Asian American Studies at California's Public Universities:

Strategies and Rhetoric of Asian American Student Activism in the Late 20th Century

by

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Introduction

Asian American Studies, and Ethnic Studies in general, did not exist at American universities until 1969, after students at San Francisco State College (later renamed San Francisco State University, SF State), uniting as the Third World Liberation Front, protested for the creation of an Ethnic Studies Department. When the administration conceded in March 1969 after four months of protests, the resulting Ethnic Studies Department would become the first of its kind in the United States.[1] The term "Asian American" in and of itself did not exist until the year prior, when student activists Yuji Ichioka and Emma Gee created the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) at the University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley) in May 1968.[2] "Asian American" has since been used to unify people of Asian descent living in America, who previously identified more with their families' countries of origin.

The coining of the term, in addition to the Asian American student activism that demanded better representation in university course offerings, marked what would come to be known as the Asian American Movement, spanning from the late 1960s to the mid 1970s. Asian Americans refuted the myth of the model minority by challenging the status quo and identifying with other oppressed peoples. The Third World Liberation Front at SF State, for example, included Asian American students in addition to Black, Native American, and Latina/o students.

The Asian American Movement was also marked by a move towards racial identity rather than ethnic identity. Although distinct groups on their own, Chinese Americans, Filipino Americans, Vietnamese Americans, and more were often seen as one and the same by white Americans when they had been viewing themselves as separate groups. They began to work

[1] Daryl J. Maeda, *Chains of Babylon* (University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 68–69.
[2] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America : A History* (Riverside: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 304, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bostoncollege-ebooks/detail.action?docID=5679361.

together towards a common cause and against their shared oppression. Asian Americans' focus thus turned from their individual circumstances in a certain place at a certain time and towards their place as a whole within the framework of American society and American imperialism.

The roots of the Asian American Movement laid in workers' rights, housing access, and health services. Youth groups modeled in structure and ideology after the Black Panthers often contributed to these causes.[3] Additionally, as with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee of the concurrent and not wholly unrelated Civil Rights Movement, Asian American students at universities across the country drove change. Because student activism was so central to the Asian American Movement and the Asian American identity, this thesis will explore the ways in which Asian American students demanded recognition at their universities.

I will focus specifically on student activism during the Asian American Movement—their position within a broader era of social change, their demands for Asian American Studies programs, how they advocated for their goals, and the effects of their actions. I will also look at Asian American student protests at the University of California, Irvine (UC Irvine) in the early 1990s, comparing and contrasting this later activism with that of the Asian American Movement. Lastly, I will use linguistic research tools to compare Asian American student publications from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1969-1974 and UC Irvine in 1991-1997 to look at the ways in which their rhetoric reflected trends in Asian American Studies and activism.

I use parallel sources from both time periods throughout this thesis to look at the ways students at UC Irvine built upon the work of students at SF State, UC Berkeley, and UCLA a quarter of a century prior. I triangulate news articles, student newspapers, and interviews, to

[3] Diane C. Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement?," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 11, no. 2 (June 2008): 139, https://doi.org/10.1353/jaas.0.0003.

answer the question whether or not the arguments for the creation of Asian American Studies Programs were the same. Similarly, how and why were the UC Irvine protests different from their predecessors? I use computational linguistics tools to examine how Asian Americans talked about themselves and the causes they were fighting for. Students from both the Asian American Movement and the later 1990s protests talked at length about women. This study will explore the ways Asian American rights intersected with women's rights during both time periods.

Due to the relatively recent creation of the unifying pan-Asian identity of "Asian America," amongst other factors, most scholarship on Asian America on the history of Asian immigration to the United States, mostly for work. The focus is on Asians in America rather than Asian Americans as their own group of people. Erika Lee in *The Making of Asian America*, for example, goes through individual countries of origin such as China, Japan, and Korea and explains how social or political movements in those countries affected immigration patterns to the United States.[4] Other historians have focused on the Asian American identity during U.S. times of war against Asian countries. Shelley Sang-Hee Lee in *A New History of Asian America*, for example, dedicates a chapter each to Asian America during World War II, particularly focusing on Japanese internment, and to Asian America during the Vietnam War, looking specifically at the resulting refugees that came to the United States.[5]

Espiritu has written at length specifically on Asian American panethnicity. However, those who have studied the Asian American Movement and Asian American studies have not looked at UC Irvine, perhaps due to the fact that the university did not even consider introducing Asian American studies for several decades after the first wave of student protests. This may be

[4] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America : A History*.
[5] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

in part due to the fact that UC Irvine only came into existence in 1965 and did not have a firmly established student culture by 1968.[6] Instead, scholarly work on Asian American studies in California has been centered around SF State, UC Berkeley, and UCLA, as in Maeda's *Chains of Babylon*.[7] This thesis will be the first scholarly account of Asian American activism in the 1990s at UC Irvine, and it will also be the first historical analysis of the Asian American student rhetoric in an activist setting.

I will argue that the Asian American Movement established the field of Asian American Studies and proved to the white public that Asian Americans would not fit into the model minority myth created to pit racial minorities against each other. Although the movement was successful, there was still work to be done in normalizing and expanding Asian American Studies on university campuses and in fighting for the rights of laborers and community members. Progress made in Asian American Studies and activism has been incremental, and there is still work to be done in protecting Asian American lives and dignity. That being said, movements for racial justice have not been isolated to the Asian American community, and multiracial unity and collaboration has proven instrumental in making progress towards Latina/o, Black, Native American, and Asian American causes.

[6] "Home | UCI," accessed October 17, 2023, https://www.uci.edu/.
[7] Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*.

Chapter 1 — The Setup

The state of California was the epicenter of Asian American student protest in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Most well-known were the students involved in the Third World Liberation Front at SF State, those who founded the Asian American Political Alliance at UC Berkeley and those who wrote and published the newspaper *Gidra* at UCLA. Their protests and activism, in conjunction with the work of many others, led to the creation of the first Ethnic Studies and Asian American Studies Programs in American universities. In this chapter, I will argue that a long history of undervaluing Asian people in the United States, coupled with the Civil Rights Movement and protests against the Vietnam War of the time, led Asian Americans to realize that white America would never see them as truly American unless they disrupted the racial hierarchy and demanded rights for themselves.

The term "Asian American" was only coined in 1968 when Yuji Ichioka and Emma Gee formed the Asian American Political Alliance for students at UC Berkeley, marking a new era of multi-ethnic, Pan-Asian racial identity and activism in the United States.[8] This move toward racial solidarity would be part of what was later termed the Asian American Movement of the 1960s and 1970s, marked by cooperation with other racial minorities and protestors dedicated to other closely linked causes. In doing so, these Asian American students rejected the myth of the model minority, standing in solidarity and demanding representation with other oppressed groups both in and out of the United States.

Much like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was to the Civil Rights Movement, the Third World Liberation Front at SF State was at the forefront of the Asian American Movement, energizing and mobilizing those around them towards their cause.

[8] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America : A History*, 304.

Similarly, the Chinese American-led Red Guard Party in San Francisco was heavily inspired by the aesthetic and rhetoric of the Black Panther Party, adapting Black Panther ideologies to serve their own populations.

In addition to the influence from the Civil Rights Movement, Asian American student protest also drew from protests against the Vietnam War. According to Maeda, many Asian Americans who opposed the war "connected the oppression of Asians in the United States to the prosecution of the war in Viet Nam."[9] Asian Americans fighting in Vietnam were often perceived as Vietnamese rather than American, and many faced internal conflict when told to kill fellow Asians in order to defend American imperialist interests.[10]

It was in this context of social and political unrest that Asian American students had the anger, strength, and momentum to demand more from their universities. In late 1968 and into 1969, Asian American students at SF State joined Black, Latinx, and Native American students to form the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) and demand the creation of an Ethnic Studies Department that would represent all students of the TWLF, the first of its kind in the United States.[11] The strike ended in March 1969, when the university conceded to most of the TWLF's demands, and it would pave the way for other Asian American studies to demand representation in their own universities' curriculum.[12]

Exclusion and Segregation

In order to understand the significance of Asian American activism in the 20th century, it is important to first understand the history of Asian exclusion and segregation in America.

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[9] Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*, 97.
[10] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America : A History*, 308.
[11] Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*, 40–41.
[12] Maeda, 68–69.

Although people of Asian descent had been brought to the Americas for three hundred years prior, the California Gold Rush that began in 1848 brought many Asians, particularly Chinese, to the United States to try their luck. By 1852, over 20,000 Chinese people had migrated to California, and though most did not find gold, they found other economic opportunities that allowed them to stay in the country. By 1870, 63,000 Chinese lived in the United States, concentrated in California.[13] These Chinese workers, however, were still not treated the same as white workers. Those who did try to mine gold could lose their right to mine without cause; even so, those who could continue were only allowed to mine where white workers had already picked through. Others could only find work cooking and selling food, representing the limitations in opportunity and upward mobility that Asian people faced.[14]

By 1882, following pressure from the ironically named Nativists, white people living in America who wanted to keep the country "pure," the United States government passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, prohibiting Chinese laborers from entering the country, only allowing more elite merchants, students, teachers, and diplomats to be here. With the Chinese Exclusion Act, the federal government deepened class divisions amongst Chinese immigrants, weakening their ability to fight for their rights as a whole.[15] White Americans who supported Chinese immigration still disparaged their abilities, stating that Chinese were only worth the work that no respectable person would want to do themselves.[16] Additionally, to many more white Americans, wealthy Chinese were still Chinese who did not belong in the country. Although no other ethnic group was excluded as explicitly as the Chinese were, further immigration policies continued to restrict immigration from virtually all Asian countries.

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[13] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America : A History*, 60.
[14] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 131.
[15] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, 164.
[16] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, 163.

As exclusion continued into the twentieth century, the proportion of American-born Asians rapidly outnumbered that of foreign-born immigrants. With this came the issue of how to educate Asian American children. As their parents struggled to determine how "Americanized" their children should be, state and local governments rushed to ensure their white students did not have to learn amongst "inferior" Asian kids. An 1885 California Supreme Court decision in *Tape v. Hurley*, for example, allowed for San Francisco to open the segregated Chinese Primary School, later renamed the Oriental School for students in the public school system. In theory, students at the Oriental School were taught the same curriculum as white students, but the school lacked the funding and resources that other, white schools in the distract had. Furthermore, the few times Asian people were mentioned in classes taught Asian students that they fundamentally were not equal to white people.[17] As protests at institutions of higher education would later expose, the education system was rooted in a white point of view, and even at majority Asian schools, Asian students had no option to accurately learn about their own history or identity within the United States.

The most well-known instance of anti-Asian racism in the United States was the Japanese internment camps of World War II. In February 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which forcibly removed all Japanese Americans on the West Coast from their homes and put them into internment camps for the duration of the war.[18] People of Japanese descent in America could no longer be proud of both their ancestry and their home country. By not just interning Japanese Americans but also assigning them identification numbers, the United States government systemically dehumanized their own residents, citizens in the case of second

[17] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, 186.
[18] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, 214.

generation *Nisei*, and these internment camps fundamentally changed the social fabric of Japanese America.[19] Banned from keeping any land or assets and unable to make a living in the camps, Japanese Americans came out of the camps with little money or dignity remaining, especially the men who were traditionally expected to earn for the family.[20] The decision to intern Japanese Americans was undeniably driven by racial biases; neither German nor Italian Americans were interned at any point in the name of national security.

Cold War Dynamics

The Asian American Movement was not a spontaneous act; the politically and racially charged dynamics of the Cold War forced people of Asian descent to reevaluate their place in American society. Proxy wars fought in Asia, particularly the Vietnam War, proved to Asian Americans that people who looked like them were subjects of American neocolonialism. Often, they identified with the "enemy" in Asia, and they were not treated all too differently by white Americans. These realizations drove Asian Americans to demand change for themselves and for people who suffered at the hands of the United States in "Third World" countries.

After WWII, immigration for Asian people to the United States opened up again. During the war, white society once again pit Asian Americans against each other, viewing non-Japanese Asians as the "good" ones in comparison to the Japanese. In a gesture of good will following China's allyship during the war, President Roosevelt signed the Magnuson Act on December 17, 1943, officially ending Chinese exclusion after 60 years. Although Chinese immigration quotas remained low, the Magnuson Act allowed for Chinese immigrants to become naturalized and

[19] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America : A History*, 234.
[20] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 218–19.

reap the benefits of American citizenship.[21] Similarly, the 1946 Luce-Celler Act allowed South Asians to apply to immigrate to the United States after the Indian Army proved to be an important ally during the war. Just as the Magnuson Act had little effect on the actual numbers of Chinese entering the country, however, the Luce-Celler Act kept Indian immigration quotas low, limiting how influential the law could be.[22]

One significant demographic change for Asian Americans after WWII was the change in the gender balance. Previously, as immigration had been restricted to men who could work and produce economic output for the United States, men vastly outnumbered the women in Asian America. The War Brides Acts of 1945 and 1947, however, allowed men who served in the military to bring their foreign wives into the United States without counting towards any nation's immigration quota.[23] Between 1947 and 1975, almost 67,000 Japanese women alone entered the United States after having married U.S. servicemen abroad, and between 1950 and 1989, almost 100,000 Korean women immigrated to the country.[24] Partly as a result of an increased American presence in Asia, adoption during and since the Cold War also significantly contributed to a growing Asian American population; between 1971 and 2001, over 156,000 American adoptees were from Asian countries.[25] Many white American families saw adopting Asian babies as saving them, viewing themselves as the best and only logical parents for children born into the countries that the American military had destroyed.[26]

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[21] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America : A History*, 256–57.
[22] Erika Lee, 263.
[23] Erika Lee, 257.
[24] Erika Lee, 264; Ji-Yeon Yuh, "Moved by War: Migration, Diaspora, and the Korean War," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 8, no. 3 (October 2005): 278.
[25] Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Global Families : A History of Asian International Adoption in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 2.
[26] Choy, 27.

With the rise of an Asian American population came a rise in economic opportunities for Asian Americans. Although many Japanese Americans were still deeply disadvantaged and impoverished as a result of wartime internment, other ethnic groups like Chinese and Filipinos had taken advantage of increased wartime employment opportunities in manufacturing and defense.[27] Additionally, after the war, the United States turned its attention to investing military and economic power into Asia as part of its efforts to limit the influence of the Soviet Union.[28] Desiring foreigners with strong technical and scientific skills, the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act overhauled the immigration system, abolishing quotas for immigrants' nation of origin, dramatically opening up Asian immigration to the United States. The law favored those with family already in the United States or those with degrees from institutions of higher education and plans to work professionally, a departure from previous policy that only desired Asian immigrants who could perform manual labor for cheap.[29]

Soon, a myth of the "model minority" emerged, in which Asians "represented the possibilities of hard work and good citizenship" and "were models to which other immigrant families should strive to be.[30] The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)'s reaction to World War II and Japanese internment exemplified the model minority outlook. An organization of second-generation Japanese Americans with chapters throughout the west, the JACL did not just pledge Japanese American loyalty, but their obedience in internment camps.[31] To them, complete compliance, even while interned, signaled to white Americans that Japanese Americans would not rebel, no matter how horrendously they were treated.[32] According to the model

[27] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America : A History*, 255–60.
[28] Erika Lee, 252–53.
[29] Erika Lee, 270–86.
[30] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 262.
[31] Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*, 30.
[32] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 217.

minority myth, Asian Americans did well for themselves because they were noncombative, kept their head down, and worked hard. Because Asian immigrants entering the country were already better set up for economic success as compared to other racial minorities who had been forcibly brought to the country or colonized by white imperialists, the model minority myth wholeheartedly ignored the way white people created incomparable circumstances for different racial minorities, instead treating all non-whites as if they started on equal ground.

Under the guise of uplifting and praising Asian Americans, the model minority myth in reality was used to critique other minorities. In this way, the model minority was not just about Asian Americans, but it was about pitting racial minorities against each other.[33] Only one could "win" while the rest were chastised for not working hard enough; never mind the systemic and vastly varying disadvantages each minority faced simply because of the color of their skin. Additionally, rather than treating Asian Americans as equals to white Americans, the model minority myth in and of itself underscored the "other" status of Asian Americans. They could not be praised on their own accord; they could only be commended in spite of their non-whiteness.

The Vietnam War, however, forced many Asian Americans to reevaluate their place not just in American society, but also in a global context. Protesting the fact that poor Black and brown people without the means to avoid the draft were over-represented in the military, Asian Americans saw American involvement in Vietnam as inherently racist in multiple ways.[34] These anti-war protests that united Asian and Black activists were fundamentally not the same as the "mainstream" anti-war movement that seemed not to care about the racial dynamics of white aggressors in Vietnam, but only about minimizing American casualties.[35] The Bay Area Asian

[33] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, 262.
[34] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, 296.
[35] Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*, 123–25.

Coalition Against the War, for example, denounced western imperialism within the United States' borders in addition to that in Vietnam.[36] To Asian Americans, the Vietnam War was not an isolated incident, but rather a continuation of imperialism in Asia that could trace back through the Korean War, the occupation of Okinawa, the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the colonization of the Philippines, amongst other events.

Out of all American citizens, Asian Americans sent to fight in Vietnam were most affected by the war, as they often identified more with the Vietnamese locals than their "home" country. In this self-identification, Asian American soldiers directly saw the ways in which American treatment of Asians in Asia paralleled the treatment of Asians in the United States.[37] In a process that Maeda calls "common racialization," white soldiers frequently equated their Asian American peers with the Vietnamese enemy, often calling them "gooks" or singling them out as examples of what the enemy looked like.[38] Asian American women, such as those serving as military nurses, faced additional discrimination as many white soldiers viewed them as prostitutes simply because of their race.[39] Returning from the war, many Asian American veterans suffered from fear of being perceived as the enemy, stress from watching the dehumanization of fellow Asians, and remorse over killing said Asian enemy.[40]

The Asian American Movement in Northern California

Identifying with the victims of imperialism around the world, racial minorities at San Francisco State University formed the Third World Liberation Front in 1968.[41] Building on the

[36] Maeda, 97.
[37] Maeda, 103–4.
[38] Maeda, 104.
[39] Maeda, 111.
[40] Maeda, 109.
[41] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 291.

momentum of Vietnam War protests, the active participation of Asian Americans in the TWLF represented a renewed self-identification with other oppressed minorities. The Civil Rights Movement in particular inspired many young Asian Americans who either read works by civil rights leaders or were directly involved in Black power politics.[42] It is no surprise that early Asian American activism was based in Los Angeles and San Francisco, diverse cities where Asian and Black Americans often interacted and organized together.

One clear example of Asian and Black collaboration was the creation of the Red Guard Party. They released their own ten-point program with language that mirrored that of the Black Panthers' and often spoke against modern iterations of colonialism that remained in the United States. In addition to the ideological transfer, the Red Guard Party mimicked the Panthers in action, for instance wearing berets and armbands and starting a Free Breakfast program for poverty-stricken Chinatown residents.[43] Rather than try to integrate into white American society, the Red Guard Party instead looked to strengthen Chinatown institutions. In both their language and action, the Red Guard Party refuted the model minority myth and "inserted Asian Americans into a racial paradigm, arguing that Asian Americans constituted a racialized bloc subject to the same racism that afflicted blacks."[44]

Although greatly influenced by the Black Panthers, the Red Guard Party adapted their activities and goals to best suit their community. For example, although they started out with a Free Breakfast program, the Red Guards changed it to a Free Sunday Brunch after noticing that elders needed the meals more than children did. This was the result of decades of immigration policy that greatly favored Asian men over Asian women, leaving elderly men without younger

[42] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, 292–93.
[43] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, 293–94.
[44] Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*, 75.

family members to care for them, as was expected in many Asian traditions.[45] Additionally, because of the singular ethnic makeup of its members, the Red Guard felt empowered to speak on Chinese political issues. Demanding that the United States recognize Mao Zedong as the true leader of China, the Red Guard looked up to Mao as a prominent and successful "Asian proponent of the worldwide movement against western imperialism."[46]

In 1968, Japanese American Yuji Ichioka and Chinese American Emma Gee founded the Asian American Political Alliance, the first recorded use of the phrase "Asian American." The establishment of the AAPA was monumental in explicitly bringing together Asians of all ethnic groups. Richard Aoki, a founding member of the AAPA, was a field marshal for the Black Panthers and had been the first person to supply Huey Newton and Bobby Seale with the weapons that the Black Panther Party became known for. As the Panthers and the Red Guard Party did, the AAPA criticized American society for being racist and exploitative, and it strove to work with other Third World oppressed people in the United States.[47] Even as the AAPA grew, Aoki continued to work with the Panthers, and the partnership between the two organizations exemplified how both Black and Asian Americans benefited and learned from each other during this time.[48]

While the Asian American Movement is most well-known for its collective action, the ways in which Asian Americans affected change varied greatly, and the 1960s and 1970s was also a time for increased Asian American visibility in the arts. Like Third World internationalism, this new art challenged and redefined what it meant to be Asian in America. However, creatives as exemplified by playwright Frank Chin, did not view the Asian American

[45] Maeda, 87.
[46] Maeda, 87–88.
[47] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America : A History*, 304–5.
[48] Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*, 79–82.

experience as tied to international imperialism, but rather as something that was exclusively confined to the United States.[49] In practice, both ideologies agreed that they needed pan-ethnic Asian American coalitions to effectively combat the racism they faced.

Student Activism in Northern California

Inspired by the activism in their local communities and by other minority students, Asian American students in Northern California decided it was their time to rectify the injustice that was the Oriental School and many others like it. These university students would become the most well-known and impactful group of the Asian American Movement. Prior to the creation of the TWLF and the coining of the phrase "Asian American," student activism at SF State had involved working with local communities to "equip people to control their lives."[50] For example, Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA) formed in 1967, and its members worked at various community centers in Chinatown, doing work like teaching English to immigrants or advocating for low-cost housing.[51] Being surrounded by other Asian Americans radicalized middle class students who had previously not spent much time in Chinatown. Members of ICSA came to believe that Ethnic Studies would help solve many of the inequalities residents of Chinatown faced as compared to the rest of San Francisco.[52] Primed to join the TWLF, one ICSA member stated, "I think the one thing you can't do when you are trying to melt into the

[49] Frank Chin et al., "An Introduction to Chinese and Japanese American Literature," in *Aiiieeeee!*, ed. Frank Chin et al., 3rd ed., An Anthology of Asian American Writers (University of Washington Press, 2019), 7–8, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvr339x8.6.
[50] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 301.
[51] Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*, 50.
[52] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 301–2.

white world is to complain about it. But if you join with others of your own kind, you have the opportunity to trade stories … and to articulate your hostility."[53]

Joining ICSA as part of the TWLF was the Philippine American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE), which similarly worked with low-income communities in San Francisco, helping residents find employment, medical care, housing, and counseling. ICSA and PACE did similar things for their respective ethnic communities in San Francisco, but the commitment of both to the TWLF also reflected a growing pan-Asian solidarity amongst student activists. The socioeconomic makeup of ICSA and PACE also differed, but their common racial experiences demanded inter-ethnic cooperation. This was further reflected by the participation of SF State's Asian American Political Alliance, explicitly designed to advance pan-Asian interests.[54]

Already upset by an earlier restructuring of California's higher education system, the TWLF at SF State initiated a strike on November 6, 1968 following the suspension of George Murray, a teacher in the English department who had been the minister of education for the Black Panther Party. [55] In addition to demanding the reinstatement of Murray, the TWLF struck for the creation of an Ethnic Studies college, hoping this would help facilitate oppressed minorities in receiving a higher education.[56] To the TWLF, an Ethnic Studies education would finally teach minority students about their own history for a change, and it would challenge "racism, poverty and misrepresentation imposed on minority peoples by the formally recognized institutions and organizations operating in the State of California."[57]

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[53] Karen Umemoto, "'On Strike!' San Francisco State College Strike, 1968-1969: The Role of Asian American Students," in *Contemporary Asian America : A Multidisciplinary Reader*, ed. Min Zhou and James V. Gatewood (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 56.
[54] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 302.
[55] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, 303.
[56] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, 303.
[57] Umemoto, "'On Strike!' San Francisco State College Strike, 1968-1969: The Role of Asian American Students," 63.

Although the aforementioned ICSA and PACE got their start working within local communities and community organizations, many Asian Americans, held down by the model minority myth and the cultural norms against "troublemaking," hesitated to stand behind the students of the TWLF. Most notably, the president of SF State and harsh critic of the strike, S.I. Hayakawa, was Japanese Canadian.[58] Rather than stand with Asian Americans, Hayakawa played into the model minority stereotype by allying himself with conservative, middle to upper class people and distancing himself from other people of color, often those who Asian American students aligned themselves with.[59] Maeda characterizes Hayakawa as someone who "sought sameness and sought to confine difference to the private sphere" when it came to race relations.[60] To Hayakawa, and to many quieter Asian Americans, this sameness was best accomplished by assimilating to white norms.

Although students were the most visible activists and protestors, they often worked with other members of the Asian American population. The racism and injustices that many older Asian Americans had faced throughout their lives proved to be too much to stay silent. Elders involved in the Equal Opportunity Council in Chinatown, for example, lent their support to students on strike.[61] Finally on March 21, 1969, the TWLF ended their strike after the administration agreed to establish the first School of Ethnic Studies in the United States. Just as important as the tangible concessions the administration made was the significance of students of so many different racial and ethnic backgrounds working together. On January 22, 1969, UC Berkeley's Third World Liberation Front, inspired by SF State's TWLF, also struck to demand representative Ethnic Studies curricula. The strike at UC Berkeley ended in March 1969, and the

[58] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 304.
[59] Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*, 41.
[60] Maeda, 42.
[61] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 304–5.

administration established an Ethnic Studies Department.[62] Inspiring students across the country to demand recognition, the success of both protests indicated that not only could Asian Americans work together pan-ethnically and pan-racially, but they could do it successfully.[63]

Student Activism at the University of California, Los Angeles

Asian American student activism was not confined to the Bay Area. Further south in Los Angeles, Asian students at the University of California, Los Angeles created and published *Gidra*, a widely circulated monthly periodical that ran from 1969 to 1974 "often credited for galvanizing an entire generation of Asian Americans to take action against social injustice, racial discrimination, and oppression."[64] In April 1969, Mike Murase and five other Asian American students at UCLA released the first issue of *Gidra*, meant as a space for Asian Americans to learn about their own history and culture from other Asian Americans.[65] Keeping in line with the collective ideology of the Red Guard Party and AAPA, creating an issue of *Gidra* was a collaborative effort, lacking any hierarchy and allowing contributors to write exactly what they wanted. According to Todd Honma, the topics covered in *Gidra* can be grouped into four categories: Identity & Action, Positionality & Politics, Local & Global, and Campus & Community.[66] Each individual category was an important pillar in the Asian American experience, and *Gidra* wrote extensively about each of these categories. It is also important to

[62] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America : A History*, 305–6.
[63] Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*, 69.
[64] Todd Honma, "From Archives to Action: Zines, Participatory Culture, and Community Engagement in Asian America," *Radical Teacher (Cambridge)* 105, no. 105 (2016): 34, https://doi.org/10.5195/rt.2016.277.
[65] Cheryl Cheng, "How a Student Newspaper Became the 'Voice of the Asian American Experience,'" UCLA Newsroom, July 22, 2021, https://newsroom.ucla.edu/stories/gidra-student-newspaper-asian-american-experience.
[66] Honma, "From Archives to Action: Zines, Participatory Culture, and Community Engagement in Asian America," 35–36.

note that these categories were so closely intertwined in everyday Asian American life that it is impossible to neatly force their work into these four categories.

Since *Gidra* was created to give students representation in the media they were consuming, redefining the Asian American identity on their own terms was central to the publication's content. One section of the August 1972 issue, for example, featured letters from a contributor going by E.Y. who had traveled to China. The tone is remarkably casual, with exclamation marks peppered throughout, indicating a familiarity between E.Y. and their audience that allowed them to speak candidly about their relationship to China. Remarking on this relationship in a way that only other Asian Americans could understand, E.Y. wrote:

> [S]lowly, I began to realize how idealized my conception of China had been—and still is, in many ways. In the last 2 days, and probably for the remainder of the trip, it's been a pretty consistent struggle with myself, and also for others on the delegation to try to look at China in terms of its own historical development…and not as the utopia we wish it to be.[67]

E.Y. did not see China as the reality a native-born Chinese would be used to, nor as the uncivilized land of inferior Orientals that white Westerners often thought of. They provided readers with a uniquely Asian American viewpoint that did not cater to anybody else.

Because *Gidra* was produced by student activists, it had a particular focus on the connection between the university and the community around it. The April 1969 issue exemplified this concern by opening with a piece on the firing of the county coroner, Dr. Thomas Noguchi. The article highlighted the unusual circumstances of the firing and pointed out that the decision was likely racially motivated.[68] In this way, and regarding many other issues, *Gidra* kept the campus community tied to broader issues for Asian Americans outside of the university.

[67] E. Y., "Letters from China," *Gidra*, August 1972, Densho Digital Repository.
[68] S. Hayashi, "A Commentary on the Noguchi Firing," *Gidra*, April 1969, Densho Digital Repository.

Students were not alone in the Asian American Movement, and *Gidra* recognized the need to work with outsiders in order to enact meaningful change.

Gidra did not make explicit distinctions between the four categories that Honma identified. Rather, these topic categories were seamlessly integrated amongst each other because they were so interconnected within the Asian American experience as well. In the aforementioned "Letters from China" section of the August 1972 issue, for example, E.Y. writes about Hong Kongese people saying, "The colonized mentality: all the material stuff, discotheques, etc. keep the young people pretty occupied, satisfied, … colonized."[69] As the discussion of the Red Guard Party and TWLF above mentions, student activists fundamentally linked Asian American identity with that of colonized peoples around the world. To say that the "Identity & Action" and the "Local & Global" categories were two separate components of *Gidra* would reject the ideology of a large and prominent faction of the Asian American Movement itself.

The rest of the August 1972 issue provides another example of the blending of Honma's categories in *Gidra*'s publications. Upon first glance at the cover page printed in red ink with "HIROSHIMA HIROSHIMA" printed on it, *Gidra*'s readers might have assumed they were getting a history lesson on the atomic bombs dropped in Japan at the end of WWII. They would have been partly right; Murase described in detail what it was like for Japanese people to be victim to the atomic bombs. In this way, *Gidra* provided Asian history written by Asian people, allowing Asian American readers to better understand the plight of fellow Asians abroad. Being the radical voice of Asian American students, however, the next pages of the issue tied the effect

[69] Y., "Letters from China."

of the atomic bombs on Japanese life with the effect of chemical warfare on Vietnamese life.[70] Further tying the two, the back cover of the issue paralleled the front cover with the words "VIETNAM VIETNAM" printed in red. Murase invoked Honma's "Positionality & Politics" label by urging readers to critically reconsider the way they looked at the Vietnam War and how their allegiance to the United States may have justified, or at least minimized, the military's war tactics.

Conclusion

It is important to understand how student activists at San Francisco State, UC Berkeley, and UCLA fought for Asian American Studies Programs in the late 1960s and early 1970s because they set a precedent for students at the University of California, Irvine to build upon in the 1990s when demanding their own Asian American Studies Program. About 25 years after the TWLF strikes at SF State and UC Berkeley, students at the University of California, Irvine went on strike and protested outside administrative offices, promising to not leave until the school created an Asian American Studies Program.[71]

Protestors cited the fact that UC Irvine had the highest percentage of Asian American students in the continental United States, and Asian Americans made up the largest demographic group at the university. Although an African American Studies minor and Chicano Studies Program already existed at UC Irvine, other students of color joined Asian American students in their protest. This directly paralleled the earlier TWLF protests in Northern California. The UC Irvine protestors also learned a great deal of strategy from their predecessors. Inspired by *Gidra*,

[70] Mike Murase, "Hiroshima-Nagasaki," *Gidra*, August 1972, Densho Digital Repository.
[71] *Asian American Studies Protest Video, Part 1*, Asian American Studies Protest Video (University of California, Irvine), 1993, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8d558/.

Asian American students at UC Irvine created their own publication, *Rice Paper*, to galvanize and provide representative media to Asian American students.[72] In this way, the student activism at SF State and UC Berkeley set the stage for Asian American in the rest of the country, and in later decades, to demand representation at their own universities.

[72] "Rice Paper," *Rice Paper (Irvine, Calif.)*, 1997 1991.

Chapter 2 — Protest at UC Irvine

In April 1993, organized by the Asian Pacific Student Association (APSA), hundreds of students at the University of California, Irvine protested for the creation of an Asian American Studies Program at the university. These protests included a hunger strike and sit-ins at the chancellor's office. At the time, the university only offered two Asian American Studies courses, even though Asian American students made up over 40% of its student population.[73] As a result of these protests, the university began to hire more faculty in Asian American Studies and established an Asian American Studies minor in 1996. In this chapter, I will detail the journey to create an Asian American Studies Program at UCI in the 1990s, including both the success activists achieved and the setbacks they faced. Throughout, I will compare the movement at UCI with the movements at UC Berkeley, SF State, and UCLA in the 1960s and 1970s, examining the ways in which the earlier movements either directly influenced or enabled students at UCI to do what they did.

In the 1970s, UC Irvine had its own Third World Student Coalition that demanded more support services for minority students, and in 1991, a multiethnic and multiracial student coalition held a protest that successfully established multiple Ethnic Studies Programs at the university.[74] In both structure and rhetoric, this coalition was heavily inspired by the Ethnic Studies movements at SF State, UC Berkeley, and UCLA. Although the 1991 Ethnic Studies protest was initially successful, school administration failed to follow up on their promises, prompting APSA leaders to organize the 1993 protest.

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[73] *Asian American Studies Protest Video, Part 1*, 00:01:01.
[74] "Oral History of Florante Ibanez," August 23, 2017, 4–11, UC Irvine, Libraries, University Archives, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d81n7z13x/.

Several major themes are clear from this protest process that I will detail in this chapter. First, much like the Ethnic Studies movements at SF State, UC Berkeley, and UCLA, Ethnic Studies activism at UC Irvine was a product of multiethnic and multiracial collaboration. Like at other universities in the 1960s, minority groups at UC Irvine realized they all wanted the same things for their respective groups—they wanted to learn about their own story, and they wanted their history recognized as an integral part of American history. Even in the 1993 protest that focused on Asian American Studies, APSA leaders made sure to invite and include the groups involved in the 1991 protest.[75] Even if the promises made to one group had been fulfilled, the movement had not been completely successful if another group was ignored.

The protests at UCI also mirrored the movement from 25 years prior in that students highly valued the off-campus communities' contributions. Particularly during the 1993 APSA protest, students made sure to contact local Asian American organizations and Asian American alumni for their support at the April protest, in hopes that the administration would listen to alumni or outside pressure if they did not listen to their students.[76] The APSA protests at UCI were also a reaction to the sometimes violent racial tensions in California in the 1990s and representative of a larger movement in which students across the state reacted to and challenged the white fear that led to growing injustices in mass incarceration and ballot measures that disproportionately affected racial minorities.

Lastly, I argue that although many students had not heard of the Asian American or Ethnic Studies Movements of the late 1960s, the protests at UCI in the 1990s and their outcomes were still heavily influenced by the earlier movements. The students at UC Irvine had the

[75] *Oral History of Anthony Simbol*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 03:45-04:00, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8b27q477/.
[76] *Oral History of Anthony Simbol*, 04:30-05:00.

privilege of mentorship from adults who had come of age during the 1960s and '70s and thus knew how earlier protests were organized and reaped the benefits of those earlier successes. John Liu, the only full-time professor who taught Asian American Studies at UC Irvine prior to the 1993 protest, for example, came to Irvine from the UCLA Asian American Studies Center.[77] Additionally, the UC Irvine administration was much more amenable to student demands, likely due to the preexistence of Asian American Studies Programs at other University of California campuses.

By the end of the 1992-93 school year, APSA secured guarantees from the university that faculty searches would begin in earnest. In the following years, student leaders became more and more involved with the eventual creation of the Asian American Studies Department as the program introduced a minor, a major, and in the early 2000s, a graduate degree. The success of Asian American Studies at UC Irvine represented a growing rejection of the model minority and reconsideration of what it meant to be Asian American.

Racial Dynamics in UCI's Early Years

At the time of the TWLF protests, the University of California, Irvine, was the youngest campus in the UC system, having only been established in 1965. The university being born into a time of social and political unrest, in addition to its location in the largely white and affluent Orange County, created fraught and tense racial dynamics on campus. As one student later noted, "Irvine was trying so hard to get minorities on campus," because the political climate of the time demanded that UCI listen to, or at least appear to listen to, minority voices.[78]

[77] *Oral History of John Liu*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 00:30-00:45, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8930p79h/.
[78] "Oral History of Florante Ibanez," 7–9.

Shortly after student protests at SF State, UC Berkeley, and UCLA, minority students at UCI came together in the early 1970s to form a Third World Student Coalition. Very similar to the TWLF, the Coalition comprised Asian, Latina/o, Black, and Native American students.[79] In the fall of 1974, the Third World Student Coalition successfully demanded the creation of a Cross-Cultural Center at UCI. Students in the coalition later attributed the unity of different ethnic groups to the success of their campaign.[80] In this way, the Third World Student Coalition was a part of the same wave of activism in the 1960s and 1970s that brought minority groups together to fight against their shared oppression and for their shared interests.

The center provided minority students with counseling services and a space where they did not have to put on pretenses. Later activists noted that the Cross-Cultural Center was also a spot for students of different ethnic and racial identities to come together and share ideas.[81] The establishment of the Cross-Cultural Center made UCI the first University of California campus to have a multicultural center. While UCI was not as well known for its student activism as compared to other Californian campuses, student protest led to impactful change in student life rather than to academic programs in the early 1970s. There was still progress to be made, however, as the university put the Cross-Cultural Center into a small trailer building.[82] Although the Cross-Cultural Center did provide a safe space for minority students to be themselves, this was the work of the staff and students that occupied the space rather than any accommodations provided by the school administration.

[79] "Oral History of Florante Ibanez," 4–5.
[80] "Oral History of Florante Ibanez," 11.
[81] "Hxstory," UCI Cross-Cultural Center, accessed February 13, 2024, https://ccc.uci.edu/about/hxstory.php.
[82] "Oral History of Florante Ibanez," 11.

Ethnic Students Coalition Against Prejudicial Education

In 1991, student leaders of the African American Student Union, the American Indian Council, Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanx de Aztlan, and APSA banded together as the Ethnic Students Coalition Against Prejudicial Education (ESCAPE). These student leaders would gather late at night in the Cross-Cultural Center to come up with a strategy for the creation of Ethnic Studies Programs at UCI.[83] A freshman at the time and later co-chair of APSA Michelle Ko recalled stumbling upon an ESCAPE meeting by chance before becoming more actively involved. Learning about Ethnic Studies for the first time from that meeting, she went on to do her own research about previous Ethnic Studies movements from the 1960s and even read through old archives of *Gidra*.[84] This was a common occurrence for students of color who did not previously know that their own histories could be a viable field of study.

Throughout the school year, ESCAPE sponsored multiple rallies to drum up campus support for their proposed programs. These efforts led up to Asian Heritage Week in April, and Asian American students were frustrated with being used as a badge of diversity by the school administration. Although the Asian American student organizations had done a lot of planning and rehearsing for the week and did not want to be overshadowed, ESCAPE decided that Asian Heritage Week would draw a large, captive audience.[85] They hung large banners advertising ESCAPE throughout campus that week, and on April 20, 1991, over 200 students protested at Wayzgoose, the annual admitted students day.

Wayzgoose, in addition to bringing in increased traffic on campus due to the presence of admitted students, was a particularly large and visible event on campus that year because it

[83] *Oral History of Michelle Ko*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 03:30-05:00, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8zs2ks6j/.
[84] *Oral History of Michelle Ko*, 05:25-06:00.
[85] *Oral History of Michelle Ko*, 02:10-03:30.

celebrated the 25th anniversary of the establishment of UCI. At the event, ESCAPE leaders seized the microphone, using the space as a visible platform to outline their demands. Students were told that they should be ashamed of themselves, ruining a campus tradition, but the whole point of the protest was to disrupt the tradition and force others to understand their struggle and their demands.[86] Minority students could not sit around and pretend everything was okay. In response to the protest and a sit-in at the administration building, along with encouragement from Vice Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien, the university agreed to create programs or hire more faculty in Asian American Studies, African American Studies, Chicano/Latino Studies, and Native American Studies.[87] Asian American Studies in particular became an interdisciplinary program as the university promised to hire two new faculty and increase class offerings.

Just like the TWLF at SF State had done 23 years earlier, ESCAPE brought together many different minority groups to fight against their shared oppression and for their shared goals. There was a spirit of looking out for one another, including for future generations. Due to the relatively brief nature of a college education, students in ESCAPE knew that they would not be at the university long enough to reap the benefits of their actions, even if they were successful. This also made it easier for administration to ignore student protest, knowing that these loud and disruptive students would no longer be on campus within four years. Being part of a minority group, however, forces people to come together and think about others in a way that white people could not understand.

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[86] "Oral History of Thomas Hei," July 17, 2017, 8, UC Irvine, Libraries, University Archives, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8xw48891/.
[87] Justine Trinh, "The Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies at UCI," July 17, 2017, https://special.lib.uci.edu/blog/2017/07/beginnings-activism-department-asian-american-studies-uci; *John Liu & Tu-Uyen Nguyen*, UCI Stories Video Oral History Collection, 2015, 08:44-12:00, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8fn9x/.

ESCAPE leaders knew that they would have to think about the continuity of their actions. Even though the students protesting would not necessarily be able to take the Ethnic Studies classes they fought for, it was enough to know that future generations of students would not have to face the same discrimination and pushback that university students in 1991 faced. This was exemplified by one of the mottos of the protest, "the past is in our hearts, but the future is in our minds."[88] Coined by the APSA chair at the time Thomas Hei, this motto highlights how the ESCAPE movement did not come out of nowhere. By protesting, students honored, and demanded that the University honor with its curriculum, the people who came before them and suffered at the hands of white America. By keeping the future in their minds, the ESCAPE movement was committed to its mission and message even after the protest.

Reasons for Protest

Despite the success of ESCAPE, hiring for Asian American Studies had stalled by 1992. Although progress in other Ethnic Studies Programs was certainly celebrated, Asian American students felt as if the administration had forgotten them.[89] In the 1992-93 school year, there were only two Asian Studies courses consistently offered—Asian American Psychology and Introduction to Asian American Studies.[90] These two courses were large lectures of about 200 students, but they consistently filled up and garnered waitlists of another 200 students.[91] It was

[88] C Michelle Ko, "UCI Needs an Asian-American Program: Diversity: Such Studies of a Growing Group of People Are a Practical Request That Fulfills a Major Societal Need," *Los Angeles Times (1923-1995)*, May 24, 1993, 1851708410, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times.
[89] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 2*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 17:47-19:00, UC Irvine, Libraries, University Archives, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8pc2tp2j/?order=0.
[90] *Oral History of Mary Ann Takemoto*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 00:45-01:00, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8t43jg6p/.
[91] *Oral History of Mary Ann Takemoto*, 02:30-03:30.

clear that the pre-existing offerings were not sufficient to meet student demands. Although the university had promised to hire two professors of Asian American Studies in Spring 1991, no progress had been made by Fall 1992, leading many Asian American students to believe that those positions had been frozen.

Students were also upset about rising fees. In the 1991-1992 school year, tuition at UC Irvine had increased for in-state and out-of-state students by 35% and 23%, respectively.[92] At the April 1993 protest, Vice Chancellor Horace Miller did acknowledge the need for an Asian American Studies Program, but said there was no money to fund it.[93] Instead, according to university librarian Daniel Tsang, the school prioritized research that could bring grants and good press over quality professors that would educate the next generation.[94] Echoing that same sentiment, student Christine Mukai believed that any money the university did have was sent towards science and engineering rather than the humanities.[95]

The allocation of funding, then, represented an ideological disconnect between the administration and the protestors. Administrators favored programs that might earn more money while students wanted to learn for learning's sake, to learn about their history, and to connect with communities off campus. Even if they empathized with the school's budgetary constraints, protestors could not accept it as an excuse for the slow development of Asian American Studies. University officials had already promised to hire professors in Asian American Studies at the

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[92] U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, "Integrated Postsecondary Education Data" (Tuition for undergraduate and graduate students (academic year), 1993 1990), https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/datacenter/CDSPreview.aspx?changeStep=YES&stepId=4&sid=12f0d2c6-a8e7-4e5a-8c97-9580e825d3f3&rtid=5.
[93] *Asian American Studies Protest Video, Part 1*, 00:00:25.
[94] *Oral History of Daniel Tsang*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 09:25-09:50, UC Irvine, Libraries, University Archives, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8qb9vk1r/.
[95] *Oral History of Christine Mukai*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 06:15-06:40, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8v40kc3g/.

conclusion of the ESCAPE movement. To completely stall the progress of Asian American Studies would renege on this promise, a particularly unjust measure given that progress had been made on all other promises that came out of ESCAPE.

Most of all, students were angry at the administration's ignorance of Asian American Studies as a discipline. Tsang recalled administrators arguing that UCI already had Chinese and Japanese Studies programs.[96] They did not understand that Asian American Studies was a different discipline from Asian Studies, as evidenced by their appointment of a professor of East Asian Studies as the head of an ad hoc Asian American Studies committee.[97] Such statements reflected the University's ignorance to what the students were actually demanding, and they made no effort to understand where students were coming from. It was impossible for the administration to make any logical argument against Asian American Studies if they did not even know what Asian American Studies was.

In response to student inquiries throughout the 1992-93 school year, administrators stated that there was not enough student interest to grow the Asian American Studies Program. Although there was a large Asian American student population at UCI, university officials claimed that not enough of them actually wanted to take Asian American Studies courses.[98] Though student enrollment clearly refuted this claim, school administration questioned why Asian American Studies was really necessary. Asian students were not making any vocal demands, so the administration was not concerned with addressing their experiences.[99] This

[96] *Oral History of Daniel Tsang*, 25:00-25:30.
[97] *John Liu & Tu-Uyen Nguyen*, 12:00-13:00.
[98] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 2*, 14:40-15:30.
[99] *Oral History of John Liu, Part 2*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 03:25-04:30, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8930p79h/?order=0.

played into the model minority myth of Asian Americans as complacent and well-behaved minorities who never asked for more.

At the heart of many of the qualms with the university was the prevalence of the model minority myth. According to Florante Ibanez, a professor of Asian Pacific American History at Pasadena City College and former UCI student, there was a prevailing view that Asians did not require the same attention that other minorities did. In public opinion, Asian Americans already made up 43% of the student population; were they really at a disadvantage?[100] Twenty-five years after the Asian American Movement, the model minority myth still persisted. Not only did Asian Americans have to fight the oppression they faced, but they had to constantly prove that they were being oppressed and treated unfairly.

The view of Asian Americans as successful and dominant was, on its face, a positive stereotype; they had worked hard and assimilated into American society. This view, however, erased all the struggles Asian Americans went through to get to where they were, as well as all the discrimination and lack of respect that they still faced. They made up a large percentage of the student body, but Asian Americans did not see themselves represented in their curriculum or in the school's administration.[101] Students at UCI had to be loud and disruptive in order to grab the administration's attention and make them recognize that there was an issue.

In addition to UCI-specific factors, the 1993 protests came at a time of reflection on what it meant to be a person of color in America, especially in southern California. The LA Riots occurred less than a year prior to Asian American Studies protests at UC Irvine, and consciously or not, this renewed national discourse on race relations must have factored into the desire to

[100] "Oral History of Florante Ibanez," 12.
[101] *Oral History of Grace Yoo*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 12:15-14:00, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d82n4zx3r/.

learn more about the Asian American identity.[102] In many ways, the LA Riots amplified a sense of racial separation, but within the Cross-Cultural Center at UCI, students and staff worked hard on how to confront that strife in a productive manner.[103]

At the same time, Japanese Americans had been receiving reparations from the federal government for World War II internment, and Congress had issued an apology for the Wounded Knee Massacre.[104] A response to all these events was a sentiment of "why can't we all just get along?" It was an argument that all Americans should be able to exist with each other without complaint, but this oversimplification meant that white America was still the default.[105] It told Asian Americans to hide the Asian part of their identity and refused to acknowledge the vast spectrum of the American experience, shaped by many minority cultures.

Closer to home, high school student Stuart Tay had been murdered in Orange County by other Asian American students in December 1992. This news was a shock to the Asian American community and was an extreme example of how the pressures and expectations put on Asian Americans as the "model minority" were both unrealistic and unbearable.[106] It had become a matter of life or death for Asian Americans to stand up against the model minority myth and redefine Asian America on their own terms. It was in this context that Asian American students at UC Irvine demanded more of their Asian American Studies Program.

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[102] *Oral History of Christine Mukai*, 13:45-14:30.
[103] *Oral History of Rommel Declines*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 10:00-10:30, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d83j39d9z/.
[104] *Oral History of Darrell Hamamoto*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 21:15-21:50, UC Irvine, Libraries, University Archives, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8qb9vk1r/.
[105] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 2*, 16:10-16:45.
[106] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 25:00-27:57, UC Irvine, Libraries, University Archives, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8qb9vk1r/.

A Critical Mass

UC Irvine administration was wrong in thinking that Asian American students would not complain. In Fall 1992, for the first time in UCI's history, over half of first year undergraduates were Asian American students, and Asian American students made up over 43% of the entire student population.[107] In fact, UC Irvine had the highest Asian American population, percentage-wise, of any University of California campus, maybe even of any university in the continental United States.[108] Despite representing such a large part of the student body, Asian American students did not see themselves adequately represented in their classes, and they saw universities with smaller Asian American populations providing their students with the programs they desired. They would no longer be quiet, and they had the numbers to back them up. It was time to demand improvements for the Asian American Studies Program.

Although Asian American resistance only became overtly visible in April 1993, APSA leaders had been sowing seeds of protest throughout the entire school year. According to co-chair of APSA Michelle Ko, the organization took the fall quarter to educate themselves on the importance and history of Asian American Studies and Ethnic Studies movements in general. This included going to other universities to learn about their tactics and programs and gathering data that could be used in the protest. Although they did not have the opportunities on their own campus, APSA leaders immersed themselves in the field of Asian American Studies by traveling

[107] U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, "Integrated Postsecondary Education Data" (Race/ethnicity, gender, attendance status, and level of student, 1993 1990), https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/datacenter/CDSPreview.aspx?changeStep=YES&stepId=4&sid=12f0d2c6-a8e7-4e5a-8c97-9580e825d3f3&rtid=5.
[108] University of California Office of the President, "UC Undergraduate Total Fall Enrollment, 1990-1999," n.d., https://www.ucop.edu/institutional-research-academic-planning/_files/uc-ug-total-fall-enrollment-ipeds-1990-1999.pdf.

to other universities to learn about their tactics and programs, gathering data that could be used for protest, and attending Asian American Studies conferences and speaker events.[109]

APSA then took the winter quarter to drum up support for their eventual protest. They went around, for example, to the Asian Greek life organizations, trying to talk to them about the importance of Asian American Studies. Initially discouraging as APSA received a lot of pushback from other Asian Americans, many of these students did end up attending the April protest. Because the term "Asian American" was still relatively new, many Asian American students still identified more with their ethnic identity than as Asian American. Support from other Asian American students was not a given, so APSA went to each Asian ethnic club to make an argument for Asian American Studies.[110]

Throughout the school year, APSA leaders hoped to build momentum on which they could protest. Ko, in particular, was instrumental in talking to professors, sponsoring lectures, and creating classes for Asian American Studies that, albeit temporary, would get students interested and involved in the fight.[111] As another form of protest, throughout the year, students would go to the registrar's office and register for Asian American Studies classes that did not yet exist at UCI. This was a way of demonstrating demand for such courses to the administration.[112] APSA also spent spring break with students from UC Riverside and Cal Poly Pomona, which had recently initiated their own movements, planning the upcoming protest.[113]

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[109] *Oral History of Michelle Ko*, 15:25-17:00.
[110] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 3*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 21:30-22:00, UC Irvine, Libraries, University Archives, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8pc2tp2j/?order=1.
[111] *Oral History of Edgar Dormitorio*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 02:30-03:30, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d86970b4z/.
[112] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 3*, 25:00-25:30.
[113] *Oral History of Michelle Ko*, 18:20-19:00.

All the planning and resistance culminated at the end of Asian Heritage Week, on Friday April 22nd, 1993. Whether or not they should hold Asian Heritage Week itself was a hotly contested issue amongst the Asian American student population. Students felt that the school used the week as a way to highlight diversity on campus, a sort of smoke screen hiding the ways in which the administration ignored the students they were supposedly celebrating.[114] Ultimately, students decided to go forward with Asian Heritage Week, seeing it as a good chance to congregate and collaborate with other Asian American students they wouldn't normally work with.[115] Although some expressed concern that APSA's protest would cut into performance time that highlighted Asian cultures, they were also tired of being seen as a token and having their culture used only for entertainment.[116]

The April 1993 protest was a highly organized event. APSA also contacted organizations from other campuses, and students from UCLA; California State University, Fullerton; and California State University, Long Beach all traveled to UCI to join the protest. They used student media such as the Asian American-run *Rice Paper,* as well as traditional news media to spread the word, in addition to contacting other community-based organizations.[117] Additionally, just as the TWLF and the ESCAPE movement had brought together minority students of all backgrounds, APSA created a coalition with other groups based in the Cross-Cultural Center.[118] This coalition with other minority groups, as well as with students from other schools and activists in the community, exemplifies how oppressed people build strength and power. They did not stay silent when they were not the direct victims of oppression. Their fights for justice

[114] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 2*, 15:45-16:00.
[115] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 2*, 16:00-16:15.
[116] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 2*, 15:00.
[117] *Oral History of Anthony Simbol*, 04:30-05:00.
[118] *Oral History of Anthony Simbol*, 03:45-04:00.

were all interrelated, as ESCAPE and TWLF proved, and the success of one oppressed group was the success of all.

The night before the protest, APSA members walked around campus drawing chalk outlines and writing "Asian American Studies will die," highlighting both the urgency and the significance of the protest to APSA. They also drew arrows pointed to the administration building.[119] On Friday April 22nd, students skipped class and encouraged others to leave class for the protest. Students from the Japanese cultural club Tomo No Kai performed on large, loud taiko drums. The drums were later wheeled to the administration building and used as a tool in the protest.[120] Students wore t-shirts that represented their cultural clubs, and in a nod to the Black Panthers, many tied yellow ribbons around their arms. As they marched to the administration building and continued inside, students passed around a megaphone and let out their anger.[121] They also chanted things like "world class, my ass," which was a response to UCI advertising itself as a "world class" university and "we don't die, we multiply," a reappropriation of yellow peril.[122]

Upstairs at the chancellor's office, APSA leaders hoped to talk with Executive Vice Chancellor L. Dennis Smith about their demands. Smith, however, was not present, and the school turned off the air conditioning several hours after the sit-in began in an attempt to drive students out. Though it was hot, students were determined to have their voices heard and did not leave until Smith promised, via Professor John Liu and Ombudsman Ron Wilson, to meet with the protestors at the student center.[123] Smith did not give the students the respect of speaking

[119] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 3*, 25:30-26:15.
[120] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 3*, 26:15-27:00.
[121] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 3*, 27:00-27:45.
[122] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 3*, 12:00-14:00.
[123] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 3*, 27:50-29:45.

them to directly, and many students saw this as a way to get protestors out of the building, rather than a genuine proposal. This opinion was further bolstered when Smith showed up at the student center and left within minutes with a police escort.[124]

After the April 22nd protest ended in frustration, APSA's efforts continued in earnest with a rotating hunger strike, in which students would camp outside the administration building for 24 hour shifts. They knew that this prolonged and extreme action would capture the attention of the media and show the university that they would continue to push for justice.[125] This was the first in a larger movement in which students of color across California held hunger strikes to demand dignity and protest lasting colonial legacies. Students at UCLA, for example, held a hunger strike shortly after APSA's in support of Chicano Studies.[126] After 35 days of the hunger strike, approximately 100 students occupied the chancellor's office again on June 10, 1993, the last day of the school year. After four hours, Vice Chancellor Anne Spence signed an agreement to hire four professors of Asian American Studies.[127]

Rice Paper

In 1983, Asian American students at UC Irvine created *East/West Ties*, a newspaper meant to reflect and serve the Asian American community on campus and changed its name to *Rice Paper* in 1991.[128] The newspaper operated under APSA, and APSA used *Rice Paper* to advertise its operations. It was writers at *Rice Paper*, for example, who came up with "world class, my ass."[129] Being the voice of Asian American students on campus, *Rice Paper* was key in

[124] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 3*, 29:45-30:45.
[125] *Oral History of Anthony Simbol*, 11:30-11:55.
[126] *Oral History of Anthony Simbol*, 11:55-12:10.
[127] De Tran and Matt Lait, "UCI Protestors Win Guarantee on Asian Studies," *Los Angeles Times*, June 11, 1993, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-06-11-mn-2048-story.html.
[128] Trinh, "The Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies at UCI."
[129] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 3*, 14:00-15:00.

influencing student opinions on Asian American Studies at the time.[130] In this section, I will examine the ways in which *Rice Paper* created an Asian American voice and encouraged students to take action.

It was especially important for *Rice Paper* to create a distinct Asian American voice in 1993 because of the administration's ignorance of the differences between Asian Studies and Asian American Studies. Although there is some poetry in the Winter 1993 issue, most articles are at least a page long and address topics like Asian American film, Asian American news updates, and the status of Asian Americans at UCI.[131] In comparison, the June 1969 issue of *Gidra* contains articles on similar topics, but there are also more creative sections that require the reader to interpret a meaning. Even visually, *Gidra* contained more art and a larger variety of fonts, creating a playful look that lent a sense of familiarity to readers.[132] As a whole, *Rice Paper* articles were longer and more formal, creating an explanatory and informative tone.

Rice Paper's informative tone allowed the paper to explicitly advertise APSA's protests, and writers regularly argued for the creation of Asian American Studies at UCI. Because *Rice Paper* was mainly circulated within UC Irvine, writers knew exactly who their readers were, and they could speak directly to the UCI community. Editors and writers often urged students to get involved and provided tangible suggestions on how to exactly make that happen.[133] Reporting on the beating of Vietnamese American Loc Minh Truong, for example, Daniel Tsang lists out ten things concerned readers can do to help, ranging from "2. Write to the media [...]" to "6. Talk to some teenagers" to "10. Contact me [...] if you are interested in helping Truong, taking some

[130] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen, Part 2*, 10:00-12:00.
[131] "Rice Paper," 1993, The UC Irvine Libraries.
[132] "Gidra," June 1969, Densho Digital Repository.
[133] Lilly Chow et al., "World Class... My Ass!," *Rice Paper*, 1993, The UC Irvine Libraries; Michelle Liu, "Editorial," *Rice Paper*, 1993, The UC Irvine Libraries.

action or having a regular gay Asian rap group in Orange County."[134] Unfortunately, *Rice Paper* stopped publishing in 1998 due to student apathy. Nonetheless, during the early 1990s when Asian American students were highly engaged in activism, *Rice Paper* was a crucial tool that APSA used to make their arguments and gain traction.

Influence from the 1960s and the Asian American Movement

Some students involved in the protests at UC Irvine were directly influenced by the Asian American Movement. James Lam, for example, remembered learning about the movements of the 1960s and being upset that UCI had not gotten to that point in developing their curriculum. This motivated him to fight for Asian American Studies at UC Irvine.[135] Lam was the exception, however, as many students later stated that they did not know much, if anything, about the Asian American Movement.

Nonetheless, the 1990s protests at UC Irvine were greatly influenced by activists from the 1960s and '70s. Student leaders of ESCAPE and APSA created plans behind the scenes that general protest participants were unaware of, and throughout this planning, they looked back at the activists from the 1960s for inspiration. During the ESCAPE movement, for example, Michelle Ko specifically remembered discovering and being radicalized by *Gidra*, tearing through each issue in the school library.[136]

Faculty and staff support for Asian American Studies was key to the success of the 1993 protest. Although higher level administration did not understand the movement, the mentorship and lack of resistance from figures like Ombudsman and APSA advisor Ron Wilson and

[134] Daniel C. Tsang, "The Attack on Loc Minh Truong: The Intersection of Sexual Orientation, Race, and Violence," *Rice Paper*, 1993, The UC Irvine Libraries.
[135] *Oral History of Eileen Chun-Fruto, James Lam, Michelle Liu, and Tu-Uyen Nguyen*, 13:15-15:00.
[136] *Oral History of Michelle Ko*, 05:25-05:45.

Professor John Liu stabilized and legitimized APSA's cause. Wilson, for example, argued for the campus authorities to leave students alone during the April 1993 sit-in.[137] During the hunger strike, APSA worked with Campus Safety and the Campus Health Center to ensure that everybody on strike was safe.[138] Even 25 years after the Asian American Movement, this was rare on a college campus. Ko remembered, for example, that students at other schools, particularly those at UCLA, held a lot of distrust for those who worked at the university.[139] Those students had come from a place where they had to fight everyone in power to get their voices heard, while student voices at UCI were amplified by many allies on campus.

Even though most students had not known about the Asian American Movement, their mentors and advisors had been a part of the earlier movement and watched Asian American Studies grow since then. John Liu, who taught Introduction to Asian American Studies and was a mentor to both APSA and individual students, earned his PhD at UCLA and worked at UCLA's Asian American Studies Center from 1971 until he moved to Irvine in 1985.[140] Wilson and Corina Espinoza, director of the Cross-Cultural Center at the time, had also come of age during the 1960s and '70s, and knowledge of protests from that time informed their advice to APSA in the 1990s.[141]

The end of protest and the agreement to hire more faculty was not the end of student action. Just as ESCAPE was meant for the benefit of future students, APSA leaders knew that the students after them would need to continue the fight. As a result of the protests, Yong Chen in 1993 became the first Asian American Studies professor to be hired at UC Irvine.[142] Change,

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[137] *Oral History of John Liu*, 15:00-15:30.
[138] *Oral History of Michelle Ko*, 21:30-21:45.
[139] *Oral History of Michelle Ko*, 19:25-19:50.
[140] *Oral History of John Liu*, 04:00-04:30.
[141] "Oral History of Thomas Hei," 4.
[142] *Oral History of Yong Chen*, Beginnings of Activism for the Department of Asian American Studies (BADAAS) at University of California, Irvine Collection, 2017, 04:45-05:15, https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/81235/d8gt5fv20/.

however, was incremental.[143] According to her speaker notes, at the 1994 opening of Asian Heritage Week, APSA co-chair Eileen Chun stated that very little had changed since the university's promise to hire professors the year before and stressed the importance and urgency of keeping that promise.[144]

In the 1994-95 school year, students were invited to participate in the hiring and development process for Asian American Studies, and Dorothy Fujita-Rony became the second professor of Asian American Studies at UCI.[145] The program grew quickly after that; an Asian American Studies minor was introduced in 1996, followed by the major in 1997. In the Fall 1994 quarter, UCI offered three courses in Asian American Studies after two were cancelled.[146] In the Fall 1998 quarter, the school offered eleven courses in Asian American studies, including the first part of a year-long introductory sequence.[147]

The program's growth marked a renewed scholarly interest in Asian American activism in the 1990s. At the same time, scholars looked at the reciprocity between the causes of the Asian American Movement and the creation of a panethnic racial identity.[148] Ethnic Studies at UC Irvine had finally gotten caught up with the times, though the times had not caught up with what students wanted. Student activism continued to push for more funding and recognition for their respective programs.

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[143] *Oral History of Anthony Simbol*, 14:15-14:30.
[144] "Asian American Studies History Project - Eileen Chun-Fruto," 2018, AS.198, Box 2, Folder 3, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine Libraries.
[145] *Oral History of Anthony Simbol*, 07:15-07:35.
[146] "1994-1995 List of Courses," 2020, 4, AS.201, Box 1, Folder 14, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine Libraries.
[147] "Asian American Studies Meeting Minutes, 5-Year Plan for Expanding Asian American Program at UCI, 1996-2000 (Folder 1 of 4)," 2020, 156, AS.201, Box 1, Folder 4, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine Libraries.
[148] Diane C. Fujino and Robyn M. Rodriguez, "The Legibility of Asian American Activism Studies," *Amerasia Journal* 45, no. 2 (May 4, 2019): 8, https://doi.org/10.1080/00447471.2019.1687253.

Across California

The APSA protests at UCI are not well known in comparison to other student protests in California in the 1990s. Aside from the aforementioned protest at UCLA for Chicano Studies, student hunger strikes from the decade have been largely ignored in the historical record.[149] These hunger strikes were the result of many different injustices as summarized by Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval:

> [S]ocial programs were being eviscerated; more prisons were being built than schools; corporations were shedding jobs, moving overseas, and hiring more temporary workers with little or no benefits; unions were under attack and largely ignored workers of color (especially immigrants); college tuition kept rising; racially charged ballot propositions easily passed; mostly white Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) officers beat Rodney King and were found not guilty; five men of color were falsely convicted of raping a white female jogger in New York City's Central Park in 1989; and the United States supported repressive regimes in Central America and apartheid in South Africa.[150]

In California specifically, student fees increased year over year, and ballot measures like Proposition 187 and Proposition 209 made it more difficult for racial minorities and illegal immigrants to attend public universities. Armbruster-Sandoval writes, "Many students of color (particularly black and brown) recognized, twenty-five to thirty years after the Civil Rights and Chicana/o Movements, they were still not completely free. They realized that while they were no longer colonized, coloniality and inequality still existed."[151] These students of color were no longer certain of their right to be at the University of California. By sacrificing their own health and going on hunger strikes, these students sent a powerful message and forced outsiders to reconsider the effects of their (in)action.[152]

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[149] Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval 1968-, *Starving for Justice : Hunger Strikes, Spectacular Speech, and the Struggle for Dignity* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2017), 8, http://site.ebrary.com/id/11331269.
[150] Armbruster-Sandoval, 38.
[151] Armbruster-Sandoval, 49.
[152] Armbruster-Sandoval, 27.

Adding fuel to the fire of discontent for Black and brown students, the UCLA chancellor announced in April 1993 that the university would not create a Chicana/o Studies department. After a multiracial coalition of students protested and were arrested, students organized a hunger strike that APSA leaders later suggested were inspired by the hunger strike in Irvine. Beginning in May, five UCLA students and a handful of community members went on a hunger strike, demanding the creation of a Chicana/o Studies department, amongst other stipulations.[153] Although the strike ended when the university agreed to create the César Chávez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies, the students' demands were not entirely met, and the center still faced significant pushback after its establishment.[154]

A year later in April 1994, students at UC Santa Barbara went on a hunger strike to demand reforms for the Chicano Studies Department and support for Chicana/o students on campus.[155] At UCSB in particular, protests for the expansion of Ethnic Studies represented an increasingly intersectional movement. The focus shifted to the retention of feminist Chicana scholars at the university, and students demanded that grapes be banned from campus in solidarity with farm laborers.[156] Student organizations including the LGBT Alliance, Hillel, and the Asian American Student Alliance also pitched "solidarity tents" to show their support for the striking students.[157] After nine days, the hunger strike ended with the university partially agreeing to the students' demands.[158] As the UCSB hunger strike took place, students at Stanford University also went on a hunger strike, demanding the creation of a Chicano Studies Department, the ban of grapes, and increased engagement with the off-campus community. The

[153] Armbruster-Sandoval, 88.
[154] Armbruster-Sandoval, 99–101.
[155] Armbruster-Sandoval, 106.
[156] Armbruster-Sandoval, 120.
[157] Armbruster-Sandoval, 135.
[158] Armbruster-Sandoval, 144.

strike ended with the establishment of the Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity, which would house Asian American, Chicano, African and African American, and Native American Studies programs.[159]

Just as APSA's hunger strike had grown from a larger history and foundation of collaborative student organizing, the hunger strikes at UCLA, UCSB, and Stanford in 1993 and 1994 were not isolated incidents. The hunger strikes were often the most visible and extreme measures that protestors went to, but they were part of larger strategic plans meant to draw attention to the colonial structures that held students down and enact tangible change in these systems. Even after this series of hunger strikes, students at these universities kept on fighting to have their demands fully met, and many continued to protest oppressive colonial systems even after they graduated. At UC Irvine, Chicano students went on a hunger strike in October 1995 in protest of high student fees and Propositions 187 and 209.[160]

These student movements in and of themselves were part of a larger racial reckoning that southern California and Los Angeles in particular went through in the 1990s. According to Scott Kurashige, popular and scholarly discourse has pit racial minorities against each other by focusing on interethnic and interracial conflicts.[161] Although these conflicts should not be ignored, many of these conflicts, as with the model minority myth, ultimately stem from white people's racialization and othering of minorities. Kurashige contends that since Los Angeles became increasingly multicultural in the 1990s, multiethnic unity and solidarity "have been shaped by African American and Japanese American activists who came of age during the 1960s

[159] Armbruster-Sandoval, 203.
[160] Armbruster-Sandoval, 208–9.
[161] Scott Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race : Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles*, Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010), 291.

and 1970s."[162] As the student hunger strikes across California illustrate, Black, Asian American, and Latina/o activists inspired and influenced each other as they advocated for the same things for their respective groups.

Conclusion

I write about the student protests across California in the 1990s not to highlight an upwards trajectory made in Ethnic Studies since the 1960s and '70s. In fact, none of these protests were completely successful as the students' demands were never fully met. As Armbruster-Sandoval writes, "creating a decolonial department based on dignity inside a colonial, imperial, neoliberal, and militarist institution like the UC system isn't easy."[163] In many ways, the universities' inability to listen to student needs and demands persisted in the twenty-plus years following the TWLF strike at SF State. As highlighted by UC Irvine administration's ignorance of the difference between Asian Studies and Asian American Studies, much of the general public in the 1990s did not understand what more needed to be done for Ethnic Studies Programs. The public had no concern for the status of Ethnic Studies at their universities until students of color made it their issue by tying their lives to the universities' decisions.

The protests for Ethnic Studies at UCI in 1991 and 1993 mirrored those of the 1960s in the way that students reacted to larger racial tensions occurring on both a national and a local scale. They worked with other oppressed groups for the advancement of all, and the echo of the Asian American Movement was very much an intentional move by APSA. The University of California system was no stranger to the fight for Asian American Studies, and APSA's protest

[162] Kurashige, 291.
[163] Armbruster-Sandoval, *Starving for Justice : Hunger Strikes, Spectacular Speech, and the Struggle for Dignity*, 101.

was much better received than the earlier protests had been. However, in the context of larger student movements across California, these protests were a continuation of those of the 1960s and ‘70s, and more work was still to be done in the advancement of Asian American Studies and Ethnic Studies as a whole.

Chapter 3 — The Language of Activism

Although the term "Asian American" was coined in 1968, the phrase and overall discourse around Asian America has evolved since. As mentioned briefly in the previous chapters, both *Gidra* and *Rice Paper* were publications written by Asian American students heavily involved in the activist movements at their universities that can provide insight into both their ideologies and the strategies they used in the fight for Asian American Studies. In this chapter, I will use computational and corpus linguistics techniques to further analyze these papers to look at the way Asian American activist language changed across time and across campuses. This will help illustrate the evolution of Asian American activism and illuminate what constants exist in the fight for Asian American Studies and Asian American rights through time.

This chapter will first discuss the use of the Google Cloud Vision API (application programming interface) to extract the text from the digital scans of each paper, as well as how that text was converted into a readable format and uploaded into the software #LancsBox X to create corpora. I will then detail the process of creating word frequency lists and collocation networks to drive concordance line analysis, which will highlight the most frequently discussed ideas and the contexts in which they were used.

Computational linguistics involves using computational tools to better understand human languages. This often involves natural language processing (NLP), in which computers are taught to recognize patterns in language and to use those patterns to manipulate language.[164] Optical character recognition (OCR) is a form of NLP in which a machine learns to recognize written characters, such as the letters of the alphabet, and is then able to provide a machine-

[164] "What Is the ACL and What Is Computational Linguistics" (Association for Computational Linguists, n.d.), https://www.aclweb.org/portal/what-is-cl.

readable version of written or printed text.[165] Only after running *Gidra* and *Rice Paper* through OCR technology can we use corpus linguistics techniques to analyze their language.

Corpus linguistics is the empirical study of language based on corpora, which are digital collections of naturally occurring language. A corpus can be loaded into software designed for linguistic analysis, which then provides information about the frequency and the context of certain linguistic phenomena.[166] Corpus linguistics has been used in many sociolinguistic contexts, which examines the way that language reflects a group's beliefs, identities, and norms.[167]

Asian America and its language, however, have not been studied extensively using corpus linguistics. Elaine Chun wrote on Asian American YouTubers' language in relation to masculinity and racial stereotypes, and the only other relevant work that I could find was a doctoral thesis on South Asian American diaspora literature.[168] In fact, Yoo et al. argue that there is "a theoretical void for understanding how language shapes and racializes Asians and Asian Americans and their communicative practices."[169] Therefore, this chapter will contribute to the study of Asian American discourse because very few studies on Asian American language currently exist. None of those studies use corpus techniques, nor do they study the language of Asian American activists throughout time.

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[165] Noman Islam, Zeeshan Islam, and Nazia Noor, "A Survey on Optical Character Recognition System," *Journal of Information & Communication Technology* 10, no. 2 (December 2016).
[166] Gena R. Bennett, "Principles of Corpus Linguistics," in *Using Corpora in the Language Learning Classroom: Corpus Linguistics for Teachers* (University of Michigan Press ELT, 2010), 4–22.
[167] Eric Friginal and Jack A. Hardy, *Corpus-Based Sociolinguistics : A Guide for Students*, 1 online resource vols. (New York: Routledge, 2014), http://site.ebrary.com/id/10822548.
[168] Elaine W. Chun, "Ironic Blackness as Masculine Cool: Asian American Language and Authenticity on YouTube," *Applied Linguistics* 34, no. 5 (December 1, 2013): 592–612, https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amt023.
[169] Joyhanna Yoo et al., "Asian American Racialization & Model Minority Logics in Linguistics," *Daedalus (Cambridge, Mass.)* 152, no. 3 (2023): 130–46, https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_02022.

Method

The source material for this study were digital scans of *Gidra* and *Rice Paper*. Because all editions of *Gidra* are publicly available, I used all 60 issues of *Gidra* from its original monthly 1969-1974 run, excluding the later anniversary editions from 1990 and 1999-2001.[170] *Rice Paper*, on the other hand, is not available publicly and copies are instead housed in a physical archive at the UCI Libraries.[171] Certain issues of *Rice Paper* can be accessed digitally by completing a request for duplication through the UCI Libraries Special Collections Request System. 18 total issues from 1991 through 1997 were available and used to create the *Rice Paper* corpus. Both *Gidra* and *Rice Paper* were digitized as multipage image-based PDFs.

Because the newspapers were accessed as images, the language in them needed to be converted into digital text so that the corpus processing software could read it. Because text detection is often necessary to create data for translation, book digitization, search indexing, and more, Google has developed its own OCR program.[172] This text detection, in addition to image labeling and face and landmark detection, is accessible through its Cloud Vision API. In order to use Google's OCR, I first uploaded all PDFs to be scanned to a Google Cloud Storage bucket and, after installing the Cloud Software Development Kit, ran the code in Appendix A, renaming 'source uri' and 'destination uri' according to each file name.[173] This created a JSON file with the resulting digitized text and the OCR's confidence for each individual character, amongst other fields.

[170] "Gidra Collection," 1974 1969, Densho Digital Repository.
[171] "Rice Paper," 1997 1991.
[172] Yasuhisa Fujii, *[Invited] Optical Character Recognition Research at Google*, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1109/GCCE.2018.8574624.
[173] "Cloud SDK - Libraries and Command Line Tools," Google Cloud, accessed March 31, 2024, https://cloud.google.com/sdk.

Using the script in Appendix B, I calculated the average confidence of Vision API for each character detected to be 0.9821136 for Gidra and 0.9798475 for that of Rice Paper. With this, I then used the script in Appendix C to convert the desired text fields of the JSON files into txt files. These txt files were then uploaded into #LancsBox X, a language analysis software that uses corpora as inputs.[174] Details about the size of the resulting corpora are shown below in Table 1. Tokens count every occurrence of a word in a corpus while lemmas can be considered a "dictionary entry" and include all inflected forms of a word. In the set of words that include *hear*, *hearing*, *hears*, *hear*, *heard*, and *hearing*, for example, there are 6 tokens and 1 lemma. As the table shows, both publications had roughly the same amount of text in each file, but because *Gidra* ran monthly for five years as compared to *Rice Paper*, which ran quarterly for six and is not as accessible, the *Gidra* corpus contained much more language that could be analyzed with #LancsBox X.

Table 1. Corpora Size

Corpus	Tokens	Median Token Count per File	Lemmas
Gidra	1,408,860	21,920	50,828
Rice Paper	339,994	20,721	24,163

In order to analyze the corpora, the Words function was used to look at frequency lists, which provided an idea of specific words or ideas to search for and focus on due to their significant presence in the corpora. Variations of *Asia*, *America*, and *Asian America*, in addition to other notable topics or words identified with the frequency lists were searched using the GraphColl function of #LancsBox X in order to identify patterns in the use of such words.

[174] Vaclav Brezina and William Platt, "#LancsBox X" (Lancaster University, 2023), https://lancsbox.lancs.ac.uk/.

Finally, these terms were searched using the Key Words in Context (KWIC) function in order to look at the context in which these words were used. The resulting concordances helped decipher the data displayed in frequency lists and GraphColl and how it related to Asian America.

Results and Discussion

In both corpora, after function words and pronouns that don't provide much direct meaning, the most common words were *asian*, *american*, *people*, and to a lesser extent, *chinese*, *students*, and *women*. Frequently occurring words in *Gidra* included *community*, *japanese*, *war* and *u.s.* Frequently occurring words in *Rice Paper* included *studies*, *pacific*, and *white*, though *community* and *japanese* were also found in high levels in *Rice Paper*. The high frequency of *Asian*, *American*, and *students* were expected, given the nature of both publications, and the common occurrences of *women* and *war* may be indicative of the collaborative nature of the student movements, concerned with liberating all oppressed peoples. The significance of these frequently occurring words will be further explored using tools in #LancsBox X.

The high frequency of *community* in and of itself reveals the communal nature of the Asian American Movement and of the UCI Asian American Studies protests. As noted in previous chapters, the Asian American Movement grew out of activism in local communities and remained heavily involved in broader community organizing and Third World movements. Fujino writes that "'serve the people' programs and connections to the community, particularly working-class communities, became central guiding principles" of the Asian American Movement as "activists developed programs to meet basic human rights, including the provision of housing, jobs, healthcare, and education."[175] Similarly, the protests for Asian American

[175] Fujino, "A Historiographical Analysis," 128.

Studies at UC Irvine grew out of the multiracial ESCAPE movement, and APSA made sure to involve community members such as Asian American alumni and groups from other UC campuses. The prevalence of *community* in both *Gidra* and *Rice Paper*, then, underscores how central collective action and support has been throughout Asian American activist history.

Collocation Analysis

In order to examine the ways that Asia and Asian people were described in both publications, I ran a search for *asia* using the GraphColl tool. This tool provides collocation analysis with a list of the most common words that are found within five words to the left and to the right of the search term. Figures 1 and 2 below display the resulting collocation graphs. The search term *asia* appears in the middle of the network while its collocates appear according to how frequently they are found near the search term (size of the corresponding circle), the average distance between the collocate and the search term, and the expected position (to the left or to the right) in relation to the search term. From Figure 1, for example, we can deduce that *southeast* appears relatively frequently, often directly to the left of *asia* because the size of its circle is larger than most other collocates' and it is a short distance directly to the left of the center.

Sorting by mutual information, an association measure that is used to determine how strong the collocation between two words is, *southeast* emerges as the top collocate for *asia* in both publications. It can be assumed that in both publications, *southeast* occurs with *asia* frequently as *southeast asia*, which is confirmed by a look at the instances in which *southeast* and *asia* occur in conjunction with each other. The instances in which *Southeast Asia* occurs in *Gidra* almost entirely refer to American imperialism or the Vietnam War. As detailed in Chapter 1, the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War heavily influenced the Asian American

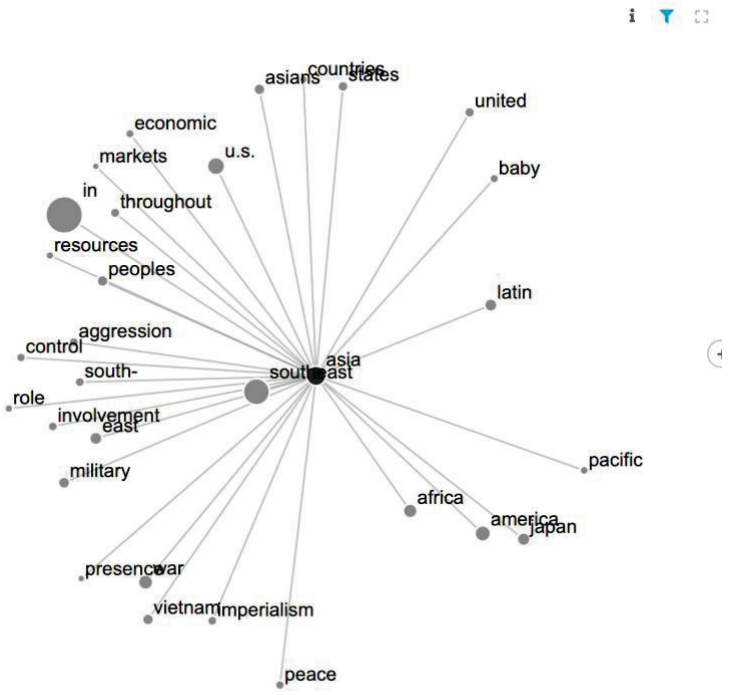

Figure 1. Collocation Graph of *Asia* in *Gidra*

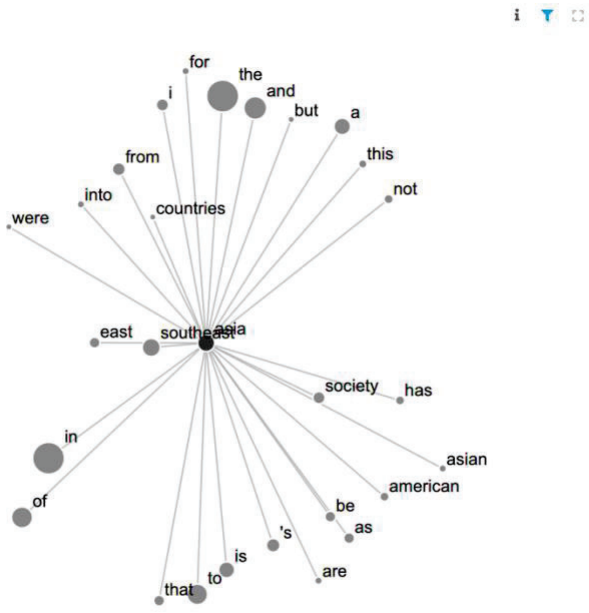

Figure 2. Collocation Graph of *Asia* in *Rice Paper*

Movement and forced students like those writing *Gidra* to reconsider their place in both American society and in a larger global context. As Fujino notes, the Asian American Movement "helped to transform the Antiwar Movement from its emphasis on saving American lives to exposing racism, sexism, and capitalism at home and abroad."[176] It makes sense that *southeast* strongly collocates with *asia* in *Gidra*. Other strong collocates like *aggression*, *imperialism*, *war*, and *military* also referred to American involvement in Vietnam and other Southeast Asian nations.

Why, then, is *Southeast Asia* mentioned so frequently in *Rice Paper*, over fifteen years after the Vietnam War ended? Looking at the instances in which *Southeast Asia* occurs in *Rice Paper*, it appears that it almost always refers to American imperialism or the Vietnam War, as the phrase did in *Gidra*. From this, it can be inferred that the Vietnam War, despite having ended by the time UC Irvine students protested for Asian American Studies, was still an exemplar for Asian Americans' grievances with the broader society around them. By invoking the Vietnam War, the writers of *Rice Paper* connected themselves to a longer tradition of American imperialism in Asia, just as the Asian American Movement of the 1960s and '70s had done.

In addition to *southeast*, some of the strongest collocates of *asia* in *Gidra* were *africa*, *latin*, and *america*. These words almost always occurred in conjunction with each other, as in "the world's peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America."[177] The frequent co-occurrence of these words highlight the importance of Third World unity amongst the activists of the Asian American Movement. This is best highlighted in the April 1969 issue of *Gidra*, where a writer who simply goes by Kanji writes, "The TWLF identifies with the economically, politically, and militarily exploited and oppressed peoples throughout the world, whom the U.S. uses and from

[176] Fujino, 128.
[177] "Gidra," April 1974, Densho Digital Repository, https://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-297-60/.

whom American 'minorities' descend. The peoples of Africa, Asia, and America are our relatives."[178] Asian American Studies formally began in the United States with the TWLF strike at SF State. To stand in unity and identify with other oppressed groups as *Gidra* writers frequently did highlighted the roots of the Asian American Movement and showed that the movement fundamentally was not just for Asian Americans.

Gender

The KWIC tool of #LancsBox X, short for Key Words in Context, allows users to search a word or phrase and see all instances in which that word appears in a corpus. These instances are displayed in concordance lines, in which the search term appears in the context of ten words to its left and ten words to its right. Given that *women* was one of the most frequently occurring content words in both corpora, I used the KWIC tool to search for *women*. Table 2 below shows a sample of the resulting concordance lines. In *Gidra*, *women* appears 1,485 times while *men* occurs only 858 times. Often, as Lines 2, 12, and 13 in Table 2 show, the two appear in conjunction with each other as *men and women* or *men, women, and children*.

In the instances where *women* does appear on its own, it often refers to organizations or services meant specifically to support women, such as in Lines 1 and 14 in Table 2. Other times, references to women refer to women's liberation movements or to the specific oppression that women face, as in Line 9 of Table 2. Both of these patterns reflect the fact that women did and still do face a great deal of oppression. The frequent mention of women's organizations, for example, highlights the fact that general society does not address women's specific needs, and

[178] Kenji, "The Third World: A Response to Oppression," *Gidra*, April 1969, https://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-297-1/.

Table 2. Sample Concordances for *Women* in *Gidra*

	Left	Node	Right
1	to be held at the Consolidated Plaza, formerly Park View	**Women**	s Club. For further information call: 938-4866. 14 DEMONSTRATION
2	and capitalist economic sys- tems. Objective differences between men and	**women**	do not have to mean inequality and sex roles as
3	Tele- communications" was shown. The film was about the Vietnamese	**women**	s struggle in help- ing to free their nation from
4	exam- ple, it is a common sight to see Japanese	**women**	walking down the streets of the cities with bleached hair,
5	slotted mags. and then he stops and the three young	**women**	step into the chariot for the ride of their lives
6	of their talent and time to cosmetic surgery on local	**women**	who wanted to look more Occidental." This last point is
7	in the fact that the drug overdose rate among Asian	**women**	runs 3:1 over Asian men; a ratio which parallels statistics
8	Angeles Coroner's office on death from narcotics overdose for	**women**	of all ethnic groups. But let's not just look
9	groups. But let's not just look at the oppression	**women**	experience because of sexism. Let's look at the role
10	incarceration into 10 concentration camps of more than 110,000 men,	**women**	and children of Japanese ancestry, citizen and non-citizen alike
11	n't wear suits, and were generally loud. These ener- getic	**women**	and men came out of nowhere and started raising hell
12	In Southeast Asia, the lives of millions of Asian men,	**women**	and children have been des- troyed so that the rich
13	hundreds of millions of dollars, while millions of men and	**women**	who work all the days of their lives securing barely
14	Monday. Call JACS for more info: 689-4413 10 11	**Women**	s Workshop-CSCLA 1:00pm. 16 17 18 Gidra Article Deadline
15	who are waging struggle. We have the Farah wo- men:	**women**	who have won a victory after three long years. We

such organizations are necessary for women's welfare, even though they make up half the world's population.

Additionally, even the greater frequency of *women* as compared to *men* could indicate *women* as a marked form. In linguistics, markedness is a concept which states that the more something strays from its prototypical version, the more likely it is to be described with some modifier.[179] In this case, qualifying a phrase with *women* or *women's* indicates that this is the marked form. When *Gidra* was written, its contributors did not need to specify when something was for men because men were, and still are, the default, prototypical human being. The same phenomenon still exists today in many ways. When one thinks of *basketball*, for example, it is likely that they think of men's basketball. Only by saying *women's basketball* specifically will one think of women's basketball. That *women* is found so much more frequently than *men*, 73% more to be exact, in *Gidra* might indicate that men needed no qualification to be seen as people.

It is impossible to analyze all 1,485 occurrences of the word *women* within the constraints of this chapter, however, and it is possible that *women* is used more frequently than *men* is because *Gidra* writers intentionally brought more attention to women's plights. Omitting the instances in which *women* appears with *men* or when referring to women's organizations, I will use a sample of lines that include *women are* to illustrate how *Gidra* writers stood with women as another oppressed group. Almost all lines in Table 3 below describe harmful stereotypes (Lines 1, 8, and 10), objectification (Lines 3 and 7), or oppression (Lines 2 and 4) that women face. None of these statements are positive, and the writers use verbs like *exploited*, *reduced*, and *susceptible* to make it clear how little power women have in society compared to how much they deserve. By writing about women's oppression in *Gidra*, writers brought the

[179] Olga Miseska Tomic, *Markedness in Synchrony and Diachrony* (Berlin/Boston, GERMANY: De Gruyter, Inc., 1989), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bostoncollege-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3042276.

Table 3. Sample *Women Are* Concordances in *Gidra*

	Left	Node	Right
1	and passive. Asians are good at kung fu, etc. Asian	**women**	are subser- vient, etc. Blacks are inherently bad and violent. ("
2	are having a difficult time finding employ- ment, and working	**women**	are employed largely in "menial" and low-paying jobs... But
3	sign of curves, and no makeup." In American culture, young	**women**	are seen as objects for the pleasure of men, and
4	work that in- sures the continuity of society. And all	**women**	are exploited; they work for the society without power in
5	services range from manicures to dying black hair blond. Most	**women**	are overweight since the food, typical of any institution, is
6	love to later talk about how beau- tiful the Chinese	**women**	are, how quaint the community is, how kind the inhabitants
7	money economy. With the real productivity of her labor denied,	**women**	are reduced to a biological function which she exchanges for
8	the stereo- types put on Asian people. Therefore, Asian American	**women**	are susceptible to the stereotypes that GIs have of women
9	positions, to the armed forces, and most importantly in production;	**women**	are in charge of the entire poultry plan for the
10	are dependent on male initiative. These ste- reotypes of Asian	**women**	are the same ones used to justify oppres- sion of

struggle of women's rights to an Asian American audience, tying the two causes together.

Although *Gidra* writers expressed concern for women's issues, leaders of the Asian American movement, as well as those of other Third World movements in the 1960s and 1970s, often left behind women and LGBTQ+ Asian Americans who felt isolated by both the white-dominated feminist and gay communities and by the Yellow Power movement. Many created their own organizations separate from the mainstream, such as Asian Sisters founded in 1971 and

the Lesbian and Gay Asian Collective founded in 1979.[180] In 1971, however, the Red Guard Party disbanded and merged with the New York-based I Wor Kuen (IWK) to form the National IWK. In contrast to their West Coast predecessors, IWK explicitly demanded equality for women, put women into leadership roles, and fundamentally tied women's liberation with national liberation.[181]

Comparing the usage of *women* in *Gidra* and *Rice Paper* can provide insight into the ways the women's rights and Asian American Studies movements interacted over time. In the *Rice Paper* corpus, *women* appears 485 times while *men* appears 298 times. If we assume that the reason for the high relative frequency of *women* in *Gidra* was because it marked a deviation from the default, then it could be reasoned that *women* is no longer a marked form, given the relatively equal frequencies of the two words in *Rice Paper*. If we assume that the skewed frequency of *women* was the cause of *Gidra* writers actively amplifying and supporting women's causes, it might be reasoned that the *Rice Paper* editorial board did not focus as much on women's issues specifically as it did on Asian American issues.

However, a look at the concordance lines associated with *men* show that *Rice Paper* writers were actually concerned with gender stereotypes, particularly those of Asian men. Table 4 below provides a few examples of *Rice Paper*'s discussion of stereotypes surrounding men. The concordance lines for *men* in *Gidra* do not mention gendered stereotypes or norms as much as those for *Rice Paper*. This increased concern for the expectations of masculinity, in addition to the focus on women's oppression and stereotypes creates a more nuanced gender lens that UCI students adopted in the 20+ years since *Gidra*'s original run.

[180] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 300–301.
[181] Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*, 93.

Table 4. Selected Occurrences of *Men* in *Rice Paper*

	Left	Node	Right
1	broke the silence by objecting to the stereotype that Asian	**men**	are to be ordered around. Silence Recently I went to
2	to their husbands and took very little for themselves. The	**men**	would almost never change the baby's diapers or care
3	political, and economic barriers are created to keep Asian American	**men**	from gaining any form of power. rice paper The Learning
4	few voices called out in the affirmative. The way gay	**men**	are perceived in a homophobic society is very similar to
5	docile, consequently desiring relationships exclusively with them. In contrast, Asian	**men**	are rarely seen with Caucasian women, again legitimizing the desexualization
6	plain goofy (like Arnold on "Happy Days"). things. Asian American	**men**	are seen as nerdy foreigners (like Long Duk Dong), wise
7	which has not changed is that they are asexual. Asian	**men**	are rarely ever seen with women. Frequently used words like
8	are rarely portrayed as positive heroes or heroines. Instead, Asian	**men**	are portrayed as menial servants, gang members, or wise kung-
9	words like wimp and nerd are used when describing Asian	**men**	rather then macho or studly. Even Bruce Lee was sexually
10	programs such as "Gung Ho" also have stereotypes of Asian	**men.**	Asian businessmen are seen as threatening, economic giants. One of
11	any power without a fight or a struggle. Asian American	**men**	live in a society that the dominant white culture shapes
12	the use of various laws. Historical stereotypes of Asian American	**men**	being sly, sinister, cun- ning, evil, and effeminate did not
13	the Ameri- can people, leading them to believe that Asian	**men**	were sub-human and, there- fore, suitable to treatment in
14	homophobic society is very similar to the way Asian American	**men**	are perceived in a racist society. Both are seen as "

Additionally, gender is mentioned specifically in relation to people of Asian descent more frequently in *Rice Paper*, whilst in *Gidra*, oppression of all women as a whole is discussed

more frequently. This is best illustrated by a search for *women* in GraphColl as Table 5 below demonstrates; in terms of percentage of occurrence, *women* and *asian* co-occur within five words of each other over three times more frequently in *Rice Paper* than in *Gidra*. A similar, if not more pronounced, result is found when searching for the collocates of *men*. It could be argued that Asian American activism became more intersectional between the 1960s and the 1990s, as *Rice Paper*'s editorial board focused more on the ways that Asian people suffered specifically because of gendered expectations. They addressed the question of how different layers of oppression could intersect and weigh on an individual.

Table 5. Frequency of Collocation for *Women* and *Asian*

Publication	**Frequency of *women***	**Frequency of collocation with *asian***	**Collocation percentage of total occurrences of *women***
Gidra	1485	128	8.6%
Rice Paper	485	139	39%

At the same time, however, did this shift towards specifically Asian American gender issues represent a growing disunity between Asian American activists and other oppressed groups? Were Asian American students responsible for sharing in the plight of other oppressed groups like women, or of African and Latin American populations that were more frequently mentioned in *Gidra*? These are questions that cannot be fully addressed in the scope of this chapter, nor can they be answered with only corpus linguistics tools. Further study can and should be done on the evolution of intersectionality and concern for other oppressed peoples amongst Asian American activist groups.

The shift in gendered rhetoric from *Gidra* to *Rice Paper* reflects Fujino and Rodriguez's findings that scholars in the 1990s looked at the intersection of Asian American activism with

feminist and queer activism and identity.[182] This expansion of Asian American Studies is best illustrated by the expansion of course offerings at UC Irvine. In Fall 1994, the Asian American Studies Program offered courses in "The Vietnamese Experience," general Asian American history, and "Asian-Pacific-American Alternative Media."[183] By Fall 1999, the program offered courses on "Asian American Labor," "Asian American Women," Asian American sexuality in film, and interethnic relationships, reflecting a vast expansion in scope and nuance of Asian American Studies.[184]

Conclusion

This computational and corpus linguistics analysis of the language used in *Gidra* and *Rice Paper* reveals that Asian American activism has remained centered on community organizations and support. From 1969 through 1997, Asian American students looked outward for support from community organizations and students from other campuses. The Asian American Movement of the 1960s and 70s, because it was part of a larger wave of civil rights movements for many racial minorities, was particularly attuned to Third World liberation and unity. Additionally, talking about American imperialism, particularly in Southeast Asia, allowed the writers of *Gidra* and *Rice Paper* to connect their experiences of oppression to larger global patterns of injustice. Lastly, both publications expressed concern for gender-based oppression, and *Rice Paper* in the 1990s articulated more nuance towards gender expectations yet more specificity towards Asian American gender issues. Throughout, unity with other minority groups

[182] Fujino and Rodriguez, "The Legibility of Asian American Activism Studies."
[183] "1994-1995 List of Courses," 4.
[184] "Asian American Studies Meeting Minutes, 5-Year Plan for Expanding Asian American Program at UCI, 1996-2000 (Folder 1 of 4)," 127.

stands out, and it is clear that oppressed people achieve more success when they coordinate their actions and ideologies with each other.

Further study can be done by going more in depth into individual articles and issues of each publication. It would also be beneficial to do this type of analysis on all issues of *Rice Paper*, which was not possible at the time of writing. Additionally, the content of these newspapers can be considered in relation to feminist or other civil rights rhetoric written at the time, which would provide more insight into the interaction between these activist groups.

Conclusion

In 2016, UC Irvine became the first university to offer a 4 + 1 dual degree program in which students could earn a B.A. and an M.A. in Asian American Studies in five years.[185] Despite starting 25 years after SF State, UC Berkeley, and UCLA, UC Irvine has since become a national leader in Asian American Studies. At the same time, however, Asian American Studies exists in some capacity at only 69 universities in the United States today, out of over 2,500 four-year postsecondary institutions.[186] At ten of these universities, Asian American Studies only exists as a subset of Ethnic or American Studies and may be severely limited in scope. Additionally, 23 of the 69 universities that offer Asian American Studies are located in California, illustrating both how California is at the forefront of progress in Asian American Studies and how little progress has been made in the rest of the country since 1968.

Asian Americans make up about 7.2% of the undergraduate student population in the United States, yet their story is being taught in less than 3% of U.S. universities.[187] At Boston College, even though an Asian American Studies Program does exist, only one course in Asian American Studies is being offered for the Spring 2024 semester.[188] Unless a student does independent research, it is impossible to learn in an academic setting about the fundamentals of Asian American history or culture at this university. Fujino and Rodriguez contend that Asian

[185] "4 + 1 Program" (UCI Asian American Studies, n.d.), https://www.humanities.uci.edu/aas/4-1-program.
[186] "Asian American Studies Programs & Centers," Association for Asian American Studies, accessed April 9, 2024, https://aaastudies.org/resources/asian-american-studies-programs-centers/; "Digest of Education Statistics, 2021" (National Center for Education Statistics), accessed April 9, 2024, https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d21/tables/dt21_317.10.asp.
[187] "Digest of Education Statistics, 2021" (National Center for Education Statistics), accessed April 10, 2024, https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d21/tables/dt21_306.10.asp.
[188] "Asian American Studies - Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences - Boston College," accessed April 10, 2024, https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/schools/mcas/sites/asian-am-studies.html.

American activist studies has boomed since 2000.[189] Although this research is important, it must reach students beyond the 69 universities where Asian American Studies is offered.

The fight for Asian American Studies only began in 1968. It did not end in the 1990s, and it is still ongoing. Beyond Asian American Studies and since before 1968, Asian Americans have been fighting to be acknowledged and recognized as part of American society. Central to Asian American activism throughout this time has been solidarity and collaboration with other oppressed peoples, as well as community-centered organizing and advocacy. The Asian American Movement and the fight for Asian American Studies at UCI are only part of a larger history of Asian Americans fighting for justice, refuting the model minority myth, and driving change in their communities.

In 2020, in response to the Covid-19 pandemic, hate crimes against Asian Americans spiked, followed by activism calling to stop Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) hate.[190] Asian Americans should and will continue to protest not just for their own causes, but for the causes of oppressed people across the country and around the world.

[189] Fujino and Rodriguez, "The Legibility of Asian American Activism Studies."
[190] "Community Reports to Stop AAPI Hate" (Stop AAPI Hate, November 2023), https://stopaapihate.org/explore-our-data/.

Appendix A

```
# based off of sample code provided by Google: “Detect Text in Files (PDF/TIFF) |
Cloud Vision API | Google Cloud,” accessed March 31, 2024,
https://cloud.google.com/vision/docs/pdf.
import json
import re
from google.cloud import vision
from google.cloud import storage
from google.protobuf import json_format

client = vision.ImageAnnotatorClient()

batch_size = 80
mime_type = 'application/pdf'
feature = vision.Feature(type_=vision.Feature.Type.DOCUMENT_TEXT_DETECTION)

gcs_source_uri = 'source uri'
gcs_destination_uri = 'destination uri'

gcs_source = vision.GcsSource(uri=gcs_source_uri)
input_config = vision.InputConfig(gcs_source=gcs_source, mime_type=mime_type)

gcs_destination = vision.GcsDestination(uri=gcs_destination_uri)
output_config = vision.OutputConfig(gcs_destination=gcs_destination,
batch_size=batch_size)

async_request = vision.AsyncAnnotateFileRequest(
  features=[feature], input_config=input_config, output_config=output_config
)

operation = client.async_batch_annotate_files(requests=[async_request])
print("Waiting for the operation to finish.")
operation.result(timeout=420)

storage_client = storage.Client()

match = re.match(r"gs://([^/]+)/(.+)", gcs_destination_uri)
bucket_name = match.group(1)
prefix = match.group(2)

bucket = storage_client.get_bucket(bucket_name)

blob_list = [
    blob
    for blob in list(bucket.list_blobs(prefix=prefix))
    if not blob.name.endswith("/")
]
print("Output files:")
```

```
for blob in blob_list:
    print(blob.name)

output = blob_list[0]

json_string = output.download_as_bytes().decode("utf-8")
response = json.loads(json_string)

first_page_response = response["responses"][0]
annotation = first_page_response["fullTextAnnotation"]

print("Full text:\n")
print(annotation["text"])
```

Appendix B

```
# Written with the help of ChatGPT: “ChatGPT,” accessed April 1, 2024,
https://chat.openai.com.
import json
import os

def find_values_by_path(data, path, current_path=None):
  if current_path is None:
    current_path = []

  if not path:
    return [data]

  current_key = path[0]
  if isinstance(data, dict):
    if current_key in data:
      return find_values_by_path(data[current_key], path[1:], current_path +
[current_key])
    else:
      for key in data:
        result = find_values_by_path(data[key], path, current_path + [key])
        if result:
          return result
  elif isinstance(data, list):
    result = []
    for item in data:
      result.extend(find_values_by_path(item, path, current_path))
    return result
  return []

def calculate_average(values):
  total = sum(values)
  return total / len(values) if len(values) > 0 else 0

# Define the path
path = ["responses", "fullTextAnnotation", "pages", "blocks", "paragraphs", "words",
"symbols", "confidence"]

all_values = []

directory = 'folder name'

# Loop through each file in the directory
for filename in os.listdir(directory):
    if filename.endswith('.json'):
    with open(os.path.join(directory, filename)) as f:
      data = json.load(f)
      values = find_values_by_path(data, path)
```

```
      if values:
        all_values.extend(values)

# Calculate average
average_value = calculate_average(all_values)
print("Average of values:", average_value)
```

Appendix C

```
# Written with the help of ChatGPT
import json
import os

def extract_text(json_data):
  extracted_texts = []
  for response in json_data.get("responses", []):
    text = response.get("fullTextAnnotation", {}).get("text", "")
    extracted_texts.append(text)
  return extracted_texts

# Specify the folder path containing JSON files
input_folder_path = "folder name"
output_folder_path = "folder name"

# Create the output folder if it doesn't exist
os.makedirs(output_folder_path, exist_ok=True)

# Iterate over each file in the folder
for filename in os.listdir(input_folder_path):
  if filename.endswith(".json"):
    # Construct input and output file paths
    input_file_path = os.path.join(input_folder_path, filename)
    output_file_path = os.path.join(output_folder_path, os.path.splitext(filename)[0] +
".txt")

    # Open and read the JSON file
    try:
      with open(input_file_path, "r") as file:
        # Load JSON data
        json_data = json.load(file)
    except json.JSONDecodeError as e:
      print(f"Error decoding JSON in file {input_file_path}: {e}")
      continue # Skip this file and move to the next one

    # Extract the "text" field from all occurrences
    extracted_texts = extract_text(json_data)

    # Write the extracted text to a new text file
    with open(output_file_path, "w") as outfile:
      for text in extracted_texts:
        outfile.write(text + "\n")

    print("Extracted text from", filename, "saved to", output_file_path)
```

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