually 10 years older than their fellow Trustees of color who were not much older than the Program Officers of all races.

TABLE 2. Race & Gender of The San Francisco Foundation Trustees

	1960	1970	1980	1990	1995
Pct. People of Color	0%	0%	14%	29%	33%
<i>White males</i>	4	5	4	3	3
<i>White females</i>	3	1	2	2	3
<i>Men of color</i>	0	0	1	1	2
<i>Women of color</i>	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	7	6	7	7	9

TABLE 3. Race & Gender of The Cleveland Foundation Trustees

	1960	1970	1980	1990	1995
Pct. People of Color	0%	7%	18%	18%	27%
<i>White males</i>	4	12	8	7	7
<i>White females</i>	1	1	1	2	1
<i>Men of color</i>	0	1	1	1	0
<i>Women of color</i>	0	0	1	1	3
TOTAL	5	14	11	11	11

Despite the fact that SFF Grantees and SFF Trustees did not appear to live in the same social world, Grantee reported positive experiences with The San Francisco Foundation. More than a few praised the SFF as the leading philanthropy that gave them their initial seed money or has supported them consistently throughout the history of their organization. The explanation probably lies in the fact that SFF Trustees did not need to understand the particular motivations, values, or goals of APA Grantees, as long as Grantees perceived the SFF as equitable, accessible, and diverse. Some Grantees are quite aware of this state of affairs. Speaking of the Foundation, one Grantee observed, "they want to be fair and equitable across the communities, not tackle racism or classism...I don't think they really understand those issues, no, I shouldn't say that. Let's say, they won't take on charged issues. They don't have conscious racial and ethnic strategies, just try to be equitable."

The Program Officers played the very important role in making the SFF live up to its image as diverse, equitable, and accessible. Furthermore, they bridged the professional and identity definitions of APAs—albeit somewhat accidentally, as the reader will see below.¹⁶ The Program Officers' knowledge of the APA nonprofit sector was certainly more extensive than that of the Trustees. In fact, they expressed concern about the strengths and weaknesses of APA nonprofits in the various fields and made informed speculations about their relative success and failure. Whereas non-APA officers were comfortable discussing the APA agencies falling within their professional field, APA Program Officers

distinguished themselves by their apparent knowledge of a broad range of APA nonprofits that were outside their professional fields.¹⁷

However, the source of their knowledge was not cultural but rather personal and related to the historical availability of such personal experience. There were some important differences between the earlier and more recent officers. Asked about the APA nonprofit sector, a past APA Program Officer reported:

They weren't so sophisticated at the start and there was long term [organizational] development that I could put in to them...But these guys were sharp, and you could tell. I'm not for being Asian, an advocate for only Asians, though. I'm an advocate for anyone...I never considered myself an Asian advocate, an Asian groupie. My first work was with Mexican[s]...and my second was with African American[s].

Up to the early 1980s, a Program Officer—whether APA or not—might not have had experience in the Asian Pacific American community, partly because before that time, the community had a primarily voluntary sector and not a mature nonprofit sector. In later years, an APA officer at SFF could have such experience, not only because the sector had grown in the interim, but also because the foundation was no longer hiring officers in their early 30s but instead in their early 40s. An intentional shift in the organization's designated recruitment pool coincided with the availability of APA community-based organization experience, such that the foundation could hire APA officers with substantial experience in both APA and non-APA communities.¹⁸ There was nothing “natural” about the Program Officers' expertise which instead came out of their past involvement or direct participation in the Asian Pacific American nonprofit sector—not simply the fact of having Asian ancestry.

FINDING 4: Without the intervention of Program Officers, APA Grantseekers face a professional definition of their communities as a nonsensical grouping of non-Blacks. Only practical experience allows for the recognition of panethnicity as a solution to the racialization process.

Until 1990, the professional knowledge of the foundation field in aggregate also lacked the practical insights of Grantees and Program Officers with experience in the Asian Pacific American nonprofit sector. In their absence, foundations defined APAs through the vision of ethnic pluralism. That is, APAs were marginalized by the implicit equation of minority=Black and considered explicitly only in relation to the process of immigrant adaptation.

To assess the racial discourse of the foundation profession in aggregate, I extracted a 46 article sample of *Foundation News*' commentaries on racial and ethnic issues.¹⁹ I then categorized these articles by the groups they emphasized: Blacks, Native Americans, APAs, Latinos, and a final category for minority articles that emphasized concerns purportedly generalizable beyond any one minority group.

In the early 1960s, the foundation dialogue on race and ethnicity was mainly concerned with ensuring the presence of a "Negro" college-educated elite whose existence refuted biological racism and who would become a stabilizing force in a desegregated population. Only after 1990 did the professional definition of minority issues expand from *Negro uplift* to the discourse of diversity, i.e. facilitating philanthropic relations between affluent 'Asians,' 'Blacks,' 'Hispanics,' 'American Indians' and their respective communities.

My research found that prior to the emergence of the diversity discourse, attention to non-Black groups followed a persistent structure of complementary grouping. Behind the professional arguments about group needs was a particular non-rational hierarchy of "what group or groups best complemented Blacks (or issues important to Blacks) and when?" In the general minority articles, writers included APAs according to a peculiar pattern. Of the 13 general minority articles I studied, Blacks were consistently represented, Latinos were next, White ethnics and Native Americans were third but never together, and APAs were included only if three other groups were also mentioned. From 1960 to 1990, *Foundation News* did not publish any articles that included (1) only APAs and Latinos, (2) only Latinos and Native Americans, or (3) only Blacks and White ethnics. Into this hierarchy of associations, APAs were selectively included (1) as refugees, (2) as Chinatowns, or (3) through a mantra-like listing of ethnic groups, but never as (4) an unambiguously legitimate minority group for foundation attention.

A historical look at the content of the APA-specific articles illuminated another interesting pattern. An early complex definition of APAs as panethnic was reduced to a simple definition of the group as internally diverse. In 1977, the first APA article was penned by APA advocates who asserted two general points: 1) that the contemporary social disadvantages faced by all Asians were not new and had a long history in the U.S., dating back to the 19th century, and 2) that APAs were internally quite diverse, both ethnically and generationally. The article advised foundations to evaluate competing APA grant proposals by looking at the quality and complexity of relations within panethnic efforts between ethnic groups and between generations. This framework was never seen again, and subsequent attention to APAs in the magazine focused instead on Southeast Asian refugees as struggling newcomers helped by mainstream institutions and having no relationship to established APA organizations. If *Foundation News* writers had acknowledged the Southeast Asian refugees as the newest participants in a long history of APA racialization, they would have recognized and maintained the complex definition of APA as panethnic.

Until the 1990's arrival of the diversity discourse, therefore, the foundation field discourse about Asian Pacific Americans was one of selective inclusion. Not all APAs, but only the refugees persisted in receiving the attention of entire articles. In addition, the twin complex themes stated in the 1977 article of APAs historical continuity and complex interrelations between generations and ethnicities never reappeared. In the general minority articles, Asian Pacific Americans received attention, not for group-specific needs, disadvantages, or

roles in American history but only for simple inclusion in existing programs or as sources from which to raise philanthropic dollars.

The only APA theme that stuck was that of internal diversity. That is, the ethnic groups within the APA category were “culturally” different though these differences were never actually articulated. In other words, Asians Pacific Americans as a group does not really exist, but APA ethnic groups *do*, especially those in need of help in adjusting to life in the U.S.

The field dialogue’s omission of the consolidated pan-APA nonprofit field heralded in the first APA-specific article is evidenced by current APA Grantees in the Bay Area, who describe two of their major challenges as serving an increasingly Southeast Asian clientele since the early 1980s and funder non-recognition of the complexity of existing panethnic services and advocacy. In other words, funders failed to recognize panethnicity as a substantial and stable feature of APA nonprofit work. Instead, they tended to highlight the newcomer aspects of APA needs rather than rethink their broader and deeper vision of ethnic pluralism.

I suggest that this tendency is mitigated by the presence of program staff, particularly but not exclusively, APA staff with past experience in the APA nonprofit field. Their expertise weighs against the Trustees’ conflation of the field with APA small business, obvious APA neighborhoods, and San Francisco’s Chinatown. That is, Program Officers’ experiences serves as a counterpoint to Trustees’ vision of professionally attended needs that disregard the motivational infrastructure or identity politics that mediate between grants and clients.²⁰

FINDING #5: Even with the recent introduction of diversity priorities within foundation missions themselves, foundations still do not necessarily comprehend the importance of panethnicity in the APA nonprofit sector.

After 1990, certain foundations began to recognize the value of doing identity politics rather than simply managing them out of necessity. Even for The San Francisco Foundation, which explicitly valued diversity in the 1980s, identity politics expanded the focus of its diversity policy from knowledge-based representation to participatory relationships. However, relationships depended on distinct “parties” that have relations just as diversity depends on “groups” whose distinctions make for heterogeneity. Even where foundations shifted in official policy to a vision of multiracial pluralism, Grantees felt that foundations took panethnicity for granted and did not realize the effort it required. In brief, a philanthropic shift in vision to multiracial pluralism does not necessarily come with a deeper appreciation of panethnicity as more than simple racial solidarity.

Shifts in Professional Understanding of Diversity & Identity Politics

The San Francisco Foundation may now be in the process of changing its orientation toward diversity from managing identity politics to actually doing it. Asked about racial and ethnic priorities at the SFF, a post-1990 Program Officer spoke of a diversity markedly different from that envisioned and enacted by

previous staff. It appears that identity politics has begun to join professionalism within the SFF's organizational mission.

Prior to the arrival of diversity in the foundation field, diversity had already appeared in some form at the SFF, primarily that of managing identity politics. Specifically, in earlier years, the foundation valued diversity internally as an organizational resource, e.g. "Who knows the needs of the diverse communities around us?" However, in the recent formulation, foundation officers make a concerted effort to do identity politics as opposed to merely managing these politics. Diversity is valued not only in terms of how well foundation personnel reflect community demographics but also as an opportunity for internal practice of the external relationships that the foundation seeks to mediate, e.g. "Why do we do what we do within the foundation and how does that relate to what we do outside?" The aforementioned Program Officer distinguished the emerging redefinition of diversity. "It's not just getting people to the table and that's enough. Instead it's the recognition that the SFF is a microcosm of the San Francisco Bay Area and that it takes hard work inside the organization not only to get along but to better relate to our communities."

Ethnic Collaboration: Inter-APA Versus APAs with Others

Even where diversity has become a priority for funders, its precise definition can still prove consequential for APA organizations. In fact, time will tell whether foundation incorporation of diversity will address APA Grantee concerns about how foundations seem to preferred grouping APAs with other minorities as opposed to acknowledging inter-APA collaboration. My research shows that for funders, diverse collaboration tends to mean primarily racial collaboration. However, APA Grantees experienced the new funding priorities as a non-recognition and devaluation of the collaborations they had already chosen to pursue.

Both new and old concerns with diversity have encouraged foundations to think about race in terms beyond Black and White. The SFF was one of the first foundations that required their recipient organizations to complete diversity surveys of their boards, staff, and clients. This requirement encouraged grant recipient organizations to diversify their boards and staff to reflect better their client community. However, the same staff who articulated these new diversity goals admitted that the foundation was still trying to determine how such a mission would actually work in grantmaking practice.

Though the arrival of diversity discourse in the national field has brought APAs and other non-Black minorities onto more equal footing with African Americans in the professional definition of minority concerns, Bay Area APA Grantees have not experienced entirely positive diversity policy. This is so because they experience diversity policy in connection with another policy: the push for community organizations to collaborate. Asian Pacific American Grantees expressed concerns about how foundations seem to have defined "correct" collaborations (APAs with other racial groups) and "incorrect" collaborations (inter-APA).

Asian Pacific American Grantees may view both their ethnic and panethnic missions as undervalued if the new foundation interest in collaborations are defined in crudely racial terms that do not take into account their complex internal diversity, both long-standing and new. First, APA communities already have been collaborating substantially with each other, both within the same agency and between agencies. Secondly, not only did pan-APA organizations feel their collaborations were undervalued, but APA-led, multi-racial organizations also felt that their multi-racial breadth—and not their APA focus—was what facilitated their good relations with funders.

For some time already, APA communities have cooperated with each other across ethnic lines. As evident in this quote from the director of an ethnic nonprofit organization, the impulse to connect with other organizations had not been clearly traditional nor interest-based. According to the director, “The Asian American nonprofit sector benefits from a higher level of informal and formal collaboration which minimize competition with each other. We were able to stabilize our own organization through collaboration in initiatives with larger organizations that didn’t have to extend themselves but did.” These agency-to-agency collaborations have their counterparts within agencies as well. However, funders have not always recognized how important certain projects have been for facilitating panethnic efforts within organizations themselves. One agency director described his frustrations with the effect of fluctuations in the funding levels. According to him, “[foundations] are good at picking up on demographics especially in the Bay Area, but they aren’t good at knowing how agencies are linked to their communities and how delicate those links are. Say, you have half a position for one ethnic group; if a funding crunch happens, there it goes.” Without an understanding of panethnicity, funders might see only a decrease in funding for an organization, where the staff sees the loss of an ethnic group from the panethnic project.

Some Grantees have even experienced the balance of collaboration vs. organization-specific funding to have swung heavily against ethnic-specific organizations. As this quote shows, while this agency director was appreciative of the willingness of other APA partners to include her organization, the funding priorities have obviously been moving against their prospects for separate existence:

The major challenge for us in the last decade [1990s] is maintaining an ethnic-specific organization because the push is toward collaborations, especially from foundations for their money. Almost all of the money [that we get] today is 65-70 percent from collaborations, not just [us] but with other organizations, especially federal funding. By [ourselves, we] only get very small grants.

In sum, panethnic organizations were already doing collaborations with ethnic-specific organizations before collaboration became a philanthropic priority. Grantee organizations that served a pan-APA client base feared that their difficulty at getting grants was the result of a non-recognition by funders of already existing

collaborations between diverse Asian Pacific American communities. The director of an APA nonprofit that served primarily a pan-APA client base, said that, "There's not much money for program development of Asian only organizations." He continued, "One Program Officer—and she was an APA woman—was only interested in supporting us if what we were doing was a springboard with policy implications for everyone, not just Asians." Programs "just" for APAs were simply not enough. Giving the Program Officer the benefit of the doubt, I conclude that her motivation was professional (i.e. 'Asians alone do not fit her organization's diversity priorities') rather than personal antipathy (i.e. 'she did not want to be identified with promoting programs for co-ethnics').

Even APA-led organizations whose clients were multiracial felt this construction of diversity priorities. They feared that their *success* at getting grants was the result of their inclusion of non-APA as clients rather than their meeting the needs of APA communities. One director at an APA Grantee that served many non-APA clients and had incorporated non-APA into its staff did not think that funders were blind to the quality and type of their mission, though he did suspect that the racial breadth of clients was significantly helpful. He noted that, "We've been lucky in that funders like what we do and sometimes foundations come to us because we have a track record. And *being beyond the Asian community helps* [emphasis mine]...versus smaller, less unique groups that are basic services oriented where it's harder to set yourself apart." It would appear that APA organizations without an extra-APA focus faced a stereotype of themselves as overly narrow or perhaps provincial, even if they were panethnic internally or already involved in panethnic efforts.

SUMMARY

The previous sections provide evidence that indeed professionalism exists in tension with an emerging Asian Pacific American identity. This identity is not caste-like as racial identity was for numerous African tribes during the slave trade, but nor is it an easy ethnic option as ethnicity often is for Whites (Waters 1990). Instead, as a community-willed response to external racial ascription, pan-Asianism is constantly emergent. As such, panethnicity has been difficult to grasp for non-participants in the identity politics from which panethnicity emerged. Isolated from electoral politics and national networks, APA nonprofits appear odd to foundation Trustees who may perceive their immigrant services and advocacy aspects, but gloss their generational complexities and potential for broader civic participation. Foundation professionalism (defined as legitimate judgements based in knowledge consolidation) has difficulty grasping "fuzzy" phenomena like panethnicity without actual participation, whether personally experienced or mediated through bridge actors with past involvements. Even then, the danger of conflating panethnicity with race remains. However, the task of bringing professionalism into harmony with identity politics is not impossible but continually pressing.

The implications of my findings are: (1) because of foundation neglect and the fuzzy nature of panethnicity, tensions have increased between the community visions of Grantees and foundations—insofar as they have been Trustee-directed; (2) social policy for APAs continues to marginalize them as non-Blacks or reduce their needs to the “enclave field” of immigrant adaptation; and (3) diversity priorities that incorporate identity politics into foundation work continues the inclusion of APAs along crudely racial lines. If foundations had realized that immigrant acculturation alone would not encompass the civic motivations of a racialized minority group, the tensions between community visions might have been less. If foundations had recognized that APA racialization was distinct from both Black racialization and European immigrant assimilation, social policy might have been more relevant. If foundations had seen in pan-Asianism a model for their new interest in diversity policies, their incorporation of identity politics might not have glossed the efforts required to achieve panethnicity. Indeed the ups and downs of pan-Asianism since the 1960s could have taught important lessons for attempts to implement diversity values within foundations. Panethnicity definitely needs further attention from foundations.

Foundations should consider, therefore, recognizing and promoting panethnicity. That the ethnic background of the U.S. born staff are often different from the ethnicity of the immigrant clients should signal to foundations that APA participation in broader community policy may be racially, as well as ethnically, motivated. Panethnicity serves an institutional entre for APA to broader racial dialogues often dominated by Black-White debates. However, the practice of simply including Asians as a race in diversity policy misses the substantial effort that good panethnicity actually requires. Without an explicit strategy convened by foundations or other invested social institutions, the APA nonprofit sector will remain an unrecognized force, and panethnic institutions will fade when the current leadership cohort retires. The sector is fated to go through a cycle of future reinvention and death, again and again. Any agenda casting panethnicity as “fake” and ethnicity as “real” will reduce APA nonprofits to their role as immigrant social services providers, without an effective voice in racial debates and programs. Although encouraging ethnic self-help is laudable, restricting APA participation to an ethnic-specific basis will cause funders to miss how APA participation is motivated by impulses that are not only inward to help themselves, but also outward to redefine America as a whole. With nonprofit panethnicity, APAs are ready to move beyond ethnic self-help to broader participation in U.S. racial politics.

Endnotes

1. I place “welfare state” in quotation marks because the U.S. has never had a true *welfare state*, a term “which should properly be reserved for those countries which are committed to a policy of full employment and in which the state is responsible for the provision of a comprehensive range of universalistic welfare benefits and services” (Gould 1993,3).

2. Like many theories of “the state” in political sociology, racial formation theory has assumed a state that administers economic surplus through social welfare policies.(Poulantzas 1973; Block 1977; Offe 1984; Esping-Anderson 1990) In fact, the “racial state” in racial formation theory is actually a “welfare state” with race substituted for class on the assumption that in the U.S., race has superseded (or at least paralleled) the role of class in the development of the European state.
3. I use “racial politics” in a theoretically informed manner to mean contestations over the meaning of race and national peoplehood and their associated stakes and consequences, and not in an empirically deducted manner, for example, restricting the use of the term “politics” to elections, appointments, and other formal rituals.
4. In fact, the inventor of the pioneer community foundation was a former attorney to the Rockefellers and designed his invention in part as a regional version of the national foundations.
5. By “determination” I refer to the details of a policy, as abstracted from questions of whether such a policy should or will be implemented, i.e. the scientific aspect as removed from the political question of how a policy might benefit an incumbent or challenger in any election.
6. First advanced in 1986, racial formation theory argues for the central role of politics in the social construction of race and ethnicity. Omi and Winant have advanced a grand unification theory for racial and ethnic sociology, defining decades of scholarship as three broad currents (ethnicity-based theory, class-based theory, and nation-based theory) that converge in their *state and social movements* centered model of race. Racial formation is “the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed.”(Omi and Winant 1994, 55) By defining race as a form of cultural structure, racial formation theory accounted for significant shifts in the meaning of race in terms of the changing policy institutionalization of social movement conflicts with state power.
7. Here I want to bracket discussion of national community and focus on the regional communities to which community foundations are oriented, as an exemplar of the context within which to discuss APAs and the nonprofit sector.
8. In the late 1980s, the NCRP conducted case studies of a sample of six community foundations and intensively assessed their commitment to the disadvantaged.
9. I am using “progressivism” in its 1990s sense, which has a very loose if any lineage from older Progressive movements for the reform of city governments.

10. Interview Subjects by Philanthropic Role and Region

Philanthropic Role	San Francisco Bay Area	Greater Cleveland Area
<i>Grantmaker</i>	6 Trustees and 9 Program Staff (including Directors) of the San Francisco Foundation	3 Trustees and 5 Program Staff (including Directors) of the Cleveland Foundation & the Greater Cleveland Foundation
<i>Grantee</i>	8 Executive Directors and 1 Development Director	6 Executive Directors of
<i>Other</i>	1 Local Expert	6 Local Experts
TOTAL	25 Persons	20 Persons

11. *Foundation News* is the oldest practitioner media about and by the foundation world still in existence, going back to 1960. By contrast, the *Chronicle of Philanthropy* and *Philanthropy Monthly* are both younger publications and not foundation-specific.
12. The Hispanic nonprofit sector provides an interesting contrast. Without the external sponsorship of national foundations such as Ford Foundation, it appears that the Hispanic sector might have remained as locally oriented as the APA sector. "It is instructive to examine how the Ford Foundation became interested in Hispanic issues at a time when most policymakers, philanthropists, and political leaders understood 'minority' to mean black."(Nicolau and Santiestevan 1991) The Ford Foundation's establishment of the Southwest Council of La Raza, later the National Council of La Raza, guaranteed an infrastructure for coordination between regions and advocacy at the federal level. The relative richness of the relationship between the elite foundations and non-APA minority organizations and its influence on the level of field advocacy speaks volumes about the absence of national philanthropy in relation to APA organizations.
13. The interviews began with a structured segment to anchor the conversation to organizational history, and end with an open-ended segment for more personal reflection and biography. In this paper, I focus on only a few of the topics covered, namely the questions on foundation racial and ethnic priorities, Grantee organizational challenges, the extent of contact between foundation and Grantees, Grantee impressions of the foundation, foundation and Grantee observations on the APA nonprofit sector, and the state of racial and ethnic concerns in the Bay Area.
14. The demographic perspective on this point is that all advanced industrial nations have converted familially handled issues into public concerns (e.g. care for the elderly) and that Asian immigrants face challenges to their traditions rooted not in essential East versus West differences but earlier and later positions in social transformations that simply happened earlier in Western nations.
15. "Presentation of organization" here is an organizational translation of Irving Goffman's concept of the "presentation of self" in everyday life.
16. One might argue that the Program Officers would not have had to play such an important role if there was an APA on the Board of Trustees, which between 1960 and 1990, there was not.
17. However, like the Trustees, there was a slight tendency to focus on San Francisco and hence Chinese organizations. Although this focus may be understandable given that the other four counties have their own community foundations albeit much smaller ones, San Francisco's preponderance of Chinese Americans may have hidden the strength of and need for panethnicity in the East Bay.
18. Unknown is whether they would have hired officers with exclusive or near exclusive experience in the APA community, though they were willing to hire an APA with exclusive experience in other communities.
19. To extract the sample, I reviewed every article in its 1960-1971 publication run as the newsletter of the Foundation Center and every table of contents in its 1972-1990 publication run as the magazine of the Council on Foundations.
20. Here is an analogy for the disjuncture between professional and identity definitions of APAs. The affinity groups Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy and Asian Pacific American Community Fund have both produced reports (1992

and 1996 respectively) on the underfunding of APA nonprofits. The professional approach would be to read them solely as documentation on a sample of Asian immigrant social needs. One might even go through the reports, pulling out references to one's favorite ethnic group, such as Korean Americans, or one's field, say, Health. However these reports are not merely an agglomeration of varied ethnic needs that all just happen to be "Asian." Taking the identity perspective, one would recognize that each report is the product of panethnic motivations that should be recognized as achievements in nonprofit collaboration.

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Re-Evaluating the Smoking Habits of Asian Pacific Americans

*Mary Chung**

In an effort to provide more reliable data on Asian Pacific American smoking habits, the National Asian Women's Health Organization commissioned a study that utilized bilingual questionnaires and surveys. The results indicate that Asian Pacific American smoking rates may be much higher than officially reported. Although the study does not provide conclusive evidence that federal health data are misleading, it does call into question the validity of those data and offers a model for how culturally sensitive data-gathering techniques might lead to better data and ultimately more effective public health policies for Asian Pacific Americans.

While the fight against the use of tobacco continues to make national headlines, Asian Pacific Americans (APAs) are conspicuously absent from the public debate. This lack of involvement partly stems from the widespread perception, perhaps misperception, that APAs are not an at-risk population for tobacco-related diseases. Current federal health data collection surveys have reinforced this view; the most recent government statistic indicates APAs have the lowest rate of smoking use among all racial groups at 13.9 percent (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 1994.) However, since government surveys have been conducted in English only, by phone, and with small samples, there exists the strong possibility that government data understates the tobacco health risks posed to many Asian immigrant communities. As a result, critically important public health funding may not reach intervention programs that target APAs.

In order to determine if APAs are a priority population for health monitoring, specifically in the area of tobacco control, the National Asian Women's Health Organization (NAWHO) conducted a national phone survey to measure smoking prevalence among APAs. The survey utilized the same tobacco-use questions employed by the National Health Interview Survey, which has documented that only 13.9 percent of APAs smoke. However, however, modified the survey by translating the questions into two Asian languages—Korean and Vietnamese.

Overall, the NAWHO survey found that smoking is a far more serious problem among APAs than previously reported by government data. The findings indicate

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that at least some APA subgroups are high risk populations for smoking-related diseases. Vietnamese and Korean American men, in particular, smoke at much higher rates than previously reported for APA men by the federal government. Asian Pacific American women in these two ethnic groups face high exposure to secondhand smoke. The findings call into question the aggregate data for APAs used by most public officials and suggest that the federal government should develop new data collection methodologies, which take into consideration the special needs of immigrant groups, such as language.

BACKGROUND

Determining the actual health status of the APA population is difficult for two reasons. First, as a result of the pervasive "model minority" myth that characterizes APAs as prosperous, educated, and healthy, public health officials may overlook the health needs of many APAs. The model minority myth, though, masks the enduring barriers and problems that some APA ethnic groups encounter. For example, although official statistics report that approximately 14 percent of all APAs live in poverty, the poverty rates actually ranges widely among ethnic groups, from 65 percent for Hmong to less than 10 percent for Japanese Americans (Ong 1994). The second challenge is the ethnic and language diversity of APAs living in the United States. This diversity makes it difficult for English-speaking public officials to accurately gauge the health needs of the APA community. Sixty-six percent of Asians were born in foreign countries. Among APA groups, Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian groups have the highest proportion of foreign-born, while the Japanese have the lowest proportion. The APA population comprises at least 24 ethnic groups who speak more than 30 major languages or dialects.

By utilizing professional translators and surveying beyond the English-speaking population, NAWHO was able to reach a broader sample of APAs than previous studies of APA health. Conducting interviews in Asian languages allowed NAWHO researchers to tap into the often overlooked population of APA immigrants who are strongly affected by the smoking culture of their home countries. While smoking rates have fallen in countries like the U.S., Great Britain, and Australia, tobacco use has increased in Asia by 22 percent (Alameda 1993). Here in the United States, tobacco companies continue to target APA communities. A California study found that tobacco billboard advertising was higher in APA neighborhoods than in other ethnic neighborhoods (Willey et al. 1992).

METHODOLOGY

NAWHO developed the survey in collaboration with the American Cancer Society. Kaiser Permanente California Division and the National Home Office of the American Cancer Society funded the study. Key questions about smoking matched those used in the National Health Interview Survey. The survey asked

respondents about their smoking history, their perception of the addictiveness and health risks of smoking, their exposure to secondhand smoke, as well as demographic information. NAWHO commissioned the national marketing research firm of Interviewing Services of America (ISA) to administer and translate the survey into Vietnamese and Korean and to collect and analyze the data. NAWHO singled out Vietnamese and Korean Americans as a representative sample of immigrants and refugees from the most populous Asian ethnic groups. The survey results have a confidence level of 95 percent.

The survey sample included a randomly selected group of 811 APA individuals, ages 18 and older living in the U.S. The ethnic breakdown of the sample was 200 Vietnamese American men, 200 Vietnamese American women, 200 Korean American men, and 211 Korean American women. The subjects were selected randomly based on Asian surnames from the Donnelly DQ2 People Bank, which contains 85 million households with telephones in the U.S. The geographic distribution of respondents closely follows that of the 1990 U.S. Census. That is, most individuals surveyed came from California, New York, Texas, Illinois, and Massachusetts. The average age for both Vietnamese and Korean respondents was 43 years. The annual household income for Vietnamese was \$38,000. Korean respondents had an annual household income of \$46,000.

ISA conducted telephone interviews from December 1997 to January 1998. Professional bilingual interviewers surveyed each respondent in their language of preference—either in their native language or in English. Almost all respondents (99 percent of Vietnamese and 94 percent of Koreans) were born outside the United States, and most requested to be surveyed in their native language (89 percent of Vietnamese and 82 percent of Koreans). The questionnaire was CATI programmed by ISA to enable CRT interviewing, a method in which results are instantaneously recorded in a computer database. This procedure eliminates data entry procedures and accompanying errors, and ensures the confidentiality of all respondents.

Limitations of the Survey

Although NAWHO made every effort to ensure the integrity of the survey, we do not claim the findings represent all APAs or even all Korean and Vietnamese Americans. Interviewing by telephone inevitably excludes households with unlisted phone numbers and those without telephones. Furthermore, the sampling method did not include APAs who did not have Asian surnames. Despite these limitations, the survey results do provide needed insight into the smoking habits of two important subgroups of APAs. This study and other culturally-sensitive studies of APAs will lay the groundwork for more effective tobacco control programs aimed at Asian Pacific Americans.

KEY FINDINGS

Vietnamese and Korean American Men Smoke at Much Higher Rates Than Reported. NAWHO's survey found that some APA men are smoking at high rates

than previously reported. Thirty-four percent of Vietnamese and 31 percent of Korean American men in the survey currently smoke, compared to the 20 percent for APAs reported by the federal government. According to NAWHO's survey, smoking prevalence is even higher among Vietnamese and Korean males even than among White males, who have a reported rate of only 28 percent (*MMWR* 1996). The high rate of smoking among some APA ethnic groups may indicate that tobacco-related diseases and health problems affect more APAs than most mainstream public health officials have previously acknowledged.

Vietnamese and Korean American Women Face Significant Exposure to Secondhand Smoke. Consistent with federal data, the NAWHO's survey found low numbers of APA women smokers. However, the survey found that Vietnamese and Korean American women are receiving exposure to unprecedented amounts of second-hand smoke. Thirty-one percent of Vietnamese and 27 percent of Korean American women are exposed to second-hand smoke at home every day. In addition, among working women, 27 percent of Vietnamese and 41 percent of Korean American women work at places where second-hand smoke is common.

Vietnamese and Korean Americans Smoke Frequently and Often. Not only are there high rates of smoking among the Vietnamese and Korean American population, but those who smoke do so frequently and often. Eighty-two percent of all respondents who smoked, smoke cigarettes daily, as opposed to just "some days." Furthermore, 35 percent of these smokers reported finishing at least one pack of cigarettes a day. In addition, over two-thirds of the smokers surveyed have tried to quit but failed. Nationally, more than 70 percent of smokers want to quit smoking, however only 2.5 percent of all smokers successfully quit each year.

Many Vietnamese and Korean Americans are Unaware of the Dangers of Smoking. Public education programs are not adequately informing these communities about the harmful effects of smoking beyond lung cancer. About one in five Vietnamese and Korean Americans did not know that smoking causes heart disease, bronchitis, emphysema, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and mouth cancer. In addition, 34 percent of Vietnamese Americans surveyed did not know that smoking is addictive.

There are Missed Opportunities for Education APAs about Tobacco Risk. NAWHO's survey found that many primary care physicians do not ask Vietnamese and Korean Americans about smoking habits. Half of the smokers surveyed were *not* asked about their smoking habits during routine physical examinations. Since APAs greatly underutilize preventive clinical health care, every medical visit becomes a valuable opportunity to provide important health information. However, the misperception that APAs do not smoke appears to discourages health care professionals from taking these opportunities to inform APAs.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The NAWHO study demonstrates how a multi-lingual survey instrument provides a different and perhaps, better gauge of the smoking habits of immigrant

populations. Because public health officials use federal data collection mechanisms such as the National Health Interview Surveys to determine the priority populations for public health intervention programs, it is critical that officials improve current survey instruments to accurately measure the diversity of the APA population. In order to reach beyond the English speaking population and to collect data on non-English speakers or limited-English speakers, enhancements should incorporate a multi-lingual methodology similar to that used by NAWHO in its tobacco survey.

NAWHO's survey findings also indicate a critical need for more public education in the APA community. The survey finding that many Vietnamese and Korean Americans receive high exposure to smoke in the workplace, calls for more research to understand where these APA women are working, and how socio-economic conditions contribute to smoke exposure. Many APAs who work in low-wage jobs, such as those in restaurants, gaming houses, or bars, face exposure to unhealthy levels of smoke. Understanding where jobs for APAs are distributed would allow public health officials to target consumer and labor protections against environmental smoke. In addition, if there are a disproportionate number of APAs in jobs with high secondhand smoke exposure, then there must be a more broad-based effort to empower APAs and bring them out of these working conditions.

This survey indicates a need for further research on APA tobacco usage. Researchers should conduct comparative studies of smoking rates across generations that analyze causal differences in immigrant smoking rates versus those for native-born Asian Pacific Americans. Studies have shown that Asian women born in the U.S. are even more likely to smoke than their counterparts born in Asia (Armstrong and Klathsky 1991). Researchers should also study the under-18 APA population to determine teenage smoking rates and how public health official can attract teenagers to tobacco control programs. Additional studies utilizing culturally-sensitive methods, such as non-English speaking surveyors, will undoubtedly produce a wealth of data that will allow public health officials to gain a more accurate picture of the health status of APAs.

Finally, in addition to incorporating multi-lingual design into data collection mechanisms, a basic need exists to make available more ethnic- and gender-specific incidence and mortality data on APA health. Aggregated statistics for APAs currently blanket the extreme difference between APA ethnic groups in much the same way as poverty data has done. The NAWHO survey of Vietnamese and Korean Americans demonstrates the inadequacy of current federal data on the APA population. Pooled health data often creates the perception that APAs are not at risk for health problems. This perception undermines calls by community health leaders for more government funding or for more support of health intervention programs. It also discourages mainstream nonprofit organizations from implementing targeted health promotion programs aimed at Asian Pacific Americans.

CONCLUSION

The inadequacy of federal data is not limited to tobacco control efforts. Such deficiencies occur in statistics for sexually transmitted diseases, heart disease, and mental health. Only recently have some federal agencies taken the steps to provide ethnic-specific information, as with breast and cervical cancer data.

The NAWHO is currently working with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HSS) to begin efforts that will alter the way the government collects data on the APA population. NAWHO is calling for an HSS agency-by-agency review of the type of data each collects on the health status of APAs, such as life expectancy, morbidity, mortality, and health behavior among gender and ethnic subgroups. (This review should identify the existing gaps in data and provide recommendations for closing those gaps by the year 2000.)

As the nation's population becomes rapidly more diverse, so does its health needs. This will require more specific and targeted solutions. As long as public health officials continue to use federal data to determine who will receive these solutions in research, prevention, screening, and treatment, data collection mechanisms must keep pace with these changes. Only then will federal data cease to understate the health status of the Asian Pacific American community.

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Corporate Grantmaking for Asian Pacific American Nonprofits: An Underdeveloped Relationship

Steven Paprocki and Albert Chung

To understand the grantmaking patterns of corporate foundations, the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy conducted a survey of corporate grantmaking to Asian Pacific American organizations. The survey discovered that in almost every funding category, corporate giving to Asian Pacific American nonprofits lagged behind not only funding to mainstream organizations but also to other minority nonprofits. Given the many economic and social problems that affect the community, such as high levels of poverty among Southeast Asians or inadequate funding for bilingual education, the low level of corporate giving to Asian Pacific Americans has important consequences for the community.

Four years ago, the Chief Executive Officer(CEO) of a major American oil company announced a new corporate grantmaking policy—all future grants to nonprofits would have to be justified as to their potential to effect positively the company's bottom line.¹ Since his announcement, the company's corporate giving program has continued its past pattern of awarding absolutely no funds for Asian Pacific Americans.

Last year, the CEO of another American oil company announced a new funding initiative.² The corporation would support racial and ethnic students by annually awarding large grants to the United Negro College Fund, the American Indian College Fund, and the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund. Funding for Asian Pacific American college students are not part of the initiative, because there are no major national, college support organizations for APA students.

These two vignettes exemplify the underdeveloped relationship between corporate funders and the Asian Pacific American (APA) nonprofit community. They also point the way to the essential changes necessary to bring equity into corporate grantmaking for APAs.

In a series of three surveys on corporate grantmaking to racial and ethnic communities, the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP)

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explored the relationship between the APA community and corporate grantmakers over the past seven years. In nearly all respects, corporate funding support for APA causes and charities lags critically behind support for other racial and ethnic nonprofits.

While Asian Pacific Americans account for nearly four percent of the U.S. population, APA organizations receive less than one-half percent of total corporate giving. Moreover, the number of grants and size of those grants are much smaller than those either for the general population or for other racial and ethnic groups. This paper provides a summary of the key NCRP findings and a preliminary attempt to explain the findings. It then lists two recommendations for increasing corporate giving to the APA community.

METHODOLOGY

After review and approval of the project's parameters and research methodology by the project advisory committee, the top ten corporations in each of 15 industries were asked for a list of the company's most recent grants, contributions, and contribution priorities. Each company was also asked to supply additional information about its corporate giving, such as specific contribution programs intended to benefit racial and ethnic communities, affirmative action programs, non-discrimination statements, and projections for future grantmaking. At the same time, NCRP requested from the Internal Revenue Service, copies of the most recent IRS 990 PF tax returns filed by the companies' corporate foundations. When corporate grantmakers rejected or did not answer requests, NCRP sent follow-up requests to corporate CEOs, employee groups, unions, and/or community affairs directors. In all, at least six requests and occasionally, as many as ten requests were sent to each corporation. Ultimately, researchers developed grant list that generally provided adequate grant information (grantee's name, city, and dollar amount) from the IRS or directly from 124 of the 150 corporations.

Of the 200,000 reported corporate grants, researchers excluded 127,500 grants because they were (1) inadequately documented, (2) awarded to organizations outside the U.S., (3) less than \$1,000, (4) awarded to organizations that could not or would not document demographic characteristics of beneficiaries, or (5) given as matching gifts from company employees. More than 112,000 of the excluded grants were in this final category, matching gifts. Researchers reviewed each of the remaining 72,500 grants for several characteristics, primarily race and ethnicity of beneficiaries, race and ethnicity of the primary decision-making body, geographic parameters, type of support, interest area, type of recipient, and location.

Grants awarded that were plainly or possibly intended to benefit racial and ethnic communities were sent back to the corporations with requests for clarifications, changes, additions, or deletions. In all 73 of the 124 surveyed corporations responded. After incorporating the additional data, each grant that was primarily intended to benefit racial and ethnic communities became part of

the final grant database. Researchers then analyzed the grants by several different characteristics and classified them into four primary categories: the donor corporation, the donor's industry, racial and ethnic beneficiaries, and the metro area where the grantee was located.

An "A" through "F" grading system was then employed, comparing the company's total racial and ethnic funding, proportion of overall funding to racial and ethnic communities, and accessibility of grantmaking information to that of other corporations in the survey. Corporations in the top 20 percent of each category received an "A" grade; those in the second highest 20 percentile received a "B" grade, and so forth. An overall corporate grade was determined by averaging the grades for total amount, proportion, and accessibility.

At several points throughout the process, the study leaders briefed the NCRP board of directors and the project advisory committee on progress, and consulted with them on points of terminology. Aggregate data (without individual corporate data), report outlines, and design layouts were shared with racial and ethnic leaders who attended workshops given by NCRP leaders and staff at the annual conferences of 24 national racial and ethnic organizations. Prior to final publication, each corporation will receive a copy of their giving profile, as it will appear in the upcoming book, *What Color Is Your Proposal? A Survey of Corporate Grantmaking for Racial/Ethnic Communities*.

KEY NCRP SURVEY FINDINGS

NCRP examined the racial and ethnic grantmaking patterns of 124 companies in 15 industries.³ Of the \$1.3 billion awarded by these companies overall, \$179.5 million, or 14 percent, was primarily to benefit African Americans, Asian Pacific Americans, Hispanics/Latinos and Native Americans. Researchers were able to review 72,510 corporate grants, of which 10,905 (15 percent) were intended for the four racial and ethnic communities. APAs received 404 grants totaling \$4,972,033, or 2.7 percent of the racial and ethnic funding and 0.38 percent of the overall corporate funding. The following findings are organized around who gave, who received, for what, where, and how much.

WHO GAVE: Top Ten Donors Awarded 68 percent of APA Funding

The top three donors included two insurance companies, AIG/Starr Foundation (\$1,571,410, 18 grants) and Saint Paul Companies (\$510,700, 22 grants) and one bank, Bank of America (\$205,500, 18 grants). Nineteen of the 27 surveyed companies in the insurance, banking and food service industries awarded 60 percent of the funding primarily intended to benefit Asian Pacific Americans. Of the 124 surveyed companies, only 69 companies, or 56 percent, awarded funding for APAs. Fifty-five companies in the survey, or 44 percent, did not contribute for any APA causes or to any APA organizations.

TABLE 1. Top 10 Corporate Donors to APA Nonprofits

Company	Amount	Grants
AIG/Starr Foundation	\$1,571,410	18
St. Paul Companies	510,700	22
Bank of America	205,500	18
Gannett	184,400	47
Chevron	183,211	15
JP Morgan	181,000	8
General Mills	168,500	9
Hitachi	139,950	8
Dayton Hudson	124,000	20
Pillsbury Corporation	110,000	5

WHO RECEIVED: Four Mainstream Museums & a Hospital Awarded 24 percent of APA Funding

Two hundred and eighty-two organizations received grants primarily to benefit the APA community. However, APAs did not control all of these organizations. Indeed, the top four recipients, measured by total grant dollars, were hospitals or arts institutions that are controlled by, and generally cater to the mainstream population. The four organizations were the Asia Society (\$395,000, 8 grants), Boston Museum of Fine Arts (\$300,000, 1 grant), New York Downtown Hospital (\$252,000, 7 grants), and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (\$250,000, 1 grant).

The APA-controlled organizations securing the most funding were the China Institute in America (\$200,000, 2 grants), the Japan Society (\$197,000, 4 grants) and the United Cambodian Association of Minnesota (\$161,000, 4 grants). Twenty-eight national APA organizations received funding, led by the Asian American Journalists Association, (\$53,005, 5 grants), the National Association of Japan-American Societies (\$37,756, 4 grants), and the Hmong National Organization (\$30,000, 2 grants). Overall, organizations controlled by APAs garnered \$2.6 million of the funding for APAs. The remaining 46 percent went to mainstream institutions for projects that mainly benefited APA communities.

Organizations that aided APAs without differentiating between Asian national and ethnic groups (known as *Asian Pacific Americans/General* in the survey) received about one-third of all corporate giving for APAs (\$1,689,752, 134 grants). The surveyed companies also awarded grants to organizations devoted to specific national and regional groups of Asian Pacific Americans, including Chinese Americans (\$738,000, 59 grants), Japanese Americans (\$655,206, 36 grants), Hawaiian Islanders (\$480,740, 80 grants), Southeast Asian Americans (\$334,000, 22 grants) and Hmong Americans (\$236,000, 18 grants).

FOR WHAT: First Arts, then Education

Although overall racial and ethnic corporate funding favored education, corporate giving for APAs singled out arts and cultural groups. Corporate grantmakers awarded 48 percent of their total racial and ethnic funding to education projects, including 26 percent for higher education.⁴ In sharp contrast, only 21 percent of corporate giving to APA funding went to education projects, including three percent for higher education and five percent for primary secondary education. On the other hand, funders allocated 41 percent of their dollars for APAs towards arts & cultural activities, especially historical and cultural preservation. Education programs received the next highest amount (21 percent), followed by human services (15 percent), public benefit activities (13 percent), and health (10 percent).

TABLE 2. Corporate Funding to Racial and Ethnic Nonprofits by Program

	All Racial/Ethnic Groups		Asian Pacific Americans	
	Amount	Pct.	Amount	Pct.
TOTAL	\$179,526,598	100	\$4,972,033	100
<i>Arts & Culture</i>	11,343,095	6	2,023,817	41
<i>Education</i>	85,630,406	48	1,018,790	21
<i>Health</i>	15,380,541	9	517,540	10
<i>Human Services</i>	36,327,260	20	724,621	15
<i>Public Benefit</i>	30,465,785	1	627,765	13

The survey found no corporate support for APA communities in several areas: sports programs, such as baseball, camping, football and soccer; recreation and education programs for girls; youth organizations; youth employment; and youth violence prevention programs. Other overlooked areas included adoption and foster care programs; crime prevention programs; mental health; rape and crisis intervention services; community clinics; pediatrics, pre-natal health programs; consumer education programs, home maintenance and repair; public policy research; leadership training and development; literacy efforts; and education programs in the fields of math, science, engineering, technology, the environment, law, medicine and teaching.

Although APA programs for the aging and elderly received some funding from corporations, funding levels fell below average levels for all minority groups (0.17 percent for APA and 0.3 percent for all racial and ethnic nonprofits). APA children and youth projects received a little more than half the share for other racial and ethnic communities (13 percent for APAs and 19 percent for all racial and ethnic groups).

WHERE: New York, Minneapolis & San Francisco Areas Awarded 68 percent of APA Funding

Funding for APA communities was concentrated in three metropolitan areas: New York, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and the San Francisco Bay Area. Organizations

in these three areas received 68 percent, or \$3.38 million, of all the corporate funding awarded for Asian Pacific Americans. Other major APA funding areas included Boston, Chicago, Honolulu, Houston, Los Angeles, Orange County/Anaheim and Washington, D.C.

TABLE 3. Corporate Funding to APAs by Location

Location	Pct. of Funding
New York City	33.6
California	24.6
Midwest and Plains States	20.8
Hawaii and Other Pacific Islands	11.3
New England	7.9
All Other Locations	1.8
National Organizations (any city)	22.3

How Much: Typical APA Grants Were \$5,444 less than the Average Corporate Grant

The average grant for Asian Pacific Americans was \$12,307—almost \$5,000 less than the average grant size of \$17,751 for all nonprofits. Although only seven percent of the 72,510 grants in the survey of corporate giving to all racial and ethnic organizations was less than \$10,000, two-thirds of the surveyed APA grants were less than \$10,000. Organizations controlled by APAs generally received smaller grants than those not controlled by APAs. Sixteen APA grants equaled or exceeded \$50,000, but just six of these (38 percent) went to groups controlled by APAs. On the other side of the grant range, 266 APA grants were less than \$10,000, and of these, 186 (70 percent) were awarded to APA-controlled nonprofits.

EXPLAINING CORPORATE FUNDING PATTERNS

The inadequacy of funding for APA communities evident in this survey and in similar studies sponsored by advocacy organizations, such as San Francisco's Asian Pacific Community Fund and Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy, reinforces the impression among APA leaders that funders are not knowledgeable about the needs of the APA community, or are reluctant to support these needs, or both. NCRP and APA community leaders will meet with each surveyed corporation to discuss the findings. Until these discussions provide more detailed and substantive explanations, we speculate here about several possible reasons for why corporations are under-funding APA causes and charities.

Model Minority Myth. One plausible reason for the funding patterns observed in the survey is that many grantmakers believe in the "model minority" myth, which holds that APAs are destined to succeed. Like other stereotypes, this one does not hold up under the harsh light of empirical data. The APA community is highly diverse and straddles both the upper and lower ends of the socioeconomic

spectrum. If corporate giving to APAs is to increase, corporate funders must reject the APA stereotypes and become well-informed about some of the harsh realities facing the APA community.

Who-You-Don't Know Factor. The chief executive of an insurance company foundation related to us that he knows only one APA, an actuary for his company. The director of a telecommunications company foundation cannot name a single APA organization in the city of his headquarters. A giving program officer admits that in all her years with the oil company foundation, she has never seen a proposal from any APA group. This lack of an APA connection to mainstream funding sources is another likely explanation for current corporate giving trends.

Corporate conflation or confusion of foreign Asian interests and Asian Pacific American interests. In this survey, several corporate funders combined their lists of grants to Asian-based organizations with those they awarded to American-based APA organizations. When asked about this practice, one (non-grantmaking) corporate official remarked that the demographics for both groups "are essentially the same." The survey clearly indicates that corporate funders often confused groups that promote foreign-Asian concerns with those organizations that aid APAs.⁵

In this regard, historical precedent may have played a factor in this confusion. John D. Rockefeller II, a superstar of corporate philanthropy, had a personal interest in Asian art—not Asian Pacific American art, but art from Asia. His influence created an enormous American market for Asian art that persists today, and his family's support for cultural institutions such as the Asia Society and the China Institute supports the tradition of corporate philanthropy in Asian historical and cultural preservation. The Rockefeller model provides a safe funding paradigm for corporate grantmakers seeking an Asian-related funding framework. Unfortunately, grants to these institutions are only marginally beneficial to APA communities.

Passivity, Location, and Incompatible Goals on the part of APA Nonprofits. Perhaps, the corporations that did not give to the APA community did not receive any requests from APA organizations, or the proposals they received were poorly crafted or ill-conceived. Asian Pacific Americans organizations may not know how to attract the attention of funders, "flying below the funder's radar screen." Moreover, APA nonprofits may lack adequate organizational infrastructure. APA groups may need an umbrella organization, such as New York's Asian American Federation or Asian Pacific Americans in Philanthropy, or a more vocal national organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or the National Council of La Raza.

Location may also inhibit increased funding. Corporations like to give most of their funding to hometown charities. It is possible that there are no APA communities or organizations in the communities of those corporations that have decided not to fund APA nonprofits. Half of these 55 companies, though, are in New York, California, Texas or Illinois, where more than half of the entire U.S. APA population lives. Eighty percent of the non-donor corporations are

headquartered in states with 100,000 or more APA residents. None are in states with less than 50,000 APA citizens.

The primary obstacle to increased corporate giving for APAs may rest with the inability of APA nonprofits to reach out to funders. However, even if the reasons mentioned above were major factors, no one could characterize the surveyed corporations as passive. With revenues in the billions, thousands of employees and worldwide networks of plants and operating stations, these institutions aggressively and successfully pursue and achieve business and other social goals. Outreach to the APA community is surely an achievable goal.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The critical issues facing the Asian Pacific American community, such as abject poverty among Southeast Asian Americans, APA youth-related gang violence, lack of funding for APA college students, attacks on bilingual education, civil rights violations, and increasing anti-Asian violence, require immediate attention. But less visible needs such as services for APA elderly, affordable housing, and assistance to immigrants and refugees are also critically underfunded and have equally serious long-term consequences. As funders and liaisons to the corporate community, corporate grantmakers can play a critical role in bringing these problems to light and harnessing corporate resources to solve them.

Target Corporations Who Chose Not to Give At All

Fifty-five corporations chose not to fund APA programs at all. The corporations that chose not to award any funding to the APA community must begin to investigate the tough issues that confront this complex and expanding and population group, which includes one in every 25 Americans.

A plausible explanation for current levels of funding is that these companies have grantmaking priorities that simply do not include APA causes and charities. They may also have commitments to certain organizations that only serve APAs as part of the general population or not at all. Although the freedom to establish individual funding priorities is a linchpin of American philanthropy, as tax-supported funding pools, all funders are obligated to review the concrete results of their philanthropic endeavors in light of new and emerging community needs. If new community needs arise—as they have within the APA community—corporations, especially those that market to the APA communities, must reconsider their philanthropic priorities.

An argument aimed at the company's bottom line might prove compelling. APAs are the fastest growing consumer group in America with nearly \$100 billion in market power.⁶ According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, APAs also have more personal savings per capita than any major population group in the U.S.

Surveys sponsored by Boston College's Center for Corporate Community Relations have shown repeatedly that consumers favor companies that have good reputations for corporate citizenship and that re-invest in community efforts. Corporations need to consider APA social needs not for fear of organized boycotts, but because their APA customers want them to be responsive to the community's charities and other nonprofits.

Increase Giving Amounts and Target APA-Controlled Organizations

If all of the 124 surveyed corporations awarded grants to APA communities at the same rate as average APA grants, the total amount contributed by all corporations would still total less than \$8,000,000—an amount that represents 0.6 percent of all corporate donations. Although most APA funding went to areas with the highest costs of living, such as New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area, grants for APA communities averaged \$5,400 less than overall corporate grants and \$4,000 less than corporate grants to other racial and ethnic groups. To reach funding equity, therefore, funding to APAs would need to increase by tens of millions to make up for the average shortfalls of \$5,400 and \$4,000.

Many nonprofit leaders believe that organizations governed and managed primarily by APAs are the best and most effective way to empower and strengthen APA communities. However, the average size of corporate grants to APA-controlled organizations (\$9,736) is only one-third the size of gifts to non-APA groups (\$28,131 average) serving the APA community. Without adequate funding, APA communities cannot develop the organizational infrastructure necessary to sustain community self-sufficiency.

Calling attention to current funding patterns may help in this regard. Given the enormous gap between funding for APA cultural preservation and funding for APA youth, health and education programs, corporations seem more interested in the past than the future of APA communities. Perhaps the current trend toward more "visible" grantmaking makes funding for art exhibits and cultural preservation programs a sensible short-term choice for corporate donors. However, the U.S. Bureau of the Census reports the Asian Pacific American community is the fastest growing racial and ethnic population group in the U.S., and within the next 25 years, it will compose 10 percent of the U.S. population. If so, then corporate donors will need to make choices now between short-term visibility and long-term social needs.

CONCLUSION

Giving for all racial and ethnic communities is inadequate, but funding for Asian Pacific Americans is absolutely meager. APA groups receive proportionately less than the APA share of the U.S. population. Considering the severe financial problems facing some APA communities, current corporate funding for these communities will prove seriously insufficient to bring about equity in education and social opportunities. Corporate funders, indeed all grantmakers, must accept the diversity of APAs communities and the diversity of their needs. Simply

supporting a few arts and culture programs is not enough to promote the well being of the all APAs. Only an extraordinary increase in the attention paid to APA problems and only a dramatic increase in corporate funding for Asian Pacific American causes and charities will fulfill the social and moral obligations that corporations have to these communities.

Endnotes

1. Conference on Corporate Grantmaking sponsored by Indiana University/Purdue University and Case Western Reserve, Cleveland, Ohio, May, 1994.
2. Company press conference, New York, New York, 1997.
3. According to statistics from the U.S. Department of Labor, these 15 industries are most financially affected by the four targeted beneficiary groups—African Americans, Asian Pacific Americans, Hispanics/Latinos, and Native Americans.
4. According to both the Conference Board and philanthropy's most esteemed research institute, the Foundation Center; corporate grantmakers award the largest share of their funding—40 percent—for education.
5. Although the survey did not include grants awarded outside the U.S., the Conference Board reports that non-domestic corporate grantmaking is a steadily growing trend among major American business and private grantmakers
6. Edward Lee, "Marketing Campaigns Directed at Asian Americans are Keyed to their Most Important Holiday," *Baltimore Sun*, 9 February 1998, 13C.

Which Path to Political Empowerment?

Sumi Cho*

Prior to the November 1996 presidential election, the Asian Pacific American (APA) political and intellectual leadership spoke out nearly univocally in response to the media frenzy surrounding John Huang, the controversial Democratic party fundraiser accused of campaign finance law violations. In coordinated, October 1996 press conferences, APA leaders in four cities conveyed to the media and Republicans that any attack on John Huang was an attack on APA "political empowerment." But why did Huang emerge as such a rallying point for the APA leadership?

The campaign finance reform controversy placed an ironic spotlight on the APA community and its quest for inclusion in the body politic. What are the important lessons from the past two years of scandal for an APA community that still seeks greater involvement in U.S. political life? There are at least two key lessons: 1) the Democrats were able to easily manipulate some APA political actors for little or nothing in return; and 2) some political insiders may sacrifice broad-based community empowerment in exchange for increased political access for a few. In order to explain these two points, I look back to the controversy's beginnings.

What is most unsettling about the campaign finance affair was *not* the role played by media racism and election-year sensationalism, both of which one has come to expect from 'corporatized' journalism and race-baiting politicians. Rather, I am more disturbed by the success of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in manipulating the APA leadership and the image of APA political empowerment. Specifically, I take issue with the DNC's reckless policy of conflating foreign Asians with APAs in the U.S. as a fundraising strategy that targeted an ascendant, transnational class of Asian who control significant capital. The pernicious effects of such an instrumentalization of conflated identity, which reinforces the 'forever foreign' status of APAs in the U.S., are far more damaging than anything Ross Perot or William Safire could say or write.

To fully understand the DNC's latest foray into the realm of cynical race-gamesmanship, one has to go back more than 10 years to 1985 when Bill Clinton and other moderate Democrats formed the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC). The mission of the DLC was to chart a course that would "lead the Party back to the political mainstream." One first step toward this goal was to eliminate the African American, Latina/o, APA, gay/bi/lesbian and women's caucuses that had

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been recently invigorated by Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. Consistent with DLC objectives, newly elected DNC party chair Paul Kirk denounced the caucuses as "political nonsense" on national television in early 1985. According to a DLC-affiliated think tank, Jackson's Rainbow Coalition was the "purest version of liberal fundamentalism."

Now fast forward to 1992 and recall Clinton's "New Democratic" handling of Jackson and his dramatic (i.e., staged) rebuke of rapper Sistah Souljah. Additionally, do not forget that during his hectic 1992 campaign, Clinton made sure to take time out of his busy schedule to return to Arkansas to oversee the execution of Rickey Ray Rector, a brain-damaged, African American death row inmate. Such gambits may have won Clinton the support of some so-called Reagan Democrats, but downplaying race in the Party's platform did nothing for the Democrats' traditional racial constituencies. Such moves by Clinton to remove race from the Party's platform and outreach plan announced that the New Democratic Party was safe once again for the (white) majority.

But at what cost? When the Republicans took back the House and Senate in 1994, the Democratic leadership was forced to devise a strategy to return to, and shore up support from, its old, racial constituencies. Although the Rainbow Coalition model of the 1980s emphasized grassroots community-based political organizing, the DNC's current, furtive return-to-race strategy limits political access for people of color to political insiders, who are willing to accept the New Democratic visionless, racial politics and are willing to facilitate fundraising and voting from their communities. In the case of "Asians," the DNC's opportunistic, re-racialization strategy in the 1996 elections was designed not to "empower" the APA community, but to cash in on the transnational Asian-ancestry elite.

The new strategy may have worked were it not for the embarrassing revelations about the increasingly creative fundraising tactics of the insiders. As a result of these allegations of illegal campaign fundraising, the New Democrats were forced to explain their racially-defined donation-for-influence scheme. The answer? According to a 19 January 1997, *Boston Globe* article, high non-APA Democratic party officials played an active role in promoting the "community response" to the Huang affair. From this was born the idea for the October 1996 press conferences in which key APA leaders participated.

I believe that friends and colleagues who cooperated in the four-city press conferences did so for largely idealistic, as opposed to opportunistic reasons. But even a generous assessment of their motivation paints an embarrassing picture of those who felt obliged to "prove their loyalty" to the DNC by, at least implicitly, defending high finance politics as trickle-down community empowerment.

Regardless of motivation, the campaign finance affair reveals the ease with which the DNC was able to manipulate effectively and cynically pent-up APA political aspirations and sense of racial vulnerability. In order to prevent such a thorough manipulation in the future, I believe APAs must undertake some soul searching that should involve the following questions:

- Are APAs so driven by feelings of racial insecurity and political vulnerability that they will allow illegal and corrupt practices to occur in the name of “APA political empowerment?”
- Are APAs so starved for political attention and inclusion that they will “toe the line”—regardless of principle—for a piece of the action?
- Have APAs so internalized the stereotype of APAs as a politically conservative “model minority” that they feel compelled to overcompensate and “prove our loyalty” to (neo) liberal organizations, such as the DNC?
- Are APAs willing to sacrifice the interests of the poor, the working class (and perhaps even middle-class), or other disparaged members of the APA community to succor and to support a bourgeois (trans)nationalism? More specifically, if APA insider-fundraisers truly aim to further APA political empowerment, how must they operate within the Democratic Party’s inner sanctum to ensure that a broad base of the community, not just the wealthy, can become meaningfully involved in American political life?
- Are those who participated in the DNC plans to “bundle” foreign corporate donations with contributions from APA citizens justified in charging the media with racism for scrutinizing donors with Asian-sounding names?

APA strategists who originally touted the political empowerment defense of Huang according to the DNC game plan have reversed course since the orchestrated, October 1996 press conferences. Only after Clinton’s failure to deliver the hoped-for Cabinet appointment, his no-show at an important national APA fundraiser shortly thereafter, and the DNC-ordered audit of donations based on Asian surnames, did the Washington D.C.-based APA leadership finally realize that they had been played by the Democrats. The Clinton administration had taken even the APA loyalists too much for granted. The administration and the DNC used APA political muscle to gain access to transnational, Asian elites and then conveniently left them holding the “dirty bag of scandal” once the wrongdoing came to light.

Perhaps the most important lesson from the controversy is that the APA community will not gain by acquiescing in neo-liberalism’s clammy, occasional embrace of race. Restoring the APA community’s faith in the judgment of APA political elites who endorsed and participated in the Democrat’s trickle-down model of political inclusion should depend upon audacious leadership that challenges the DNC’s racial regressivism. APAs should monitor cautiously new organizations that have formed in the wake of the campaign finance and Bill Lann Lee controversies. These groups promote APA political empowerment by using some of the same trickle-down strategies and approaches. APAs must ask which model of empowerment such organizations are pursuing.

Long-time community organizers, like UC Berkeley Professor Ling-Chi Wang who has worked successfully for years to win APAs a greater voice in American

politics, practice a more promising model of APA political empowerment. When Wang learned of the fundraising strategy of conflating Asian and APA elites in October of 1996, he founded Asian Americans for Campaign Finance Reform (AACFR). In addition to lodging a cultural critique of the media, AACFR adopted a platform rejecting big-money politics as practiced by both parties. Such a reform would make possible a more grassroots approach to campaigns, which will benefit the majority of the APA (as well as the non-APA) community.

If there is a silver lining to the Huang-gate cloud for Asian Pacific Americans, it is the realization by APAs that they must participate in campaign finance reform in order to restore a more inclusive democracy in the U.S. While APAs must recognize how racist media representations and political jingoism damage the community, they should not decontextualize and thus implicitly defend the activities of actors like Huang and the DNC. More broadly, the controversy opens up a potentially vibrant discussion within the APA community about exactly what political empowerment means.

Dismissed and Discredited: The Media's Response to Asian American Criticism

Paul Watanabe*

For almost twenty months, commencing in the midst of the 1996 presidential election campaign, members of the nation's news media focused their attention on the Asian American (AA) political fundraising controversy. Reporters and columnists pounded out countless stories, and in the process, the Asian American community received an undeserved pummeling. Demeaning stereotypes, insidious innuendoes, blanket charges, and unconfirmed connections marked much of the media coverage. For many AAs, this coverage generated an unprecedented level of anguish, anger, and activism. Asian American organizations and individuals expressed their concerns and outrage about the media's treatment in numerous press conferences and releases, demonstrations, petitions, commentaries, and forums.

How did members of the news media respond to this activism? Were they generally open and receptive to criticism, or closed and defiant? How does one account for the media's response? I would suggest that some clues to answering these questions can be uncovered by considering the press' behavior in dealing with the dominant preoccupation of early 1998—the Monica Lewinsky affair.

Stories linking President Clinton and the former White House employee jammed newscasts, newspapers, talk shows, and myriad Internet sites, knocking aside the fundraising issue and virtually every other news item in its path. The Pope's historic visit to Cuba and even reports of ever-thickening warclouds over Iraq were no match for the media's preoccupation with the alleged affair. To feed their insatiable appetites, reporters scrounged for morsels of information in every venue, no matter how distant, and from any source, no matter how unreliable.

At the outset of the Lewinsky matter, the news media, partially to cover its own excesses, emphasized the gravity of the situation for the Clinton administration. The President's days seemed numbered. The press began to administer the last rites. Talk of Clinton's possible resignation or impeachment flowed liberally from reporters and analysts.

However, most of the public showed little interest in a presidential lynching. Despite having taken on a tidal wave of negative "revelations," Clinton's ship of state remained afloat. Indeed, what the media described as "the crisis in the White House" rapidly became a crisis for the media. Stories based on sometimes

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shoddy speculations prompted a backlash. The public's mood was to shoot the messenger.

The press' response to the public's reaction was fascinating. Instead of training their sights exclusively on the President, leading members of the fourth estate, within a very short time, began to take potshots at each other. Journalists everywhere agonized over their own behavior. Barely more than a week after the Lewinsky story first appeared, television viewers could not channel-surf fast enough to avoid a panel of eminent journalists denouncing their own profession. Instead of Monica madness, the television program "CNN Live," for example, focused an entire show on what it characterized as "media madness."

In a single day in late January 1998, virtually every major newspaper set aside space for self-criticism. *USA Today* quoted CBS anchorperson Dan Rather as saying, "We're already in trouble with the public. And we ought to be." The *New York Times* carried a story titled, "Some Journalists Have Met the Enemy, and It Is Them." In the article, Marvin Kalb, director of the Shorenstein Center for the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University, stated, "Its [the media's] performance has been dreadful. I think it is perhaps one of the most sorry chapters in American journalism." Walter Isaacson, managing editor of *Time*, added, "It does feel, when you look at this whole scenario, we must have lost our minds. This has gotten a bit out of control."

Many analysts were quick to remind us that this pattern of feeding frenzy, followed by very public displays of guilt and self-consciousness had appeared before, most recently after the death of Princess Diana and after the hounding of Richard Jewell in the wake of the Atlanta Olympics bombing. In a piece in the *Boston Globe*, Marshall Loeb, editor of the *Columbia Journalism Review*, saw a typical pattern in the media's behavior, "Journalists have a habit of being self-congratulatory one day and self-flagellating the next day."

Notably omitted from the list of experiences that triggered self-scrutiny and introspection by the press was the news media's treatment over many months of the Asian American fundraising issue. Media mea culpas did not follow intense and often irresponsible press coverage. The sustained criticism of AAs did not prompt journalists to engage in any self-flagellation. Indeed, the opposite was true. Many media mavens, perhaps believing that the best defense was a strong offense, instead chose to lash out at their critics in the AA community.

In an editorial, the *Washington Post* alleged that Asian American complaints about media coverage were nothing more than a concerted campaign to immunize John Huang from diligent scrutiny "by reason of his ethnic background." In virtually the same breath that the editorial acknowledged that "it is true that there is always the danger of generalizing," it went on to lump together all those calling for fairness and civility as "various friends and backers" of Mr. Huang. The editorial writers claimed that "the idea of 'Asian Bashing' has been floated in his defense."

Other newspapers joined the *Washington Post* in trying to discredit those who dared to criticize press coverage. In a *Washington Times* column titled "Glass Houses" and in a similar piece in the *Wall Street Journal*, the specific

target was the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus Institute (CAPACI), recently renamed the Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies, a leader with other organizations in the fight for a balanced and truly comprehensive examination of political fundraising. Guilt by association was the assumption behind these items. Their "bombshells" were that Charlie Trie, a Clinton friend and supporter, was once appointed to a CAPACI committee (the fact that Trie never served on the committee was omitted) and that he gave the organization some money.

The response by the *National Review* to a torrent of criticism from AAs over its cover depicting the President, Vice President, and First Lady with buck teeth, slanted eyes, and wearing stereotypical Asian garb took several forms. John O'Sullivan, the journal's editor, charged that individuals offended by the cover were part of an "orchestrated campaign by the Ethnic Grievance Industry." O'Sullivan refused to back down and instead, declared that it was not he but his critics who should offer an apology.

How does one explain the sizable contrasts in the reactions from sectors of the news media to criticism of its coverage of the Asian American fundraising and Lewinsky controversies? Why no self-criticism, no soul-searching in the former case? Why, instead, were AAs with legitimate grievances largely ignored? Lastly why, at times, were they assailed rather than assuaged?

One crucial difference in each case was the source of the criticism. The fact that the press' episodes of collective handwringing followed close on the heels of poll data indicating that Americans in record numbers still stood by their man in the White House was not coincidental. After nearly two weeks of sustained pounding in the press, the results of a *Washington Post* poll indicated that, "President Clinton has never been more popular with the American people." His approval rating was 67 percent. The prevailing assumption was that the public had not so much embraced the President as it had reprimanded the press. Thus, the press could not ignore the public's overwhelming support for Clinton. When the dominant society speaks, the press tends to listen.

Asian Americans, on the other hand, despite their unprecedented efforts to be heard and their remarkable unity in insisting on fair treatment, elicited from the press little sympathy or self-scrutiny. The media deemed them a special interest and, in the press' mind, easily delegitimized. Furthermore, many in the news media were unable to shed readily their tendency to view Asians and AA as devious and foreign. Since these images were so much a part of their stories dealing with the fundraising issue, journalists had little difficulty dismissing or discrediting criticism arising from the AA population.

The fate of Asian American efforts in this regard was a familiar one. Non-white groups who have criticized formidable institutions like the mainstream press, in which they hold few positions of power, have encountered enormous obstacles in having their messages heeded. For the news media, to paraphrase George Orwell, all critics are equal but some are more equal than others. The media must attend to the mass public's complaints. Unfair attacks upon the President and the late Princess Diana, therefore, eventually prompted justifiable

outrage and calls both from within and outside of the media for rectification. In contrast, the press in the main appeared to have concluded that to acknowledge properly the constructive criticism of a smaller constituency, Asian Americans, would signal weakness. Marshall Loeb is wrong. How the media responds to criticism from various constituencies is a matter of choice not habit.

Pei-te Lien, *The Political Participation of Asian Americans* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997, 182 pp.)

The publication of this slender volume is an important event. It is important if for no other reason than because it is the first book-length treatment of Asian Pacific American (APA) political behavior. And as a first, it sets a fairly high mark for other works to follow.

Lien seeks to explain a commonly cited fact about APAs and political participation: namely, that APAs do not participate in politics at levels comparable to other racial and ethnic groups in the United States. To be sure, there is a long political history of Asian American activism, such as movements for ethnic studies since the 1960s, redress and reparations for interned Japanese Americans, justice for the killing of Vincent Chin, and organized efforts to defeat Propositions 187 and 209 in California.

But in the electoral arena, the history is less notable. Asian Pacific Americans remain vastly under-represented at both federal and local levels of political office. Furthermore, despite encouraging rates of naturalization, just over 50 percent of APA citizens register to vote. And in the one arena of significant inroads and investments, the recent imbroglio over campaign contributions has made APA citizen participation a cause for suspicion and innuendo rather than celebration and affirmation.

Lien's book steps back from this din and probes for the underlying determinants of participation within the APA community. Lien opens with a methodical enumeration of the key concepts and relevant literature on ethnicity, panethnicity, and political participation. She then takes an honest appraisal of the impediments and caveats to survey research on Asian Americans. Nonetheless, she weighs in favor of using poll data and draws upon two surveys: a 1993 *Los Angeles Times* survey of APAs in Southern California and a 1992 *Los Angeles Times* survey of Korean residents of Los Angeles County.

Admonitions about the generalizeability of Southern California to the U.S. notwithstanding, Lien uses these surveys to examine a spectrum of activity, including voting, contacting government officials, campaign contributions, attending political functions, and volunteering for a political cause. From the 1993 survey, Lien finds that—controlling for socioeconomic status, demographic background, and measures of group consciousness—APAs are consistently less involved in politics than African Americans, Latinos, and white Americans. She also finds that APAs who are older, wealthier, more acculturated, and harbor a greater sense of group deprivation are likelier to vote. Outside of voting, personal experience with discrimination plays the most significant role in determining one's political activism.

When Lien examines the 1992 poll of Koreans in Los Angeles, the cast of explanatory characteristics grows with a chorus of measures of political and cultural socialization taking center stage. Respondents who live in heavily

Korean neighborhoods, intend to repatriate to Korea, and oppose interracial marriages are significantly less likely to vote, while respondents who have lived in the U.S. for a long time and those who exhibit a high degree of "acculturation" (language facility, media exposure, interracial business and social contacts) are significantly more likely to vote.

Lien is eager to claim from her analyses a defining role for group consciousness and APA panethnicity in the sphere of political activity. But some shortcomings in the study stand in the way. Chief among these is the insufficient degree of conceptual differentiation between group *identification*, group *interests* and group *consciousness*. In the analysis of Koreans in Los Angeles, Lien also fails to adequately differentiate between "sub-group" identification, interests, and consciousness. In some cases, what Lien would like to call "group consciousness" or "panethnicity" is simply racial and ethnic self-categorization; in other cases they describe common interests and experiences, rather than the kind of group-defined worldview and social calculus that is implied by the idea of group consciousness.

To a large extent, this conceptual lapse results from the inadequacies of the surveys Lien uses; the *Los Angeles Times* surveys do not permit adequate differentiation between the different dimensions of group interest, identification, and consciousness. The fact that sweeping claims about panethnicity cannot be made from this study, then, is less an indictment of Lien than it is a call for more, better survey data on Asian Pacific Americans.

To conclude her analysis, Lien asks whether the under-participation of APAs matters. To answer this question, she compares the characteristics and viewpoints of active participants against those of less active participants. Consistent with existing research on other racial and ethnic groups, she finds that voters are better off socio-economically and more conservative ideologically than non-voters. However, outside the realm of voting behavior she finds that politically active APAs are more liberal ideologically, more dissatisfied with life, and hold quite a different policy agenda from less active APAs. Across both voting and non-voting realms, Lien finds that politically active APAs are likelier to have personal experience with discrimination than less active APAs.

Hopefully, the significance of Lien's findings will not get lost amid the somewhat prosaic and technically daunting description of statistical methods and tables. These findings illustrate the unmistakable *political* significance of the immigrant experience in the United States. Whether respondents are immersed in U.S. society and whether they are confronted with discrimination tells much about how politically activated they become.

However, one interesting and potentially exciting finding about Asian Pacific American political participation is curiously buried in this book. Lien finds that, contrary to conventional wisdom, socioeconomic status does not play a dominant, overarching role in participation. That is, level of political activity does not rise inexorably with higher socioeconomic status for APAs in the same way that it so strikingly does for blacks and whites. For example, in non-voting measures of activity, APAs with no more than a high school diploma participate at higher rates than any other group in the United States.

This finding suggests several points of departure from Lien's work. First, the structure of participation may differ for Asian Pacific Americans in yet unconsidered way. Second, this difference may be that there is a groundswell of activism within the more disadvantaged quarters of the APA community. Third, by focusing on conventional, institutionalized modes of political activity we may be missing an important, unfolding story outside the mainstream.

Finally, it suggests that we may also miss the point about APA political participation writ large. APAs may not be apathetic or under-participate at all. Instead, they may be selective and strategic in their participation. More precisely, we may be wrongly attributing under-participation in conventional politics to APAs rather than to the institutions of conventional politics themselves. Steven Rosenstone and Mark Hansen make a convincing case that the single most important determinant of political engagement is the strategic mobilization of individuals by candidates, parties, and other political elite (Rosenstone and Hansen. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan, 1993).

If this is the case, the fact that APAs participate less in conventional politics than other racial and ethnic groups may have more to say about the openness of the political process and the stereotypes that entrenched political elites hold than it does about the willingness of APAs to participate. This possibility adds further irony and insight into the sizeable investments that APAs have made in the arena of political contributions. While speculative, the spin is quite different: political elites in the United States graciously (until the recent spectacle around campaign finances) take "Asian" money, but they are more loathe to invite APAs "in the house" as equal shareholders in institutions of political power.

Lien packs this slim volume with careful analysis and novel findings. Taken together, these findings build significantly upon what we already know from existing research, such as Paul Ong and Don Nakanishi's 1996 article "Becoming Citizens, Becoming Voters: The Naturalization and Political Participation of Asian Immigrants" (*The State of Asian Pacific America: Reframing the Immigration Debate*. Los Angeles: LEAP Asian Pacific American Public Policy Institute and the UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1996). *The Political Participation of Asian Americans* places Lien at the vanguard of a new generation of Asian Pacific American political scientists with Claire Kim, Wendy Tam, Fang Wang, Cara Wong, Carolyn Wong and others.

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Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996, 272 pp.)

Immigrant Acts is a difficult book to read. We immediately get a sense of how difficult in the opening lines of the preface: "Understanding Asian immigration to the United States is fundamental to understanding the racialized foundations of both the emergence of the United States as a nation and the development of American capitalism" (ix). The prose in this sentence, as in the rest of the book, is dense, the ideas abstract and convoluted, and the scope ambitious. Figuring out what Lisa Lowe means here can be quite a challenge, though well worth the effort considering what is at stake.

The question she is trying to answer is this. Why bother studying Asian Americans? They are, after all, members of a numerically small minority, even after decades of impressive growth, primarily through immigration. Census projections still report that they make up less than four percent of the U.S. population. Her response: without the Asian immigrant, there would be no American citizen. Without the study of Asian immigrants, in other words, we cannot understand the process of racialization that underlies conceptions of national belonging for the entire U.S. population.

"In the last century and a half," she writes, "the American citizen has been defined over against the Asian immigrant, legally, economically, and culturally. These definitions have cast Asian immigrants both as persons and populations to be integrated into the national political sphere and as the contradictory, confusing, unintelligible elements to be marginalized and returned to their alien origins" (4). According to this passage, the Asian immigrant is always in the process of becoming a citizen without ever quite becoming one and is also, simultaneously, a threat to the very notion of citizenship and all the rights supposedly accruing to the bearer of this honorific. The significance of Asian Americans, thus, far exceeds their actual numbers because, as perennial immigrants defined in this contradictory way, they help define Americans as those who have already gone through the process of assimilation and who must, as a result, act as a gatekeeper against those who might pervert the sanctity of this process.

American citizens occupy a "national political sphere" that Lowe defines as "a terrain introduced by the Statue of Liberty, discovered by the immigrant, dreamed in a common language, and defended in battle by the independent, self-made man. The heroic quest, the triumph over weakness, the promise of salvation, prosperity, and progress: this is the American feeling, the style of life, the ethos and spirit of being" (2). Lowe's sphere is a repository of stories that show American democracy in action, where individuals can escape from the fetters of the past and their affiliation with groups who were differentially treated in the society at large. As citizens, Americans can participate in the smooth running of the nation on an equal footing, safe in the knowledge that government will enforce laws with uniform severity and that political participation is open to

all who care to live up to their duty as voters. If these ideals are not always met, if some people are treated unfairly by the police and judicial system, if the government cannot provide basic services to everyone who needs them, it is the fault of immigrants who cannot understand the high standards of behavior demanded of the citizen, and who seek handouts rather than work. Formal inequalities are never the citizens' fault.

Asian immigrants, on the other hand, tell different stories:

Rather than attesting to the absorption of cultural difference into the universality of the national political sphere as the model minority stereotype would dictate, the Asian immigrant—at odds with the cultural, racial, and linguistic forms of the nation—emerges in a site that defers and displaces the temporality of assimilation. This distance from the national culture constitutes Asian American culture as an alternative formation that produces cultural expressions materially and aesthetically at odds with the resolution of the citizen in the nation. Rather than expressing a failed integration of Asians into the American cultural sphere, this distance preserves Asian American culture as an alternative site where the palimpsest of lost memories is reinvented, histories are fractured and retraced, and the unlike varieties of silence emerge into articulacy. (6)

The remainder of *Immigrant Acts* goes on to show how Asian American culture performs this heavy task, of producing an alternative repository of narratives that do not conform to the main story of assimilation and failure. Lowe deftly demonstrates how texts—like a cultural show sponsored by a multicultural festival in Los Angeles, Carlos Bulosan's *America is in the Heart*, John Okada's *No-No Boy*, Jessica Hagedorn's *Dogeaters*, Fae Myenne Ng's *Bone*, Theresa Hak Kyung Cha's *Dicte*, and the testimony of a San Francisco garment worker deprived of her meager wages by indifferent clothing manufacturers—rub against the grain of America's favorite story about itself.

Immigrant Acts seeks to remind us, through its numerous examples of Asian American culture, that the patriotic stories confronting us every day about what Americans are or should be build upon contradictions that are then projected onto the immigrant. The immigrant thus has the power to recall what has been outcast. Unfortunately, a lot of work still needs to be done to test the intriguing ideas contained in this book. Certainly, while Asian Americans can be disruptive, they can also be establishmentarian, as the examples of Dinesh DSouza, Francis Fukuyama, John Yau, Susan Au Allen and all those Asian Americans who voted for California's Propositions 187 and 209 in the name of enlightened self-interest should remind us. Are these figures not also participants in Asian American culture? How do they fit into Lowe's understanding of the immigrant?

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***Dragon Ladies: Asian American Feminists Breathe Fire* (Boston: South End Press, 1997, 245 pp.), edited by Sonia Shah**

The issues, terms, and ideas raised by the multiplicity of Asian American women's voices in the *Dragon Ladies* is sure to spark a lively discussion, "whether it is to debunk and decry them or to transform them into an agenda for action" (xix), not only between and among the various members of Asian American communities, but also between the members of Asian American communities and the members of non-Asian American communities. *Dragon Ladies: Asian American Feminists Breathe Fire* is an anthology of essays which brings together the diversity of voices within the Asian American feminist community. Throughout the four sections of the book—Strategies and Vision, An Agenda for Social Change, Global Perspectives, and Awakening to Power—the contributing authors argue that the Asian American movement and the white, middle-class feminist movement have failed to incorporate Asian American women's interests into their agendas. Hence, Asian American feminism should not be subsumed under the broader umbrella of Asian American politics or white, middle-class feminism, but seen on its own terms with its own agenda, issues, and interests.

The book delineates an Asian American feminist agenda by giving a voice to many of the issues and interests of Asian American women that were previously silenced not only by the dominant society, but by the various Asian American communities themselves. In *Dragon Ladies*, Asian American feminists outline an agenda addressing two interrelated issues: the issue of basic human dignity and the issues of value, representation, and identity. The issue of basic human dignity is addressed in the discussion of domestic violence and the exploitation of women's labor at home and abroad. By problematizing domestic violence these Asian American feminists rightly challenge the complacent acceptance of, cultural justification for, and denial of domestic violence within the Asian American communities. Asian American women who question "tradition" and seek autonomy and independence, as Shamita Das Dasgupta points out, face resistance from the members of their own communities. "When five of my friends and I founded Manavi, a battered women's organization for South Asian women, and began addressing the issue of domestic violence, we were quickly dubbed homewreckers and dismissed as fanatic feminists (read: Westernized)" (184).

Similar resistance is experienced by Asian American feminists who challenge "normative" heterosexual relationships and the Asian American community's homophobia. For example, the Federation of Indian Associations (FIA) excluded Sakhi for South Asian Women—a social change organization that works with battered South Asian women—the South Asian Lesbian and Gay Association, South Asian AIDS Action, and others, from marching in the 15th Annual India Day Parade in New York City because they did not represent FIA values, "traditional Indian values" (47). What constitutes "traditional" Indian, Pakistani, Thai, Korean, Chinese values, or "traditional," "cultural" gender roles? The tension between

the various Asian American feminist organizations and individuals, and their communities is a very serious battle over values, representation, and identity.

The Asian American feminist authors of *Dragon Ladies* courageously address and bring into question many pressing issues facing contemporary Asian American communities. For example, they problematize the politics of representation and identity, the tension between preserving “traditional culture” and assimilating into “American” culture, the social construction of racial stereotypes, and the myth of “model minority.” However, the book is limited by its failure to problematize an essential category.

While the authors take note of the cultural, ethnic, sexual, and economic diversity within the Asian American community and the anthology has incorporated the voices of various Asian American feminists, they have not self-reflexively analyzed the diversity among Asian American women. For instance, in discussing self-representation in “On Asian America, Feminism, and Agenda-Making,” Helen Zia states, “being able to take control over our own images and create our images and our identity, to represent what we want to represent, and get the role we play and the issues that we are concerned about out there, framed in a way that we want them framed” (70). While I agree that having the power to represent oneself is important, Zia does not address who she means by “our” and “we.” In the context of the article it is clear that the “our” and “we” refer to “Asian American” women. But who is included in the category of “Asian American women or feminists”? Throughout the anthology, “Asian American women” is implicitly assumed to be shared knowledge between and among the authors and the readers. The authors never problematize the category of “Asian American” women. Is it a category based upon biology, culture, race, or ethnicity? How is the category of “Asian American” women constructed and by whom? If by Asian American women, then who among the Asian American women? How does one ethnic group of Asian American women view and construct and identity for another ethnic group of Asian American women? How are Asian American women affected by the various constructions of their identities and how do they manipulate, contribute to, or deconstruct and reconstruct their own identities?

While *Dragon Ladies* has its shortcomings, it has the potential to stimulate the beginning of a discourse between and among the various Asian American communities about issues—such as domestic violence, exploitation of Asian women’s labor, and sexual orientation—that have for too long been silenced, denied, and rejected as unimportant and irrelevant. Furthermore, the authors raise very crucial issues—such as values, representation, and identity—that are not only important to the Asian American communities, but also germane for interracial relations in an increasingly pluralistic “American” society.

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Ronald Takaki, *Strangers at the Gate Again: Asian American Immigration after 1965* (Illustrated, New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1998, 124 pp.)

Strangers at the Gate Again is an adaptation of Ronald Takaki's *Strangers from a Different Shore* (1989) for a younger readership. It breaks new ground by making available the important work of Takaki on the Asian American experience for what publishers call a "juvenile" audience. The book focuses especially on Asian American immigration after 1965, but with important and informative sections on earlier periods of Chinese and Japanese immigration, including the history of anti-Asian immigration legislation from the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act to the 1924 Johnson Reed Act, which virtually cut off all new immigration from Asia.

The focus is on people and their stories, including wonderful black and white photographs that bring the faces and the variety of Asian American immigrants to life. There is the story of Fusaya Fukudo Kaya, for instance, who came from Japan to the United States in 1919, experienced the trauma and dislocation of the detention camps during World War II, and finally was legally able to become a citizen only in 1953, after more than thirty years of living in the United States. Many of today's readers—young and old—don't know that Asian-born immigrants were ineligible for American citizenship until 1952. Then there are the stories of the post-1965 immigration of Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Indian, and Southeast Asian groups. Takaki makes clear that their reasons for coming to the U.S. are as diverse as the Asian contexts from which they came, whether as professionals, as economic migrants, or as refugees.

As in his larger body of work, Takaki's documentation of the lives and struggles of Asian immigrants are cast primarily in economic terms. For example, Filipino and Korean professionals are chronically underemployed, unable to find work commensurate with their training. And along with economic hardship is the reality of the racial and cultural prejudice Asians often encounter. Takaki gives young readers a glimpse of the devastation of the Korean communities of Los Angeles in the "L.A. Riots," and the fear generated by the anti-Indian gang calling itself the "Dotbusters" in northern New Jersey.

What is regrettably missing from this small book is also missing from Takaki's larger body of work as a distinguished historian of the Asian American experience: religion and religious communities. There is no indication here that there were Chinese temples and ceremonies in the 1850s in California, Idaho, and Montana; that Japanese Shin Buddhism has a century-long history in America; that Vietnamese and Khmer refugees have created hundreds of new Buddhist temples from southern California to New England; that Sikh gurdwaras and Hindu temples have become the centers of immigrant community and cultural life; that Korean churches have created a new force in American Christianity. In short, there is no hint that religious communities have been an important part of the human

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experience, of the American immigrant experience, and especially the Asian immigrant experience, both historically and today. This “blind-spot” to the study of religion, religious communities, and religious institutions is not Takaki’s alone, but is pervasive in the work of many scholars of Asian American studies. Whether for an academic readership or for a young readership, the history and contemporary reality of Asia religious communities in the American context is far too important to overlook.

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Patrick Du Phuoc Long with Laura Richard, *The Dream Shattered: Vietnamese Gangs in America*, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996, 240 pp.)

The Dream Shattered is a long-awaited book that examines Vietnamese criminal activity (or "VCA" in the lexicon of the Federal Bureau of Investigations) in the United States. To date, the Asian American street gang experience has not been adequately explored either by researchers, journalists or independent writers, although law enforcement agencies have documented a significant presence of South Asian, Vietnamese, Chinese, and mixed-Asian gangs in many large American cities as well as rural communities, where farm labor and service sector employment are endemic.

Patrick Du Phuoc Long's text serves both as an introduction to an emergent field and an invitation for academic researchers to follow his lead and supplement his rich descriptions with more nuanced analysis. Much of Du Phuoc Long's knowledge of Vietnamese gangs is derived from years of counseling Vietnamese youth, as well as from observing their behavior on the streets and in juvenile centers and in the home, and by reading their letters and poetry. His pastiche methodology is successful in demonstrating that the gang life is not only criminal but is a meaningful social activity, one that must be situated within the general parameters of immigration and settlement of Vietnamese in the America.

Throughout *The Dream Shattered*, myths and stereotypes of Asian American youth are exploded; some demonstrated to be based on ignorance, while others given a critical reading and thereby turned into sociological insights. One of the most important is Du Phuoc Long's claim that much Vietnamese criminal activity is actually not conducted by Vietnamese per se, but instead by "Viet Ching," i.e., "ethnic Chinese who were raised in Vietnam" (53). The distinction is important for more than purely historical or academic reasons, as the two groups share a conflictual relationship both in Vietnam and in Asian American settlements. As noted, Viet Ching modeled themselves after Chinese street gangs and "according to the FBI, crimes for which ethnic Vietnamese are often blamed have actually been committed by gangs that are largely Viet Ching" (53).

Du Phuoc Long does well to balance historical narratives with in-depth portraits of gang members and their families. In doing so, one gains a sense of the tremendous variation in Vietnamese criminal activity: importation and sale of drugs occurs, but so too does "traffic in human flesh" whereby gangs have become integral to the acquisition and forgery of immigrant papers. And author notes that much of the gangs' activity is tied up in building networks with gangs in other cities. Du Phuoc Long's attention to history is useful in enabling the reader to discern the important changes and continuities to Vietnamese criminal activity, including how the character of youth delinquency changed as the numbers of Vietnamese increased, as the demographics of the population changed (e.g., growing number of educated and employed members) and, and as technological

changes occurred (e.g., gangs used high-tech surveillance and communication systems to create networks between America and their home provinces).

One also acquires a sense for the specificity of the challenges that the Vietnamese youth and families face in American society. There are expected social problems, such as family instability, discrimination in public and private institutions, and blocked mobility opportunities due to linguistic and cultural differences. But Du Phuoc Long suggests that there are also structural tensions that are specific to the Vietnamese experience, including conflicts among persons who arrived in different immigration waves, differences between settlers and those born in the country, and a "naive" attitude among Vietnamese toward drug use (139).

Du Phuoc Long is less successful in analysis and policy recommendations. He does offer some reflective commentary such as his discussion of the role of single-parent households, inexperience of Vietnamese with narcotics (although, one could make this claim for many other immigrant groups), the desire of Vietnamese children to belong in American society. These are valid points, but they could be pushed in more concerted ways instead of summarily stated in a sentence and then followed by several pages of rich empirical description. The many issues raised initially regarding internal variation in the Vietnamese community, the importance of the American state in shaping the street gang experience in Vietnamese American settlements, the immigration waves, and so on could all be pulled back into the analysis in order to provide richer explanations about what is specific and novel about the Vietnamese gang and what is shared by other Asian gangs—as well as gangs in all American contexts. In fact, the author makes little use of the street gang scholarship. This is disappointing because the text could raise interesting issues for scholars who want to discuss the "American street gang" as an abstract form, and who now need to see the Vietnamese variant as an important case study.

One would have expected the author to make more decisive policy recommendations, especially given his experience with gangs 'on-the-ground.' Yet, there are surprisingly few such attempts not only at suggestions for new policy directions but also at existing prevention and intervention efforts. The author states quite early in the work that he is not going to offer a scholarly interpretation and to his credit, he makes use of rich ethnography to paint human but realistic portraits of Vietnamese gangs. This book would make excellent reading for anyone interested in a quick but interesting look into Vietnamese gang life. Those seeking analytic enrichment will have to look elsewhere.

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Elaine Chao

Interviewed by Diana Lin and Dan Nguyen-Tan

Elaine Chao is a Distinguished Fellow at the Heritage Foundation. While at the Washington D.C. think tank, she has worked on both domestic and international issues, such as ethics within the nonprofit sector and China's Most Favored Nation (MFN) status. She chairs the Asia Advisory Council and is senior editor of the Policy Review, the "Journal of American Citizenship," published by the foundation. Ms. Chao, formerly President of the United Way of America, currently sits on a number of corporate and nonprofit boards. In this abbreviated version of our long, oral and written, interviews with Ms. Chao, she ranges broadly over the influences on her life, to the Republican party and Asian Americans, and to her work with nonprofit organizations. Excerpts of the interview follow, arranged categorically.

BACKGROUND AND INFLUENCES

We are curious who your mentors are and have been. Who has been influential in shaping your views? Who has been influential in shaping your career?

My parents are enormously important in my life. They have had a profound influence on me in so many ways. I am very close to them. I respect them and love them dearly. I admire their determination, courage, optimism and confidence in the future. They left China as young people. Their early lives were marked by strife, civil war and instability. I admire their courage in seeking a new life in a new country—a country that they never seen, encountering a language and culture they've never experienced. They left everything that was near and dear to them to seek a better life for their family. My parents never said that I had to enter into any particular career. Rather, they encouraged all their children to do the best in whatever we attempted; to find a pursuit that we loved, something that has meaning and that will enable us to contribute to society. They are wonderfully inspiring people.

So besides your parents, are there any public individuals that really helped to shape your views and your career tracks?

One person would be Ronald Reagan. I entered the federal government through the White House Fellowship Program. It is a bipartisan program. I had not been active politically at all before that. But, during my fellowship, I had the

chance to read President Ronald Reagan's first State of the Union address, given in 1981, in which he talked about his vision for America: the need for smaller, limited government, less taxes, a strong free enterprise system and a consistent monetary policy. These principles resonated with my experiences and my beliefs. No one had distilled political philosophy in such a concise, focused, common sense way before. Another role model was Elizabeth Dole, (former Secretary of Transportation and Labor and currently President of the American Red Cross). I worked with Elizabeth in my first appointed government position as the deputy maritime administrator. She is a compassionate, smart, effective leader who managed to maintain her femininity and grace.

ASIAN AMERICANS, POLITICS, AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

What roles do you see Asian Americans playing in politics and public affairs?

Asian Americans, as all Americans, can make tremendous contributions to our country's political and public affairs. In the past, many Asian Americans did not participate much in politics because they have been more concerned about establishing their financial stability in this country and being too preoccupied with providing for the wellbeing of their families. Further, they were unfamiliar with the political process, deterred by their limited language skills, and also by their innate distrust of government, a sentiment often left over from the old country. But as the financial situation of Asian Americans improve, as their language skills become more fluent, as they become more assimilated and more mainstream, they will increasingly want to take a larger role in the political activities of our country. I see that as a natural occurrence.

What do you think are the greatest challenges facing the Asian Americans communities right now?

I think the great challenge facing the Asian American community is to avoid the politics of victimization. I know that many of us have suffered as a result of discrimination. I know there is injustice in this world and that we don't live in utopia. But, there is a growing tendency on the part of some people to position our community as victims, and to place all the failings of the world on discrimination and the unfair actions of others. I believe that individuals do have the power to affect actions and events. Despite setbacks and obstacles, with the right attitude and determination, we can make things happen for the good.

Second, our country is increasingly fragmented into separate racial, ethnic subgroups that are increasingly seeking only their own self interest. I say this as someone who has tremendous pride in my ethnic and cultural heritage and background. I speak as someone who treasures my Asian values. I speak as someone who's fought for Asian Americans and who cares passionately about our community. But I am concerned about the growing balkanization of our country where different racial and ethnic groups fight only for their self interest. Ethnic pride is understandable; I feel it as well. But, what are the values that tie us

together as one people? What does it mean to be an American nowadays? Do we share any common values any more? Asian Americans have tremendous assets. We have strong families. Our culture values education. Many of us are entrepreneurs, small business people who emphasize hardwork and self-reliance, who take care of our own, and who shoulder our own responsibilities.

American society is plagued with rising teenage illegitimacy rates, the breakdown of the family, increasing drug and substance abuse, poor educational achievements. Mainstream America can learn a lot from the Asian American community and our values.

How did you become involved with the Republican Party? What role do you see Asian Americans playing in the Republican Party?

My first contact with the federal government was when I was selected as a White House Fellow. Prior to that, as I mentioned, I was not active politically at all. But, I was interested in learning how the federal government worked. It was this interest that led me to apply for the White House Fellowship Program. During this fellowship, I had the opportunity to learn the differences in the philosophies of the two parties. The principles of the Republican Party resonated more deeply with me. I believed in the value of a free enterprise system to bring about the greatest economic benefit to our society. I believe that the best government is a limited government—one that allows individuals to pursue their life and happiness with minimal interference from the state. I believe in the value of a strong family unit. I also believed individuals should be allowed to keep more of their after tax dollars and that they know best how to spend and invest their own money, not the government.

I think the Asian American community is up for grabs for both parties. I think Asian Americans have a rather rocky relationship with the Democratic Party because of the campaign fundraising scandal. Both parties need to pay attention to this constituency because we can be an important bloc of swing votes in key states. And, with time, Asian Americans will only increase in influence and clout within both parties.

Since you are a prominent Asian American woman in the field of public affairs, have you ever felt a special obligation or pressure to use your status to voice the concerns of the Asian American community?

That is an interesting question because the question seems to presuppose a certain political agenda that I don't always agree with. Public policies that limit government intervention, minimize government regulations, lower taxes, and promote equal opportunity, not equal outcomes, benefit Asian Americans. I care deeply about the Asian American community. I am active within the Asian American community. I have always been open and accessible to other Asian Americans who want my help or advice. I have fought against injustices toward those in our community and will continue to do so. It is my hope that, through my accomplishments, I am blazing new trails for others. I also believe that

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promoting public policies that limit government intervention, minimizes government regulations, lower taxes, and promote equal opportunity, not equal outcomes, benefit Asian Americans.

But, I am not an advocate of "identity" politics. I don't think that any one person can or should speak for a group of people. We have enough talent in our community that all of us should be active and participate in the political process. We don't need to have a filter through which to participate in the American democratic process. Our goal should be to encourage greater individual participation.

NONPROFIT INVOLVEMENT

Given your business background, what was your main impetus in getting involved in the nonprofit sector with United Way?

I have participated in volunteer activities throughout my life. Over the years, I have acquired a reputation for turning around crisis situations and I have had experience in managing large organizations. In 1992, the then president of the United Way of America was forced to resign amidst allegations of financial mismanagement, abuse and fraud. The board of governors of the United Way of America undertook a search for a new president. They considered over 600 candidates and ultimately, asked me to be the new president. The search committee wanted someone credible, someone who had experience in turning around tough situations, who had worked with large organizations and volunteers, and who had strong communication and leadership skills. In 1992, the very survival of the organization was at stake. I believed in the mission of private charitable organizations like the United Way. I did not want to look back in future years with regret that I did not step up to the plate to help a venerable American institution when asked.

What were the challenges that you faced when working in the nonprofit sector with the United Way?

The challenges at United Way of America (UWA) were immense. When I first arrived, it was an organization in great pain. So many of the local United Way professionals and volunteers were hurt, angry at the abuses that had occurred at UWA. At UWA, there were staffers crying in the hallways because they felt so betrayed by the former president. While trying to comfort and lead the staff, I was also concerned with rescuing the financial solvency of the organization, reforming the organization and meeting the payroll. One of the first things I did was to appeal to the local bank for a \$3 million loan to help me meet expenses.

I traveled all over the country to reassure local United Ways and to rebuild public trust and confidence; implemented numerous new financial and budgetary controls and reforms; and revamped the entire governance system to prevent any future abuses. Working in the nonprofit sector, especially for someone who is from either the private or even the public sector, requires a particular set of skills.

The nonprofit sector has its own culture and tradition that must be respected. The nonprofit sector places a great premium on inclusion and building consensus. A great deal of attention is paid to "process" which can be very time consuming. It is also a sector in which passion for the mission of the organization is paramount. In this sector, people are willing to work for relatively lower compensation or volunteer for nothing because they believe in the mission of the organization. The nonprofit sector is not defined by the bottom line. Thus, the end goal can be nebulous at times and results, outcomes and performance can be difficult to measure. All this can be frustrating for those used to clear goals, fast action, and quantifiable results.

What are the kinds of lessons that the nonprofit sector can learn from the private sector? And vice versa?

I think the nonprofit sector can learn a great deal from the private sector. The nonprofit sector can be very bureaucratic at times and it may take a very long time to get things done because of the desire for consensus and process. In the past, contributors and supporters have not been as demanding as they are now. With greater empowerment at most workplaces, contributors and supporters are now asking charities to demonstrate more accountability, more quantifiable results and outcomes. As charities come under greater scrutiny, they have to run their organizations with greater professionalism and accountability. The private sector can help nonprofit organizations acquire more professionalism and management sophistication.

In turn, I think the private sector can learn a great deal from the nonprofit sector as well. People in the private sector can learn a great deal from those in the nonprofit sector about how to become better leaders: how to motivate, inspire and lead those over whom there is no direct reporting relationship; how to work with others with different agendas; how to be more effective communicators and consensus builders. These are important skills for any leader. That is why I encourage many Asian Americans to get involved in volunteer organizations. Besides the wonderful networking opportunities available, getting involved in volunteer organizations provides opportunities to observe leadership in action, practice and develop one's leadership skills in a relatively low risk environment; and, in the process, participate as a caring and concerned member of the community.

We have been honored with the time you have spent with us, but we wanted to finish off with one more question tied to our theme of nonprofits. What would be the reasons or conditions under which you might consider heading a large nonprofit like the United Way again sometime in the future?

It may surprise you, but I don't think about that very much. For me, at this particular point in my life, I am very happy with what I am doing. I am grateful for

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all the blessings that I have had. I feel very fortunate that I have been able to work and serve in the for-profit, nonprofit and public sectors at various points in my career. My experiences have been so diverse and I feel blessed to have been able to have done so much. I have worked very hard in my life and there have been sacrifices. I am appreciative of the fact that I now have the time to study the issues I care about and to spend some time with my family and friends.

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Articles for the Feature section should not exceed 25 single-spaced, typed pages in length. Commentaries and book reviews should be no more than 5 single-spaced, typed pages. All submissions to the journal should use 12 pt. Times New Roman or Times font. Additionally, articles should be formatted on Microsoft Word® or in RTF format. All articles for the Features Section must include a brief abstract of the article (60 words). Commentaries and book reviews do not require abstracts. All submissions must include the author's name, address, and telephone number.

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Newspaper: Peterson, William. 1966. "Success Story, Japanese-American Style." *The New Haven Times*, 9 January, sec. 1A, 21.

Interview: Nguyen, Steve. 1997. Associate Director of the Vietnamese Community Center. Interview by John Kim. Telephone. L.A, CA, 27 January.

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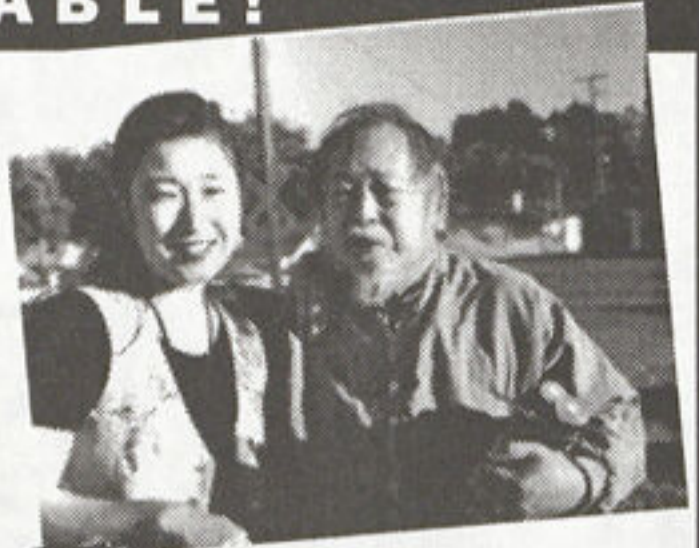
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- (4) the role of APA women in shaping the APA community; and
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