

PHAX-962

IAN 51527

TOWARD A HOLISTIC PARADIGM FOR ASIAN
AMERICAN WOMEN'S STUDIES: A
SYNTHESIS OF FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIP
AND WOMEN OF COLOR'S FEMINIST POLITICS*

Alice Yun Chai
University of Hawaii

March 1984

Working Paper #51

Abstract: I will propose a Women's Studies method for an Asian American Studies curriculum which incorporates a women-centered feminist historical approach and a holistic feminist anthropological approach with the feminist politics of American women of color. My emphasis will be on the inter-connectedness of sexism, racism, classism and homophobia in American social systems and cultural ideologies. I believe that an Asian American Women's Studies method must be founded on feminist politics as it is defined by Asian American women themselves and be based on their multiple consciousness raising and multiple identities of gender, race, ethnicity, class and sexual politics.

About the Author: Alice Yun Chai, a native of South Korea, is assistant professor of Women's Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, teaching courses on anthropology of women, Asian women and Pacific Asian American women. She received her Ph.D. in anthropology from Ohio State University. Her research interests and works are Asian American Women's Studies, Korean women, and Korean immigrant women in Hawaii. She has contributed in Women's Studies International Forum, Women in New Worlds, eds. H.F. Thomas and R.S. Keller, and Women's Public Lives, ed. Janet Sharistianian, forthcoming.

1

TOWARD A HOLISTIC PARADIGM FOR ASIAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S STUDIES: A SYNTHESIS
OF FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIP AND WOMEN OF COLOR'S FEMINIST POLITICS¹

Introduction

Third World Women or Women of Color in America² consist of Native American, Hispanic, Black, and Asian/Pacific women who share the experience of struggle against many forms of oppressions. These are women who face the historical and present day effects of racism, classism, white middle class ethnocentric assumptions, ageism, disableism, and, in some cases, homophobia (the irrational fear of homosexuality, lesbians, and gay men), as well as sexism. In general, women of color have found that feminist theories based on an analysis of sexism in white middle-class cultural contexts are not relevant to Third World women. White feminists often assume that all women share similar experiences and, therefore, give inadequate attention to the differences that arise from race, class, nationality, religion, and history.

Feminists who wish to create a scholarship which incorporates the experience of Third World women are faced with many challenges: one is to understand, without white middle-class ethnocentric assumptions, the history and sociocultural contexts of women of various ethnicities in the United States; another is to develop academic constructs sensitive and comprehensive enough to reveal the strategies which women of color use in coping, on a daily basis, with the effects of various forms of oppressions in their lives.

This paper is an attempt to share strategies for the development of a curriculum on Asian American women. It explains the necessity of synthesizing the perspectives of Third World feminist activists and scholars with the methods of feminist anthropologists and historians. The paper begins with a definition of the concept of "multiple oppressions" by analyzing power structure relations in America and its relationships to the various oppressions experienced by Third World women. A Third World feminist politics to deal with these multiple oppressions is being developed, both in the work of Black feminists, and in caucuses such as the Women of Color Consciousness-Raising Group and the Third World Caucus within the National Women's Studies Association. The work of feminist historians provides a women-centered/women's culture approach which treats women as political activists and theorists. Feminist anthropologists are also developing a holistic approach to simpler societies, by viewing concepts of gender relations as developing from the social and political process and other features of the organization of social existence. I propose that a combination of Third World feminist politics with an interdisciplinary approach is necessary in the development of any curriculum of Third World women--in this case, Asian American women.

The Concept of "Multiple Oppressions"

In theory, American society is egalitarian or classless; in reality, however, social stratification exists, based on both ascribed and achieved social identities. The dominant image of the "American" is the free, white, heterosexual male, between 21 and 45 years of age, with education, occupation and money.³ This ideology differentiates the white male from all "others"--such as white women, black men, lower class men, black women, homosexuals, and the aged--all of whom are considered "un-American," devoid of social desirability and morality, and "ignorant" and (somehow) "perverse."⁴ By accepting and reinforcing this ideology, white middle- and upper-class heterosexual males have the power to define and actualize themselves and all "others" through the institutionalization of sexism, classism, racism, disableism, ageism, and homophobia.

White males in America define white middle-class females as the first "other" category (see Figure 1)⁵ and equate them with their bodies and nature. Inferior, weak and child-like, white females are defined as sex objects to be put on a "pedestal," protected and dominated. They are either economically dependent on their male relatives--as daughters or as full-time housewives-mothers--or, if they are employed, they are usually engaged in low status, low paid feminine professions or white collar jobs. They, then, have the double burden of housework and paid work. Domestically, they are usually isolated in suburban nuclear households with little extended kin or non-kin support mechanisms.

To maintain their status quo and ensure white middle-class female sexual suppression, white men encourage racism, classism and homophobia directed against the second "other" category--lower middle-class men; homosexual men; older or disabled men; and men of color--in order to deny their "manhood" in economic and sexual terms. These men are kept in low status, unstable jobs, or incarcerated for sexual offenses and property-related crimes. Historically, men of color have performed hard labor from which some white Americans have grown rich.

The third "other" category is developed by white heterosexual middle class males with the cooperation of those in the first and second "other" categories. This category includes lower-class women, older or disabled women, lesbian women, and women of color. Women of color are often defined as matriarchal, promiscuous, submissive, resilient, or superwomen. Lower-class women include, historically, prostitutes, slave women, plantation workers, and domestics, and, currently, food service, cannery, garment, and migrant workers.

Diagrammatically, the figure reveals an important factor about oppressions in America. The issue is not "which oppression is the most salient" (that is to "rank" oppressions), but rather to ask "which groups experience the most kinds of oppressions." Obviously, women of color are at the bottom of the power hierarchy, experiencing racism, classism, sexism,

and, when they are lesbian, homophobia. This theory is not intended to obscure the different histories and cultures of Third World women, but it does indicate that they have a common cause in working for liberation.

Third World Political and Academic Strategies

Black women were the first among women of color in the United States to attempt to define feminism in their own terms and to develop Black Women's Studies curriculum based on the multidimensional complexity of their historical and current experiences in relation to sex, class, race, and sexual orientation.⁶

A Black women's feminist group defined "feminism" as the political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppressions of sexism, racism and classism that the majority of women of color face.⁷ According to Barbara Smith, a Black radical feminist, racism is a feminist issue, since for her, feminism is defined as "the political theory and practice that struggles to free all women: women of color, working-class women, poor women, disabled women, lesbians, old women as well as white, economically privileged heterosexual women."⁸ For women of color, feminism cannot be discussed or practiced without considering the social, economic, and cultural conditions of why and how we live. We need to define and unify feminism in such a way to ensure that feminists join the struggles against racism, economic exploitation, as well as against sexism and homophobia. Feminist women should actively pursue "a multi-issue approach against racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia."⁹ To accomplish this, they must bring diverse groups of women into the Women's Liberation Movement.¹⁰

Following Black feminist politics and Black feminism, other women of color must also acknowledge their shared experiences of racist and economic oppressions in America. For example, a study of early Asian women in America should include an analysis of their multiple oppressions in the United States: 1) their entry to the United States has been under legal restrictions; 2) their "access to citizenship has been precarious"; 3) their participation in the work force has been "under severe restrictions," such as in electronics industry and sweatshops; and 4) their womanhood has been denied through rejection of their ethnic identity.¹¹ Other women of color in America share similar experiences.

Women of color find common bonds with each other in the history of oppressions and our strategies to meet it; it is clear, however, that unity in the struggle to liberate women of color comes through the study and appreciation of our differences. The Women of Color Consciousness-Raising Group (made up of 100 women of color who called themselves "international Third World women") at the Third National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) Conference held at Storrs, Connecticut, in June, 1981 proposed that Third World Women's Studies method must be based on a feminist politics which is specifically derived from their diverse sexual/racial/cultural/economic/political/regional backgrounds and experiences. A year later at the NWSA Conference in Arcata, California, the women of the Third World Caucus agreed

that rather than suppress differences in class, ethnicity, race, age, religion, and sexual orientation, we must first discover our distinct identities and recognize the differences among ourselves. We must also enlarge each other's perspectives by listening to and learning from each other in order to respect our different histories and backgrounds before we can think about making connections. We should work together toward building sisterhood among women of all groups by appreciating differences in backgrounds and in each other's priorities. We should also take advantage of our varied backgrounds as sources for strategic responses to power in order to deal with those issues which affect our everyday lives such as employment, double burden, and domestic violence. Furthermore, through the empathetic understanding of our differences, and the awareness that each difference is valid in its context, we should actively participate in each others' political struggles in order to remove all oppressions.¹² This will have to be done because we firmly believe that both experientially and academically, sexism can not be seen in isolation, but only be understood in the contexts of and in relation to different forms of oppressions.¹³

Many of our differences were concerned with our gaining the power to redefine and rename "the kinds of sisterhood" and experiences we shared.¹⁴ We soon recognized that many of our concerns were motivated by shared experiences of the multiple oppressions of sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia. Each of us experienced the empowerment that categorizing and re-naming would bring us. Within the Women of Color Consciousness-Raising Group we were able to find our similarities and differences, and discover some of the ways necessary for the evolving of a new Third World Women's Studies, based on a new Women of Color movement. We gave birth to a Women of Color movement based on a powerful sense of commonality in the midst of our differences by taking advantage of multiplicity as a basis of our strength and unity.¹⁵ One of the most challenging tasks ahead of us in the 1980s is to construct feminist theories through political experiences, and, an analysis of the material, historical, and psychodynamic interrelationship between all forms of oppressions such as sex, race, class, age, religion, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. To do this, we need an enlarged definition of "feminism." This goal cannot be achieved by the projection of Western academic women's experiences upon Third World women, but only through an understanding of and respect for the diversity and seriousness of the plight of all women in order to build a broader basis for unity.¹⁶ The task of feminists is to use categories which can embrace the complexities of class, race, sex, nation, age, and sexual orientation. A comprehensive theory must be one which singles out power relationships as the root of all institutionalized inequalities which is essential in understanding women's subordination and oppression. Carol Ehrlich defines "power relationships" as those in which one has the ability to compel another's obedience or control another's actions.¹⁷ As feminists, we must see the inherent coercive and hierarchical nature of power relationships as the key to economic, racial, and sexual inequalities. Women of color's own definition of feminism and feminist politics should emerge from the roots of both their multiple oppressions and political strategies through multiple consciousness raising with respect to identities of gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality.

The issue is how to understand and deal with gender inequalities as they relate to other forms of inequalities. We need to address women's subordination in its totality by combining liberation of "women as women, ...as workers, and as members of oppressed races and nations."¹⁸ Third World women have a central role to play in unifying diverse struggles for class, race, and cultural liberation. The very totality of their oppression means that any move to change their situation is a move against the entire structure of exploitation because "women's oppression is so deeply embedded in the entire economic, political, and social structure"¹⁹ and cultural ideology of their society. Therefore, developing feminist theories and practices should be based on the emergence of a mass-based women's movement.²⁰

Thus, a global feminism, one that reaches beyond patriarchal political divisions and national ethnic boundaries, can be formulated out of a political perspective on all issues of concern to human life. This will involve two long-range objectives: 1) "The freedom from oppression for women involves...the freedom of choice, and the power to control our own lives...(and) 2) ...the removal of all forms of inequity and oppressions through creation of a more just social and economic order..." These goals can only be accomplished by "a sense of connectedness among women who are active at the grass-roots in various regions."²¹

An American woman of color has defined feminism as follows:

"the vision of radical Third World feminism necessitates our willingness to work with people...the colored, the queer, the poor, the female, the physically challenged. From our blood and spirit connections with these groups, we women on the bottom throughout the world can form an international feminism... We recognize the right and necessity of colonized peoples throughout the world, including Third World women in the United States, forming independent movements toward self-government. But ultimately, we must struggle together. Together we form a vision which spans self-love of our colored skins to the respect of our foremothers who kept the embers of revolution burning..."²²

The Development of Scholarly Material on Women of Color in America

Curriculum development according to this revised definition of feminism cannot be the work of a small elite. We must provide information on the economic and cultural contexts of all women of color in the United States. Then the Women's Studies curriculum will appear very different from what it is today. To be inclusive, its methods and concepts should be interdisciplinary and socioeconomically and cross-culturally applicable. Women of racial and ethnic minorities have been doubly victimized by scholarly neglect and by racist assumptions. As members of two groups, women and colored races, which have been treated as inferior by American society, their historical invisibility has been doubly reinforced. Academic material on Third World women is very sparse and/or distorted.

Until recently most of the research and writings related to Black and Mexican American women which have received any attention have come from white male social scientists who have been interested in race relations and migration theories or the social structure of the Black and Chicana families. These women have been stereotyped as "dominating, emasculating" for Black women and "long-suffering mothers" for Chicanas and investigated as token prominent women or women in their family roles rather than "working-class or low-income women" studied in their historical and structural contexts.²³

Asian American women have similarly been victimized in historical accounts and current literature. According to the 1980 census, the majority (60.5%) of the population in Hawaii consists of Asian and Pacific ancestry.²⁴ Yet a search of historical literature on Hawaii reveals that Asian and Pacific women are not mentioned except in stereotypical categories, such as "picture brides," "mothers," "prostitutes," "war brides," "entertainers," and "queens."²⁵

To compound the problem of their invisibility in historical literature, few Asian American women have told their own stories. The lack of material by Asian women arises from several historical conditions. First, first generation Asian American women in Hawaii were consumed with work in the struggle to survive, working as field laborers, laundresses for Asian men, and domestic workers for others as well as for their own families.²⁶ New immigrants generally do not have the time to become literate in a second language,²⁷ nor do they have time and space to reflect on their experiences when they are struggling to survive. Second, Asian American women were socialized to believe that they did little worth writing about. Third, only very recently have they begun to demand to be included in the multicultural history of our country because many Asian American women have not even been conscious of the fact that they are doubly oppressed as Asians and as women in America. Fourth, while their experiences in America may be similar, their languages and socioeconomic backgrounds and cultural values are diverse. These differences might inhibit raising their political consciousness of having shared common experiences of multiple oppressions to make themselves more visible within the main culture.

Other problems exist in using currently available resources on Third World women. When statistical information is available, "often data are collected for various ethnic/racial categories; however, definitions of categories differ from study to study, and significant ethnic groups are not consistently identified. Thus, comparisons involving several data sources are difficult to make, and any generalizations become de facto suspect."²⁸ Another problem is that "data are usually presented according to ethnic group or gender."²⁹ Therefore, simultaneous ethnic group and gender analyses are the exceptions rather than the rule, and potential interactions are seldom explored.

While "for most ethnic groups there is some article literature comparing the work force participation, demographic facts, and family structures and policies of these groups with that of whites and sometimes Blacks," the information about ethnic and racial minority women is most often subsumed under the undifferentiated units of men and family.³⁰ It has been found that the real issue is not one of differences between women of color and white women, but of differences between Third World women and white males, especially in regard to their "earnings gap."³¹

"The absence of systematic and reliable data, coupled with a failure to properly consider differences both within ethnic and gender groups, has resulted in the proliferation of literature that is anecdotal in nature and tends to perpetuate myths about minority and women, such as maternal dominance, machismo, acquiescence, and submissiveness."³² And so the cycle of stereotypes persists.

This lack of information also has a very personal impact. The racism which Third World women experience has sometimes erased knowledge of their cultures which they may need as part of their personal and political strategies for survival. A second generation Chinese woman said, "...that need was there in me--a craving to know more about myself after so many years of self-denial about being Chinese and Asian. There was a need to fill the vacuum, of what was missing in me, about who I was, what my culture was, what my past was, and more importantly, because I needed it like a missing piece of a puzzle, I wanted to deal as an effective person, as a whole person. I had to understand it to accept myself. I couldn't accept myself without accepting that I was Chinese."³³

The Women-Centered Women's Culture Approach: Feminist Historical Perspective

Since the impact of the women's liberation movement, feminist historians have attempted to recreate women's history by formulating new approaches, categories and questions which are useful to the development of curriculum on women of color. One of the basic assumptions of feminist history is that women's own accounts of their experience should be essential historical material. Feminist historians define gender as "a discrete category of historical analysis," similar to race and class, and believe that "women's reality has been significantly different from men's," and from men's description of women's reality.³⁴ Universal and uniquely female experiences such as childbirth and menstruation are investigated in different historical contexts. They have begun to ask new questions on topics which had not been previously investigated, such as women's familial and friendship networks and their affective ties and their rituals.³⁵ Women's daily experiences are thus seen as a source of historical material.

Feminist historians place a premium on women as actors rather than as victims. They note that women often resisted prescribed behavior. They believed that the history of women should be the history of their functioning on their own terms as active political strategists in a male-defined world. This approach may include creation of women's culture,

with separate forms of creativity, spirituality, responsibilities, tradition, institutions, and values,³⁶ or it may describe women's struggles to attain autonomy and emancipation from patriarchal cultural assumptions.

This feminist approach to traditional history is relevant to the study of Third World and Asian American women for many reasons. It begins with the assumption that we must "question everything" and we must remember what we have been forbidden to mention. It focuses on the working-class, people of color, and other disadvantaged groups who leave relatively few conventional records. Their innovative historical sources are letters, diaries, myths, biographies, autobiographies, fiction, oral histories, audio-visual materials, and women's traditional art and crafts.³⁷

Feminist historians emphasize women's relationships with one another--mother, daughter, grandmother, sister, colleagues, neighbors, and friends.³⁸ Their approach to the study of women's lives can be used in cultures where women routinely develop a sphere of their own, complementary to that of men, but autonomous in itself. This women's separate sphere approach applies to the ethnic and class backgrounds of many women of color.

Feminist history has neither a "conceptual framework for the systematic study of female status nor ways to measure its changes over time." History must therefore lend itself to "more short term and local studies," rather than try to develop long term overviews in changes of women's status.³⁹ Other disciplines, such as anthropology which encourage cross-cultural studies, must also be used.

Holistic Approach: A Feminist Anthropological Perspective

Feminist social anthropologists study whole cultures, and their conceptual schemes reflect more thoroughly the structural differences between the sexes, particularly as these differences are expressed through society's division of labor. The public/domestic model first adopted by Rosaldo and others has greatly influenced feminist researchers in developing theoretical frameworks in Women's Studies. In analyzing women's experiences in non-western societies, however, these feminist scholars who apply comparative frameworks such as public/domestic dichotomy tend to pull women's experiences out of their sociocultural contexts by projecting their own cultural meaning to other cultures.⁴⁰ In response to criticisms against the public/domestic model and new evidence, Rosaldo has more recently questioned its validity and usefulness and has commented that "...our most serious problem lies...in our very tendency to cast questions first in universalizing terms and to look for universal truths and origins."⁴¹ Rosaldo argues that the public/domestic model as so constructed is a-historical, and that it hides the diverse causes and content of gender roles. Thus she comes to the conclusion that since woman's status is not determined by what she does, but by the meaning attached to her activities that she acquires through social interactions,

gender relations need to be studied in political and social terms, with linkages between gender role experiences and other social inequalities such as class, religion, ethnicity, and race.⁴²

Increasingly, feminist anthropologists have come to the consensus that the gender relationship in any society is multidimensional--continually changing as women move through the life cycle--in economic, political, domestic, and religious institutions as well as in the ideologies of femaleness and maleness. Gender conceptions grow from social and political processes, and the relations of the sexes are connected to other features of the organizations of social existence. Thus, "gender is a total social fact that takes on its meaning and function from the wider cultural system of which it is a part."⁴³

Explanation of gender using a structural/cultural framework should be based on analyses of "social wholes."⁴⁴ Therefore, concepts and approaches used in both feminist history and feminist anthropology are useful to analyze lives of women of color in America within a theoretical framework.

Priorities and Strategies for Asian American Women's Studies Curriculum

A basic tenet of Western feminist thought is that women should define and interpret their own experiences, redefining and re-naming, where necessary, what other people have previously defined and named for them. Asian American women (immigrant women and their female descendents whose ancestry is traced to Asia) of all backgrounds and experiences must have this opportunity to speak their minds and to define their priorities. An Asian American woman who experiences racism and the obliteration of the culture which nurtures her will not consider the men of her ethnic group as the main "enemy." An Asian American woman who experiences the support of an extended kin and non-kin group will not necessarily seek a feminist consciousness-raising group for emotional support and political activism. This does not mean that she does not experience sexism. She faces other kinds of oppressions besides sexism, and must learn to see the connections between them by naming them all as a reflection of her experiences and priorities.

One of the significant characteristics of the early Asian immigrant population in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly among Chinese and Filipinos, was the predominance of men. Only a few Asian women were permitted to immigrate to America. Asian women were prevented from coming to this country by cultural traditions of seclusion and family obligation, the temporary sojourner situation of Asian male laborers, labor recruiters' profit motive, and restrictive immigration laws imposed by the United States. These factors created a sex ratio imbalance, especially among Chinese and Filipino immigrants.⁴⁵

Because of a series of United States exclusion laws--1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, 1924 Immigration and Naturalization Act (which excluded Koreans and Japanese), 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act (which excluded Filipinos and Chinese until after World War II, and excluded Japanese and Koreans until 1952 when the quotas of slightly over 100 were established)--most of the contemporary Asian women in America are of the first generation. As a result of Exclusion Acts coupled with anti-miscegenation laws in 15 states prohibiting against interracial marriage, the sex ratio imbalance had been the predominant demographic characteristic among Chinese, Koreans, and Filipinos until 1970.⁴⁶

Between 1907 and 1924, about 45,000 Japanese and almost 1,000 Korean picture brides, mostly from impoverished villages, came to Hawaii and to California to marry their fellow countrymen who were plantation and farm laborers.⁴⁷ Picture brides were matched with partners through photographs in accordance with the arranged-marriage custom that was prevalent in Japan and Korea at the turn of the century. For Korean picture brides, the decision to come to America to marry was based not only on their desire to improve their economic condition, but also on their search for political, religious, social, and personal freedom from Japanese domination, Confucian ideology, and physical seclusion.⁴⁸

Upon arrival, however, many of them were shocked by their bridegrooms who looked unattractive and much older than the photographs they had exchanged. Moreover, they were also disillusioned to find that their husbands were poor, and the reality of the American life which they faced was far worse than what they had been lead to believe by the glowing accounts in their prospective husbands' letters.⁴⁹

In the aftermath of World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, many Asian women entered this country as war brides. As a result of a series of laws, between 1945 to 1952, a large number of Asian war brides from China, the Philippines, Japan, and Korea came to this country as non-quota immigrants. Close to 70,000 Japanese war brides between 1947 and 1977 came to the United States, and 3,241 Filipinas arrived in this country from the early 1950s to the late 1970s. Since the late 1960s, most Asian wives of United States servicemen today are predominantly Filipinas, Korean, Vietnamese, and Thai women who have married non-Asian servicemen and immigrated to the United States.⁵⁰

The stereotypic images of Asian women as exotic sexual objects and accommodating, passive domestics that fill the minds of American servicemen contribute toward their reputation as "perfect wives." These Asian women, who left their war-torn countries in search of better lives, are subjected to another stereotypic image--as prostitutes--in class-conscious Asian American communities. Today, Asian women in America are still stereotyped as submissive, quiet, home-loving, and subservient. Many are coming to this country as mail-order brides from the Philippines, Malaysia, Korea, Japan, and other Asian countries.

Culturally and socially isolated from both the larger society and their ethnic communities, low in educational attainment, occupational status, and language facility in comparison to recent Asian immigrant women, these Asian wives are entirely dependent upon their husbands in making their adjustment to American life.⁵¹ Severe crises situations such as wife battering, desertion, and mental illnesses have come to the attention of military chaplains and social workers. Loneliness, homesickness, language and cultural adjustment difficulties are aggravated by social isolation due to dispersed settlement in widespread geographical areas.

In comparison to Asian immigrant women who rely more heavily on multiple wages earned by family members and on family-operated businesses, these Asian war brides are usually either unemployed, or work to support themselves and their dependents, which may include their parents and siblings, as single mothers and female heads of households. For those who seek employment out of economic necessity, their lack of educational and technical training forces them to find work as unskilled agricultural workers in rural areas, or as skilled, low-paid cannery workers, hotel maids, waitresses, and bar hostesses in urban areas.

Having nobody else to turn to, Asian wives seek each other for emotional support. Both informal and formal groups of Asian wives have been formed for mutual support and exchange of information and services in many American metropolitan centers.⁵²

Politicoeconomic conditions of their homelands created by international power relations, combined with the liberal immigration law introduced in the United States in 1965, have resulted in profound changes in the demographic characteristics of the Asian American communities in this country during the last two decades.⁵³ Asian women are once again coming to the United States in search of a better life. In contrast to the early Asian immigrant women, however, recent immigrant women are coming predominantly from South Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Hong Kong and consist mainly of two types: urban, middle-class educated wives and other female relatives who come primarily to join their families; and women professionals and students who immigrate independently for occupational and children's educational opportunities and a higher standard of living.⁵⁴ The primary motives of the non-professional women who are entering under a relative preference category, however, are social rather than economic in nature: they seek, for instance, freedom from control of husbands' family elders and increase in joint social activities of husband and wife.

Since the 1965 Immigration Act actually went into effect in 1968, Asians in the United States comprise a rapidly changing population; since 1970 their population has doubled. Today, Asians account for one-third of the legal immigration to this country each year. Half of the Asian population is made up of recent immigrants and refugees. Nearly 275,000 immigrants are admitted to this country each year.⁵⁵ Although the most visible and the largest groups of Asians in America has been Japanese, the 1980 census indicates that for the first time in the history of the United States, the Japanese population has been surpassed by the Chinese and Filipinos.⁵⁶

In contrast to the early Asian immigrants, one of the most striking characteristics of post-1965 Asian immigrants to the United States is that a majority of the newcomers are women. The larger proportion of women in many of the immigrant populations is characteristic of both the chain-migration pattern of family reunification and formation, and the presence of war brides. Asian women are now able to join the husbands from whom they were separated because of the exclusionary policies of the past. The largest single category of new immigrants, in fact, consists of wives of United States citizens. Other factors which have influenced the larger representation of women among the contemporary Asian immigrants are the sex selective nature of the adoption of Asian orphans; Asian, especially Filipina and Korean, nurses coming to America to be employed in hospitals; and the military conscription of males in Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and South Vietnam before they leave their home countries.⁵⁷

Accordingly, Asian female population in this country has been growing at a faster rate than the Asian male population. In particular, among Chinese, Japanese, Filipina and Korean adults in the 20 to 40 age group, there are more women than men of foreign birth.⁵⁸ Therefore, the 1965 Immigration Act has had a greater impact on Asian women than on Asian men.

Asian American feminists, who draw upon their own history, culture and current reality, will devise different political strategies from those developed by white middle-class feminists. These strategies which Asian American women have created and continue to create in their lives must be recognized. Asian American women are subjects rather than objects, active strategists rather than passive victims.⁵⁹ Their histories should be sought out and their choices seen in this context: that they are active political strategists in confronting the everyday reality of their lives.

There have been two major economic adaptive strategies which have been developed by both early and recent Asian immigrant women: entering into wage labor; and engaging in unpaid labor for home work, family farms, and family businesses. When the sex ratio imbalance among Japanese and Chinese was at its height during the late 1800s and early 1900s, most of the Chinese and Japanese women in this country were prostitutes who had been brought into this country through the luring, kidnapping, and trading activities of Asian importers and brothel owners. The average Chinese prostitute was indentured for four to five years without wages.

Between 1870 and 1880, the number of Chinese prostitutes greatly decreased due to the government's restrictive laws and Christian missionaries' active campaigns against Chinese prostitutes.⁶⁰ In 1900, most Japanese women in this country who had been lured or bought by Japanese men, and sometimes sold by their husbands, were also prostitutes. Japanese prostitutes, however, were steadily reduced between 1900 and 1920 by the cooperative efforts of the Japanese government and the Japanese immigrant community in America, combined with the arrival of thousands of picture brides.⁶¹ Other early Asian immigrant women worked in plantations, canneries, garment factories, and private households, in addition to their own homes.

Because of the economic structure, double burden, the low level of training in education and skills, and racial/ethnic discrimination, most of the early Chinese and Japanese immigrant women entered into low paying jobs as operatives or domestically skilled jobs such as seamstresses, domestic servants, laundresses, cooks, and rooming house operators. Those who chose to work with their husbands in family businesses, such as laundries, restaurants, and boarding houses, worked as unpaid family laborers. The early Japanese immigrant women worked alongside their men in farm fields to earn wages to supplement family income. The great majority of pineapple and sugar field workers and domestic servants were predominantly Japanese immigrant women.

Besides engaging in outside wage work, many Japanese and Korean picture brides were self-employed; they operated kitchen services and did laundry for the single male laborers of the community. Due to the clear-cut domestic sexual division of labor and the absence of nearby adult female relatives, early Asian immigrant women were mainly responsible for housekeeping and child care.⁶² In times of crises, such as illnesses or emergency trips to distant places, other fellow countrywomen, neighbors, their husbands, or older children temporarily took over the household chores and child care. Through immigrant women's long hours of both paid and unpaid hard work outside and inside the household, many Japanese and Korean families could save enough money to leave plantations and farm fields and set up family, farms, and family businesses such as restaurants, tailor shops, furniture stores, repair shops, and boarding houses.⁶³

Few Filipino immigrant wives worked in the fields. They raised vegetables and farm animals. As the traditional managers of household finances, Filipino women could contribute greatly, with their managerial abilities, to the welfare of their families in America, especially when their husbands earned low wages as unskilled agricultural laborers.⁶⁴ Filipino women in Hawaii contributed to their families' financial support by offering daily bathhouse services for male agricultural laborers, and housekeeping for single male boarders by washing their clothes, and cooking their meals. Some women sewed men's underweares, embroidered pillow cases or baked Filipino pastries and other delicacies which were sold to single male laborers on their payday.⁶⁵

Since there had been few opportunities, especially for women, to earn money in their native countries, it was important for them to be able to earn money in America; this ability, in turn, gave them some sense of autonomy. Although the absence of their female relatives in America forced them to work harder both outside and inside the home, they preferred their life in America mainly because of the freedom they enjoyed from their husbands' family elders, specifically their mothers-in-law.

Due to the discrimination experienced by Asian immigrant men and the resultant low wages and frequent changes in employment, Asian American women's rate of labor force participation is much higher than that of white women. Asian immigrant women often work 10 to 16 hours a day soon after

their arrival. They labor for low wages under difficult work conditions, experience occupationally related health problems, and the pressures of the double burden of wage work and family work. Approximately two-thirds of all adult Asian American women are in the labor force as compared to about one-half of white women. Income levels of Asian American women are even lower than for women in general. Although Asian American women, especially Filipino women, are better educated than males or females from any other population group in America, the discrepancy between education and income is greater for Asian American women than for white women. According to the 1970 census, median incomes of full time employed Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino women were less than \$4,000 per year.⁶⁶

United States-born Asian women are still crowded into the least visible, low-status, and low-paying occupations, mostly in sales and clerical jobs. Employers usually perceive Asian American women according to the racial/sexual stereotypes: as quiet, submissive, hardworking, and minutely detail-minded subordinates. Asian immigrant women with professional, technical training and occupational experiences also find it difficult to utilize their skills in the United States because of licensing and local training and experience requirements.⁶⁷

Under sexual, economic, and racial discriminations, Asian American women are some of the most over-qualified, unskilled workers. As electronics assembly lines, garment and jewelry factory, and cannery workers, hotel maids, nurses' aids and clerks, their incomes are scarcely enough to cover their individual and families' necessities. Asian immigrant women with less education and a lack of English proficiency are usually employed in service industries such as restaurants, laundries, and grocery stores in their ethnic communities, earning sometimes less than minimum wage and working overtime without compensation. Garment factory work currently is still an important source of employment for Chinese immigrant women in America. In 1970, 57% of all Chinese American working women were seamstresses or food service workers.⁶⁸

The tradition of family businesses is still attractive to many recent Asian immigrants. They prefer the longer hours of unpaid family labor in independent businesses, the flexible hours, and informal structure and supervision to being locked up in dead-end, low paying menial jobs in a formal setting under close supervision.⁶⁹ Those who have some capital to start family businesses have opened restaurants, laundry shops, grocery stores, and gift shops in which both the husband and wife work together even longer hours for their family's survival.

Asian immigrant women also contributed significantly to their developing immigrant communities through ties of co-residences and fictive kinship. These bonds were created for survival reasons, to cement and patch tenuous relations. In an effort to improve their life in America by active participation, immigrant Japanese women in Hawaii joined the historic protest march of the Japanese and Filipino plantation workers in 1920 and demanded the elimination of racial discrimination in wage scales.⁷⁰

Chinese mothers influenced their children to develop dedication of their lives for service in China. Korean mothers inculcated in their children a strong desire for Korean national liberation from Japanese domination by sending them to Korean language schools, celebrating Korean national holidays with them, and being actively involved in the Korean independence movement in America from 1910 to 1945. Early Chinese and Korean immigrant mothers were mainly responsible for developing their children's ethnic identities and for maintaining the stability and cohesiveness of their families and ethnic communities in America.⁷¹ During World War II, aware of the fact that their own position in America could be enhanced by the international status of their countries, Chinese women participated extensively in the China relief programs, and Korean women made a significant financial contribution to the overseas Korean independence movement.⁷²

Social institutions available to recent Asian immigrant women are the extended family structure, Asian immigrant communities, and the larger society's agencies and institutions. These groups are helpful to Asian immigrant women, though to varying degrees, in solving problems related to housing, employment, leisure-time activities, English language improvement, children's education, acculturation, child care, financial, legal and family counseling, vocational training, health care and the dual responsibilities of work and family.

Nevertheless, their social adaptive strategies depend not only on the kinds of social institutions that are available, but also on the type of networks they create in order to adapt to the changes they face, to cope with stress, and to make the most of the transformation of their social context. Mutual assistance among members of kin and non-kin--networks consisting of fellow country people--plays an important role in social adaptation. Furthermore, network formulation depends to a great extent on women, who are the important facilitative or articulatory nexuses of networks. For example, the usual means of finding work for Asian immigrant women is through personal contact with other working women. Moreover, a married Asian immigrant woman can expect help and participation from other Asian immigrant women in those areas that concern women more closely than men, and from which Asian men are often excluded by custom or ritual taboo. Among these are pregnancy and childbirth. The relationships among women are important and reinforced because of the necessity to provide children with nurturance through mothering. Asian immigrant women are therefore clearly aware that they will perform a useful service for their families if they maximize their networks.

Recent Asian immigrant women have been increasingly engaged in protest activities in the larger society. In 1980, a great number of Filipino, Chinese, Korean, and other immigrant hotel maids joined a hotel workers' strike in San Francisco which lasted for a month and won a pay increase and reduction of their work load.⁷³ In 1982, Chinese Garment workers in New York City went on a one-day strike which brought a new union contract.⁷⁴

Despite their differing backgrounds--urban-rural origins, and professional and occupational trainings and experiences--the majority of both early and recent Asian immigrant women are engaged in the same kind of domestically-skilled jobs. Both groups have been affected by the sexually segregated job market, the domestic sexual division of labor, and the economic exploitation of Asian immigrant women prompted by both sexual and racial stereotypings and discriminations. In addition to these discriminations in the labor market, the double burden of housework and childrearing responsibilities has made it difficult for early and recent Asian immigrant women to work and serves to limit the types of jobs they are able to seek.

To develop social strategies for themselves and their families in America, many Asian immigrant women, who are locked into lower-ranking jobs with little opportunity for improvement in their English language facility and occupational skills, resort to resources such as capital, labor, jobs, clients, and information which are communally generated and distributed in their ethnic communities. Asian immigrant women maximize their social resources by broadening both kin and non-kin networks and social emotional support systems within their ethnic communities. They are active strategists who, in coping with the multiple oppressions of gender, class, and race, exert considerable energy in making the best of a life that includes the multiple roles of wife, mother, volunteer, and worker.

Many of the historical experiences of early Asian immigrant women are again faced by the recent Asian immigrant women despite their higher educational attainment and urban, middle-class origins. While Asian immigrant women of different generations are diverse in their backgrounds and experiences, they share a common history and contemporary reality in their experience of multiple oppressions of gender, class, and race, which helped them to develop a political consciousness and a collective identity.

The Asian immigrant women's history and contemporary reality have emerged out of their struggle against multiple sources of oppressions--gender, class, and race--and should be understood in the context of the larger society. One of the basic assumptions of this paper is that Asian immigrant women's experiences should be understood in their multi-dimensional complexity in relation to their gender, class, and racial/ethnic identities. Another assumption is that while they have been subjected to multiple forms of oppressions, Asian immigrant women have been active political strategists who struggled to achieve their goals through hard work, personal strength, and female solidarity groups.

To understand the contradiction between the multiple forms of oppressions which are structurally caused and the resilience that Asian women and other women of color in America have developed as their response to multiple oppressions, I will apply a holistic paradigm to Women's Studies curriculum on Asian American women with an emphasis on the inter-connectiveness of sexism, racism, classism, ageism, disableism, and homophobia in the American social system and cultural ideology. Together

with other women of color, Asian American women experience the current and historical effects of multiple oppressions. By analyzing the experiences of average Asian American women whose everyday ordinary actions helped their people to survive, we can formulate an analytical framework for understanding the lives of our foremothers. Asian American curriculum should also be the basis for an understanding of the common experience of multiple oppressions that all women of color face in America.

Outline of a Curriculum on Asian American Women

INTRODUCTION: THIRD WORLD FEMINIST POLITICS AND ASIAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S STUDIES

- I. HISTORY AND CULTURE: How are women's history and lives similar to or different from men and children of their groups and women of other ethnic groups?
- II. FAMILY AND COMMUNITY: Are there variations in the support mechanisms of the extended family by class, ethnicity, lifestyle, and marital status?
- III. WHITE MALE SUPREMACY: What are the socioeconomic consequences of institutional racism, colonialism, imperialism, and sexism, ageism, disableism, and homophobia?
- IV. FEMININE/RACIAL/ETHNIC STEREOTYPES AND IDENTITIES: How can women redefine themselves from their perspective and learn about what is true and what has been constructed?
- V. BIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS: What are the effects of racism, classism, sexism, ageism, disableism, and homophobia on women's physical and mental health? How do women combine folk healing methods with Western medicine? Are there Third World feminist health movements?
- VI. CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING AND WOMEN ORGANIZING IN GROUPS: How do women connect themselves with civil rights, national liberation, working class, and feminist movements to make changes on all fronts of inequalities?

SUMMARY: MULTI-LEVELED STRATEGIES AND UNITED-FRONT FEMINIST POLITICS: How can our understanding of the inter-connectedness of sexism, racism, classism, ageism, disableism, and homophobia lead women to form a united front to fight against multi-leveled oppressions of American women of color and the international Third World women in general?

Conclusion

Future Strategies for Women's Studies: A Comprehensive Feminist Scholarship

1. Women of Color's Double-Consciousness

In the 1950s women of color were asked to be "100%-American" middle-class housewives and mothers. In the 1960s because of the Black Civil Rights Movement, we were told that we, too, should try to find our ethnic roots and strive for our rights. During the 1970s feminists told us to become a part of the Women's Liberation Movement as sisters who had common experiences of sexism. In the 1980s, we face pressure from white feminists to join their struggle against sexism. But many of us who are recent immigrants in the hope of realizing the American dream of economic success are still engaged in family survival strategies. In trying to become what other people want us to become, we have not been able to deal with our own multiple consciousness and identity problems.

Our multiple political consciousness can begin with the realization that we bear the burden of multiple consciousness and identities created by and imposed on us by the majority groups: 1) we are feminist women of color in the white feminist movement; 2) we are feminists among our own people of color who believe in traditional sex roles; 3) we are of recent working-class immigrant origins in a capitalistic society; 4) many of us are women who learned English as a second language in a monolingual society; and 5) we are token feminist women of color in the field of Women's Studies dominated by white middle-class feminists.

Therefore, we need first to come to terms with our multiple identities and group memberships. Women of color's struggle is rooted in the structural conditions of their lives. "Characteristics of their behavior" which may seem contradictory with one another "are the effects of racism, classism and sexism and not the causal factors of multiple oppressions. Feminists should not attack women who show the effects of a race and class system, but attack the structural causes themselves."⁷⁵

In reconciling our ethnic and cultural backgrounds with our femaleness, we must recognize and value our mothers' experiences and find our own identities as women of color with a particular cultural heritage. It is our responsibility to uncover the cultural and historical roots that have been torn from our lives. Before we can speak the white feminist rhetorics and think in feminist frameworks, we must first learn our own "language" and in feminists frameworks which finds its origins in the voices we hear in search of our mothers' words. Our politics as women of color are deeply rooted in our immigrant mothers' and our own past.⁷⁶ The past experiences of our mothers must be recorded, analyzed, and appreciated, regardless of whether these experiences will fit into white middle-class feminist theoretical frameworks and assumptions.

When women of color relate their experiences of racism and economic oppression, we are not only expressing our anger, but also the pain of our collective historical experiences. Women of color need an opportunity for consciousness raising among themselves, just as white feminists needed the opportunity when they first had consciousness-raising sessions without interaction with white men. After their racial/ethnic/feminist consciousness-raising experiences, women of color will be ready to express their feelings to white feminists, who in turn must be willing to accept their feelings based on these experiences. A true sisterhood requires an acceptance of all women's experiences expressed in their own terms without the imposition of one's own values and cultural assumptions on another group.

When Women's Studies scholars sponsor conferences, women of color are usually either placed as tokens in white feminist dominated panels or they are "ghettoized" into separate panels. In white feminist dominated panels, the concerns of Third World women are often ignored or slighted. Few white women attend the segregated women of color panels because they believe that our experiences of racism bring either guilt-ridden feelings to them or threaten their status quo. While white feminists can accept our experiences of racism on an intellectual level, they are unwilling to regard racism as a central issue in defining feminism and strategizing feminist politics.

What "feminism" means to women of color is different from what it means to white women. Our own definition emerges from the roots of our culture and collective history and the continuing racism we face in America. Our experiences as women of color shape our definition of feminism. We owe debts to both the Civil Rights Movement and the Women's Liberation Movement. The Civil Rights Movement helped us to become ethnically aware and proud to examine our past. The Women's Liberation Movement taught us to appreciate the hard work, strength, and female solidarity of our mothers and immigrant foremothers, thus, providing us with a link to international Third World women. Because of this common ancestral background, we identify more closely with international Third World sisters than with white feminist women.

2. Multiple Burdens of Building Bridges

Women of color feminists bear multiple academic burdens as well since we must understand dominant white male academicians, dominant men of color in Ethnic Studies, white middle-class Women's Studies, and Third World Women's Studies. We have found that many white feminists who have to learn only white male scholarship and white middle-class Women's Studies are reluctant to learn about Third World Ethnic Studies and Third World Women's Studies.

In Women's Studies conferences white feminists often ask women of color to relate their historical and cultural experiences. But we cannot do so without anger and pain. Like the feminist tenet "personal is political," our personal experiences of multiple oppressions are political and collective experiences of being women of color in a white, male dominant

American society. Before the Civil Rights Movement and Women's Liberation Movement, we were not even permitted to talk about our "personal" and painful experiences of multiple oppressions. Since the 1970s, we have a forum with white feminists.

By continually asking women of color to define racism for white women or to explain the historical background of the experiences of women of color, white feminist women impede their own understanding of these experiences and any change in their attitudes and behavior toward women of color. A white feminist appropriately asked recently, "Why do we call upon those who have suffered the injustice of that history to explain to us? The lessons we have learned so well as women must be the basis for our understanding of ourselves as oppressive to the Third World women."⁷⁷

3. What Can Be Done?

A. White feminists should listen to, learn about, and connect actively with, rather than ignoring or denying, what women of color have experienced and endured.

B. Research based on oral histories and recordings of "talk story" sessions should be encouraged and recognized because they are one of the most valuable and undistorted (by the majority's values) as well as often only available primary data on many women of color's experiences.

C. White feminists should recognize that when women of color show anger toward white racism, it is the result of society's racial and economic oppressions and not a manifestation of reverse racism or individual hatred toward particular white women.

D. The curriculum of Women's Studies should include experiences of women of color and these experiences should be studied not only by women of color but also by white students.

E. Lastly, by working together in each other's organizations and movements, such as civil rights, ethnic, national, working-class, lesbian, gay, handicapped, peace, and women's liberation movements, white feminists and women of color should build a larger community of sisterhood which allows and respects each other's differences and priorities to transform the Western feminist movement to a global feminism.

NOTES

*I would like to acknowledge and express my deepest appreciation for the editorial assistance of Marilyn Harman, Pauline Sugino, Esther Kwon Arinaga, Margaret Kwon Pai, and Helen Nagtalon-Miller. Please do not cite or quote without written permission of author.

1. This paper originally was presented at the Fifth Annual Conference of National Women's Studies Association at the Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, June 26-30, 1983. A shorter version will be published in Women's Studies International Forum, A Special Issue on STUDYING WOMEN'S STUDIES, 1984.
2. The term "Third World" was originally introduced by the Civil Rights movement workers in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. It includes non-white nations and peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America who have been colonized and oppressed by Euro-American countries, the U.S.S.R., and their allies. Psychological unity and politicoeconomic connections exist between American descendants of African, Asian, and Latin American ancestors and their respective mother countries. American Third World women include Blacks, Asian/Pacific Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics. Due to the emphasis on foreign origins of American Third World women, Native Americans such as Hawaiians and American Indians felt excluded. There is an increasing tendency for American Third World women to use the term "women of color" which is more representative of the Third World because it encompasses all women of color who are Native American, Asian/Pacific American, Black, and Hispanic American.
3. Esther Newton, Mother Camp: Female Impersonator In America, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972), pp. 1-10; Robert Terry, "The White Male Club: Biology and Power," Civil Rights Digest, 6:3 (Spring, 1974):66-77.
4. Newton, p.2.
5. In constructing this diagram, I am indebted to ideas presented in Esther Newton, Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972) and Chela Sandoval, "Report on the Third Annual National Women's Association Conference," unpublished manuscript (1981).
6. Gloria T. Hull and Barbara Smith, All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, but Some of Us are Brave, eds. Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith (Old Westbury, New York: The Feminist Press, 1982).
7. The Combahee River Collective, "The Combahee River Collective: A Black Feminist Statement," in Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism, ed. Zillah R. Eisenstein (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979):362-372, p. 371.

8. Barbara Smith, "Racism and Women's Studies," Frontiers, 5:1 (Spring, 1980):48-49, p. 48.
9. Nellie Wong, "Asian/American Women, Feminism and Creativity," Conditions: Seven, 3:1 (Spring, 1981), p. 183.
10. Angela Davis, "Women, Race and Class: An Activist Perspective," Women's Studies Quarterly, 10:4 (Winter, 1982):5-9.
11. Elisabeth Higginbotham, "Laid Bare by the System," Annual The Scholar and the Feminist Conference, Barnard College, Spring, 1982, New Directions for Women (May/June, 1981):8.
12. Alice Chai, "An Asian American Woman's View of the CR sessions," Women's Studies Quarterly, 9:3 (Fall, 1981): 16.
13. Davis, p. 6; Beverly Fisher-Manick, "Race and Class: Beyond Personal Politics," Building Feminist Theory: Essays from Quest: A Feminist Quarterly (New York: Longman, 1981):149-160; Donna Landerman, "Breaking the Racism Barrier: White Anti-Racism Work," in Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence, ed. Pam McAllister (Philadelphia, PA.: New Society Publishers, 1982):317-321.
14. Sandoval, p. 26.
15. Ibid., pp. 15-16; Martha Nelson, "New Wave Feminists," Ms (August, 1982):92-93 & 230-231.
16. Eleanor Burke Leacock, "History, Development and the Division of Labor by Sex," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 8:2 (Winter, 1981), p. 486.
17. Carol Ehrlick, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Can It Be Saved?" in Women and Revolution, ed. Lydia Sargent, (Boston, Massachusetts: South End Press, 1981):109-134.
18. Eleanor Burke Leacock, Myths of Male Dominance (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1981), p. 311.
19. Ibid., pp. 311-312.
20. Jana Everett, "Approaches to the 'Woman Question' in India: From Maternalism to Mobilization," Women's Studies International Quarterly, 4:4 (1981):169-178, p. 169.
21. Charlotte Bunch, "Copenhagen and Beyond: Prospects for Global Feminism," Quest: A Feminist Quarterly, 5:4 (1982):25-35, pp. 30 & 32.
22. Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color (Watertown, Massachusetts: Persephone Press, 1981), pp. 195-196.

23. Patricia Bell Scott, "Debunking Sapphire: Toward a Non-Racist and Non-Sexist Social Science," in All the Women are White, All the Men are Black, but Some of Us are Brave, eds. Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith (Old Westbury, New York: The Feminist Press, 1982):85-92, p. 85; Maxine Baca Zinn, "Mexican-American Women in the Social Sciences," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 8:2 (Winter, 1983):259-272, p. 259.
24. Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development, Research and Economic Analysis Division, The Population of Hawaii, 1980: Final Census Results, Statistical Report 143 (March 18, 1981), p. 2.
25. The few documents on women in Hawaii which exist in print and archives are mostly on Hawaiian queens, members of the Hawaiian royal family and Caucasian missionary wives.
26. Elaine H. Kim, With Silk Wings: Asian American Women at Work, (Asian Women United of California, 1983), pp. 121-124.
27. Bok-Lim C. Kim, The Asian Americans: Changing Patterns, Changing Needs, (Montclair, New Jersey: Association of Korean Christian Scholars in North America, Inc., 1978).
28. Esteban L. Olmedo and Dolores L. Parron, "Mental Health of Minority Women: Some Special Issues," Professional Psychology, 12:1 (February, 1981):103-111, p. 104.
29. Ibid., p. 104.
30. Gerda Lerner, Teaching Women's History (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1981), p. 65.
31. Patricia Hill Collins, "Third World Women in America," The Women's Annual: The Year in Review, ed. Barbara Haber (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall, 1982):87-116. p. 105.
32. Olmedo and Parron, pp. 103-104.
33. Diane Mei Lin Mark and Ginger Chih, The Place Called Chinese-America (Washington, D.C.: The Organization of Chinese Americans, 1982), pp. 127-129.
34. Nancy Schrom Dye, "Clio's American Daughters: Male History, Female Reality," in The Prism of Sex, ed. Julia A. Sherman and Evelyn Torton Beck (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1979):9-32, pp. 13-14.
35. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

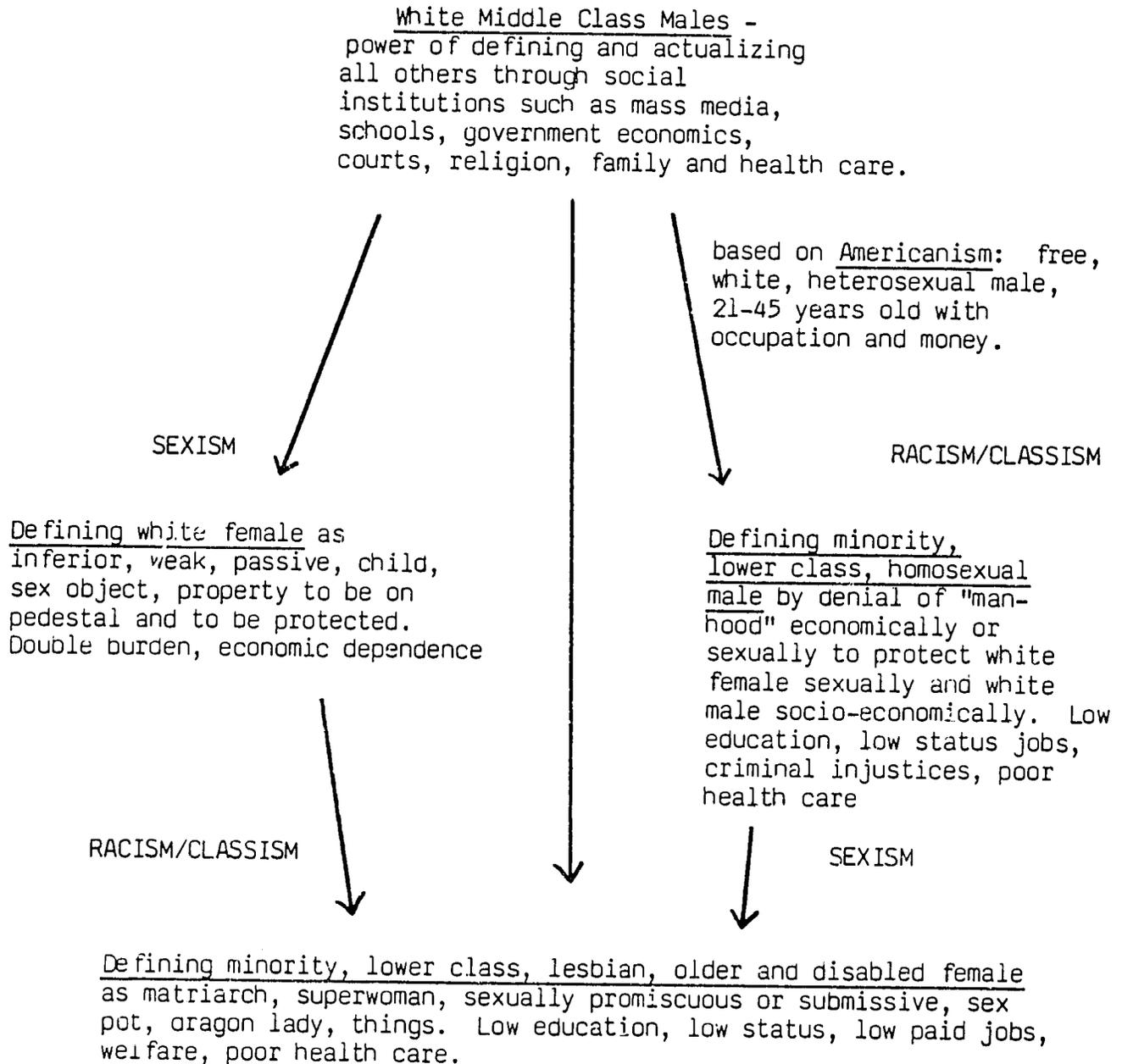
37. I and students in my Women's Studies course on "Pacific/Asian Women in Hawaii" have been collecting life histories of older immigrant and Hawaii-born women of Pacific/Asian ancestries by relating the lives of women to the general life of the given ethnic community and to the larger society in terms of culture contact and social change. Hawaii-born students who are residing nearby or with their female relatives have been encouraged to interview their own mothers, grandmothers, or other older female relatives of their own or those of their friends. Through this experience, students not only have gained knowledge about and empathy toward their mothers' and other female relatives' struggles and strengths, but their feminist consciousness also has been raised by coming to terms with their mothers and foremothers and by discovering new feminist ethnic and self-identities.
38. Maxine Schwartz Sellers, Immigrant Women (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1981), p. 10.
39. Barbara Sicherman et al., Recent United States Scholarship on the History of Women (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1980), pp. 27-28.
40. Judith Shapiro, "Anthropology and the Study of Gender," Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal, 64:4 (Winter, 1981):446-465, p. 454.
41. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, "The Use and Abuse of Anthropology: Reflections on Feminism and Cross-Cultural Understanding," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 5:3 (Spring, 1980):389-417, p. 415.
42. Ibid., pp. 400-401.
43. Shapiro, p. 448.
44. Jane Fishbourne Collier and Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, "Politics and Gender in Simple Societies," in Sexual Meanings, eds. Sherry R. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981):275-330, pp. 315 & 318; Sellers, pp. 8-9.
45. Carta Pian, "Immigration of Asian Women and the Status of Recent Asian Women Immigrants," Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of Asian/Pacific American Women, San Francisco, August 24-25, 1976, (Washington, D. C.: National Institute of Education, October, 1980):181-210, p. 181).
46. Elain H. Kim, With Silk Wings: Asian American Women at Work, (Asian Women United of California, 1983) p. 120.
47. Ibid, p. 122.
48. Harold Hakwon Sunoo and Sonia Shin Sunoo, "The Heritage of the First Korean Women Immigrants to the U.S.: 1903-1924," Koreans in America, Korean Christian Scholars Journal, 2 (Spring, 1977):142-171, p. 149.

49. Alice Chai, "Korean Women in Hawaii: 1903-1945," in Women in New Worlds, eds. Hilah F. Thomas and Rosemary Skinner Keller (Nashville, Tennessee: Abington, 1981):328-344.
50. Bok-Lim C. Kim, Women in Shadows: A Handbook for Service Providers Working with Asian Wives of U.S. Military Personnel, National Committee Concerned with Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen, 1981.
51. Pauline L. Fong and Amado Y. Cabezas, 244-322; Pian, 1980.
52. Bok-Lim C. Kim, 1981; Sil Dong Kim. "Interracially Married Korean Women Immigrants: A Study in Marginality," Ph.D. Dissertation, Seattle, University of Washington, 1979.
53. Bok-Lim C. Kim, Asian Americans: Changing Patterns and Changing Needs, Association of Korean Christian Scholars Series, No. 4, Urbana, Illinois: AKCS Publication Services, 1978; United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census of Population: Race of the Population by States, Washington, D.C., 1980 (July, 1980).
54. Pian, 1980.
55. Ibid.
56. United States Department of Commerce, 1980.
57. Pian, 1980.
58. Ibid.
59. Bettina Aptheker, "Race and Class: Patriarchal Politics and Women's Experience," Women's Studies Quarterly, 10:4 (Winter, 1982):10-15, p. 11.
60. Lucie Cheng Hirata, "Free Indentured: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth Century America," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 5:1 (Autumn, 1979):3-29, pp. 24-25; Lucie Chen Hirata, "Chinese Immigrant Women in Nineteenth-Century California," Women of America: A History, eds. Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton (Boston:Houghton Mifflin Co., 1979):223-244, pp. 227-228.
61. Joan Hori, "Japanese Prostitution in Hawaii During the Immigration Period," The Hawaiian Journal of History, 15 (1981):113-124.
62. Alice Chai, 1981.
63. Edna Bonachich and John Modell, The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity: Small Business in the Japanese-American Community (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Edna Bonchich, Evan Light and Charles Choy Wong, "Small Business Among Koreans in Los Angeles." in Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America, eds. Emma Gee, et al. (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, 1976):437-449.

64. Edna Clark Wentworth and Frederick Simpich, Living Standards of Filipino Families on an Hawaiian Sugar Plantation. (Honolulu: Hawaii Group American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1936), pp. 9-40.
65. Ibid.
66. Fong and Cabezas, 1980.
67. Carole Hoyt, "Foreign Trained Find No Place for Their Skills," in Searching for the Promised Land: Filipinos and Samoans in Hawaii: Selected Readings, ed. Nancy Foon Young (Honolulu: General Assistance Center for the Pacific College of Education, University of Hawaii, 1974):57-59.
68. United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census, Vol. II: Asian Americans, Washington, D. C., 1974.
69. Alice Yun Chai, "Adaptive Strategies of Recent Korean Immigrant Women in Hawaii," in Women's Public Lives, ed. Janet Sharistianian, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press) forthcoming.
70. Gail Y. Miyasaki, "Contributions of Japanese Women in Hawaii, in Montage: An Ethnic History of Women in Hawaii, eds. Nancy Foon Young and Judy R. Parrish (Honolulu: General Assistance Center for the Pacific, College of Education, University of Hawaii, 1977):45-49.
71. Sunoo and Sunoo, 1977.
72. Chai, 1981.
73. Elaine H. Kim, p. 131
74. Ibid.
75. Beverly Fisher-Manick, "Race and Class," Beyond Personal Politics, Building Feminist Theory: Essays from Quest: A Feminist Quarterly, (N.Y.: Longman, 1981), pp. 150-151.
76. Mitsuye Yamada, "Asian Pacific American Women and Feminism," in This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color, eds. Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua (Watertown, Massachusetts: Persephone Press, 1981), pp. 73-74.
77. Ellen Pence, "Racism-A White Issue," in All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, but Some of Us are Brave, eds. Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith (Old Westbury, New York: The Feminist Press, 1982):45-47, pp. 46-47.

Figure 1

Relationship Between Sexism/Racism/Classism/Homophobia/Ageism/Disableism



SEXISM/RACISM/CLASSISM/HOMOPHOBIA/AGEISM/DISABLEISM

To free ourselves from sexism, racism, classism, ageism,
disableism, and homophobia, all women have to work toward
cultural liberation from Americanism.

- 20 -

M I C H I G A N S T A T E U N I V E R S I T Y
W O R K I N G P A P E R S O N W O M E N I N I N T E R N A T I O N A L D E V E L O P M E N T

Published by the Office of Women in International Development
at Michigan State University and partially funded by the Ford
Foundation and a Title XII Strengthening Grant

EDITOR: Rita S. Gallin, Office of Women in International Development
and College of Nursing

EDITORIAL BOARD: Marilyn Aronoff, Department of Sociology
Ada Finifter, Political Science
Peter Gladhart, Departments of Family and Child
Ecology and Resource Development
John Hinnant, Department of Anthropology
Susan Irwin, Department of Anthropology
Akbar Mandi, Department of Sociology
Nalini Malhotra, Department of Sociology
Anne Meyering, Department of History
Ann Millard, Department of Anthropology
Barbara Rylko-Bauer, Department of Anthropology
Judith Stallmann, Department of Agricultural Economics
Paul Strassmann, Department of Economics
Diane Turner, Department of Anthropology

MANAGING EDITOR: Margaret Graham, Office of Women in International Development

EDITORIAL POLICY: The series of Working Papers on Women in International Development publishes reports of empirical studies, theoretical analyses, and projects that are concerned with development issues affecting women in relation to social, political, and economic change. Its scope includes studies of women's historical and changing participation in political, economic, and religious spheres, traditional roles within and outside the family, gender identity, relations between the sexes, and alterations in the sexual division of labor.

MANUSCRIPTS (in duplicate) should be submitted to the editor, Rita S. Gallin, Ph.D., WID Publication Series, Office of WID, 202 International Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48824. They should be double-spaced and include the following: (1) title page bearing the name, address, and institutional affiliation of the author(s); (2) one-paragraph abstract; (3) text; (4) notes; (5) references cited; and (6) tables and figures. To further the rapid dissemination of information, a timely schedule of manuscript review and publication is followed.

TO ORDER PUBLICATIONS OR RECEIVE A LISTING OF WORKING PAPERS, write to the Office of WID, 202 International Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.

MSU is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Institution