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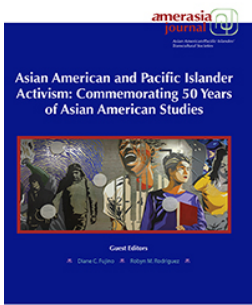
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## The Legibility of Asian American Activism Studies

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INTRODUCTION



## The Legibility of Asian American Activism Studies

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### ABSTRACT

This essay examines “Asian American Activism studies” and asks: What changes through the legibility of Asian American activism studies? What does Asian American activism research uniquely offer? We offer a historiographical analysis examining topical themes as well as theoretical and methodological interventions across time. We provide an overview of the articles in this special issue. We discuss future directions, attending to the ways that research on activism remains surprisingly sparse in certain major areas within Asian American studies as well as to the ways that particular trends within the field are anticipated to shape activism studies.

### KEYWORDS

Asian American activism;  
Asian American studies;  
social movements

The field of Asian American studies is the major force behind the production of scholarship on Asian American activism. Not only have Asian American studies scholars and activists working within the field recuperated hidden histories of Asian American resistance, but their writings have helped to bring about new epistemological and methodological frameworks. Still, within the field’s transformative scholarship on activism, two paradoxes emerge. First, we posit that Asian American activism studies remains less central to the field of Asian American studies, by comparison to the centrality of protest and activism in Black studies and Chicano/a studies.<sup>1</sup> This statement requires a nuanced analysis, especially given that Asian American studies scholarship on Asian American activism has transformed academic and popular narratives about the work of ordinary people in changing the society around them. Our point is this: Asian American activism research has not been fully recognized and developed as an area of study, despite the capacious scholarship on Asian American activism that does exist and despite the field’s origins in student activism in the late 1960s. It is our hope that with this special issue, there will be greater legibility of Asian American activism studies.

Second, a theme that is well worn within Asian American studies and yet remains woefully relevant, the model minority trope – and its concomitant racialization of Asian Americans as apolitical and non-activists – continues to shape public (and scholarly) discourses on Asian American activism and activism studies. In fact, the two most popularly circulated examples of Asian American activism today arise from Chinese right-wing organizing: (a) the struggles against affirmative action at Harvard University and (b) support for Peter Liang, the Chinese American police officer who killed the young Black father, Akai Gurley, in a New York City

housing project stairwell. These Chinese “tea party” campaigns appeal to social justice tropes (protesting discrimination and advancing Asian American “rights”), but do so in the absence of the critiques of white supremacy and racial capitalism and without the racial relational frameworks that have been core to Asian American studies and ethnic studies broadly.<sup>2</sup>

With this special issue, published at the fiftieth anniversary of the field of Asian American studies, we intend to make legible “Asian American activism studies” as an area of scholarship. This includes showing the sheer volume of studies, the breadth and depth of subjects, and its disciplinary and interdisciplinary groundings. Just as importantly, our aim is to illustrate the emergent theoretical and methodological approaches to studying Asian American activism from a distinctively Asian American studies approach. We do this not only through a review of the extant scholarship, but also through the showcasing of innovative new scholarship on the topic.

We locate this scholarship within the transformative work of the ‘60s movements and of Asian American studies as it emerged from those movements and developed as an interdisciplinary formation over the past fifty years. Here, we extend Robin D.G. Kelley’s position that social movements are incubators of new knowledge, new theories, and new questions. Indeed, the social movements of the 1960s inspired the development of transformative theoretical and methodological interventions that influenced multiple academic disciplines. In the field of history, “new social history” emerged during that period with scholars paying closer attention to grassroots activists and everyday people as makers of history, and not simply the “great men” who were often the focus of historical accounts. In sociology and anthropology, ethnographic studies turned away from colonial methods that othered natives toward studies where research questions arose in collaborations with subjects as interlocutors of knowledge making. In literature, scholars not only expanded the standard literary canon to include writings by women of color and other members of aggrieved communities, but located the canon within a full social and historical context. In law, critical race theory interrogated the ways the law itself worked by precedent and a focus on the individual to uphold racist and class-biased structures and colorblind ideologies. Of course, the development of ethnic studies, or Third World studies, has deployed critical theories and engaged methodologies that guide scholarly projects. Within this context, research on Asian American activism – sociological and ethnographic studies, archival history, spatial analyses, literary writings, art, music, and more – has been instrumental in producing new archives, new methodologies, and new interpretations of Asian American history, politics, culture, and communities.<sup>3</sup>

### **The premises of Asian American activism studies**

This raises the question: What changes through the legibility of Asian American activism studies? We contend that there is something different about Asian American justice movements, something that makes studying Asian American activism uniquely important. In saying this, we certainly recognize the ways that Asian American activism and Asian American studies are heavily indebted to Black struggle and Black study, and has much to learn from and much overlap with other social movements and academic fields as well. But in this special issue, we struggle with the questions of what is distinctive about Asian American struggle and thus what does Asian American activism research uniquely offer?

We are thinking about this through at least five premises. First, much has been said about the ways that the majority of U.S. wars in the twentieth century were fought against Asian countries. Scholars such as Jodi Kim, Robert Lee, Simeon Man, Christina Klein, Moon-ho Jung, and others show how the U.S. global Cold War in Asia shaped Asian American racialization, cultural productions, and social critique, as well as U.S. society broadly. Studies by Cindy I-Fen Cheng and Diane Fujino reveal how Chinese, Korean, and Japanese American activists gained certain domestic rights at a time when U.S. capital and political hegemony were extending into Asia and were thereby invested in undercutting global charges of U.S. racism. Certainly, the Cold War impacted Black and other Third World movements, but with the United States waging its fiercest hot and cold wars in a battle over the Asia Pacific region, it turned Asian Americans from a reviled group targeted for exclusion and singled out for incarceration into “model minorities.” This shifted the positionality of Asian Americans within U.S. racial politics – astutely articulated as triangulation by Claire Jean Kim – and, significant to our ideas here, made it harder for other groups to recognize anti-Asian racism or to see a basis for alliance-building with Asian Americans.<sup>4</sup>

Second, arising out of the Asian American Movement of the 1960s-‘70s (AAM) was a new identity, one that was, as Yen Le Espiritu shows, a political identity and a strategic move against group-based racism that treated Asian ethnic groups as interchangeable. The new term “Asian American” was certainly pan-Asian, but it was also simultaneously a Third World identity that connected with Black, Chicana/o, and Indigenous struggles as well as with anti-colonial struggles abroad. Because the collective identity was so clearly socially constructed – requiring a coming together across differences of language, religion, traditions, and even wartime enemies – it also inserted a flexibility across borders and the imagination to create new social formations.<sup>5</sup>

Third, and partly owing to their in-between racial positionality and to the fluidity of their identity formation, Asian Americans extended strong solidarities with other groups. We dare to assert that more than any other anti-racist mobilizations, Asian American activists and the AAM as a whole insisted on solidarity-making as a strategy for fighting white supremacy and racial capitalism. Laura Pulido found exactly this in her study of Asian American, Black, and Chicano/a activists in Los Angeles in the late 1960s and 1970s. We are mindful, however, that in places like the San Francisco Bay Area, it wasn’t only Asian Americans extending camaraderie to others, but Black activists and others as well who offered solidarity with Asian Americans. Scholars have shown the ways that Black activists looked to Asia and Asian America as partners or sources of inspiration in forging anti-imperialist struggles. Still, for Asian American struggles, solidarity making has been at its core and some of the best-known Asian American activists promoted interethnic and interracial alliances and worked against narrow racial nationalism as exemplified by Grace Lee Boggs, Yuri Kochiyama, Richard Aoki, Nobuko Miyamoto, Philip Vera Cruz, and Larry Itliong. In short, studying Asian American activism offers insights into the workings of racial relational and comparative politics and solidarity making, ways of working that Barbara Tomlinson and George Lipsitz discuss as “accompaniment” and Diane Fujino calls “deep solidarities” that extend beyond self-interest to promote a world transcending citizenship that sees one’s liberation intertwined with the liberation of all peoples. Surely, such lessons have value for today’s urgent movements.<sup>6</sup>

Fourth, a few scholars have noted the collective leadership and organizing models practiced in Asian American activist formations. This is not to say that other groups have not engaged in collective leadership; for instance, Black activist Ella Baker is renowned for championing collectivity and railing against the charismatic leadership model. But perhaps in part because of the lack of any singular charismatic Asian American leader and in part owing to a very deliberate effort by many – but certainly not all – Asian American activists, we argue, admittedly with the potential for contestation, that the AAM asserted the most consistently and widely practiced forms of collective leadership, reflected in conscientious efforts to rotate leadership and to argue for the importance of the participation of the many and the need for a multiplicity of roles and work. This is seen in the ways that Yuri Kochiyama embodied a “centerperson” leadership that made human relationships and networking an indispensable feature of organizing and by the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates, which at the height of their most visible campaign, turned inward to develop models of leadership that placed those most affected by racialized gender labor issues at the forefront of leadership, in their case, working-class, immigrant, Asian American women.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, there is already much focus on an Asian American studies critique of the model minority trope’s impact on obscuring the existence of anti-Asian racism (still occluded for too many) and impairing race relations. Scholars further examine the workings of the model minority to discipline Black radicalism and to refute the very necessity of collective movements to oppose white supremacy, racial capitalism, and heteropatriarchy.<sup>8</sup> We contend that studies of Asian American activism most directly interrupt model minority logics by bringing to light Asian American refusal to comply with the requirements of model social citizenship and by promoting the indispensability of collective struggle. Our knowing that Asian Americans waged struggles against militarism and imperial expansionism, that Asian American students fought for Third World and ethnic studies, that Asian American activists worked in solidarity with Black Power and Third World anti-colonial activists, that Filipino farmworkers engaged labor battles alongside Chicana/o farmworkers, that Japanese Americans protested their World War II incarceration, that Asian American feminists helped to build the U.S. Third World feminist movement, and that Asian American queer communities collectively organized for visibility matters. It has been through Asian American activism scholarship – in addition to cultural, journalistic, activist, and oral traditions – that we and others have come to know and be inspired by our own Asian American histories of struggle.

In the next section, we review the state of the field of Asian American activism studies. We examine research on Asian American activism as it has been produced across different disciplinary formations such as history, sociology, and political science. At the same time – and indeed central to our project in this special issue – we review writings that are shaped by and shape a uniquely Asian American studies theoretical and methodological approach to Asian American activism research.

### **The state of the field of Asian American activism studies**

A substantial body of scholarship on Asian American activism has emerged since the field’s establishment fifty years ago. In the decade since Diane Fujino wrote the first historiography of AAM studies (2008), there has been an outpouring of studies on various

aspects of Asian American activism.<sup>9</sup> If Fujino was correct in calling the period in the first decade of twenty-first century the “coming of age” or “an emerging field of scholarship” on AAM studies (i.e., the AAM of the late 1960s and early 1970s), specifically, the second decade of the twenty-first century is moving to solidify the broader scholarship on Asian American activism studies and set it in new directions. The scholarship has not only expanded in terms of the number of studies produced, but it has also advanced in the deployment of varied theoretical and methodological approaches, the subjects of study, the rigor of research, and its reception, including recognition with academic book awards and, in some cases, fairly wide readership and commentary on blogs. We organize this as a historiographical examination of the research on Asian American activism across time, but with the greatest focus on studies published since 2000.

We present the following survey, slightly modified from Fujino’s periodization of 1960s–1970s movement studies, to frame this examination of research on Asian American activism broadly:

- (a) scholars and activist-intellectuals producing knowledge in the height of the AAM (late 1960s to late 1970s);
- (b) a rather dormant period for research and writing on Asian American activism (late 1970s to late 1980s);
- (c) an acceleration of scholarly writings on Asian American activism (late 1980s through the 1990s);
- (d) the most intensive period of scholarly research and writings on Asian American activism (since 2000).

Our periodization is organized to capture specific topical themes or trends, as well as significant theoretical and methodological shifts or turning points in the writing and study of Asian American activism. This periodization is also shaped by major historical moments that had great impact for Asian American communities and to which scholars responded. To be clear, while we recognize that activism takes many forms, we are especially interested in grassroots and collective social movement activism. We offer this historiographical analysis as a way to examine the growth and shifts in the area of study, but we recognize too the social constructedness of any periodization and its work as an interpretative device and not a temporal fact. We thus do not adhere inflexibly to the time borders. Finally, it is beyond the scope of this introduction to offer a fully comprehensive historiography of Asian American activism studies – a substantial undertaking given the volume of books, journal articles, and book chapters on the subject – but we hope that this overview makes visible the extent and contributions of the scholarship on Asian American grassroots struggles.

### ***Late 1960s to late 1970s: The Asian American movement and writing on Asian American activism***

In the midst of the AAM, activists and scholars in the nascent field of Asian American studies were developing a new framework for examining liberation struggles, focused on the activism of ordinary people. While the sizable body of writings in this period marked a paradigm shift from the earlier emphasis on Asian American assimilationist politics, there were relatively few

research studies. The research studies focused on Japanese American resistance during World War II,<sup>10</sup> the Asian American Left and labor activism,<sup>11</sup> and immigrant activism against exclusion and racist laws or for anti-colonial homeland politics.<sup>12</sup> Much of the scholarship was published in *Amerasia Journal* or in important anthologies like *Roots*, *Counterpoint*, and *Asian Women*. That the UCLA Asian American Studies Center published *Amerasia Journal*, *Roots*, and *Counterpoint*, and UC Berkeley's Asian Studies division published *Asian Women* shows the pivotal role of early Asian American studies in shaping a narrative of resistance. Most of these works centered Japanese and Chinese American activism, the two largest Asian American groups at the time, but they also featured Korean and Filipino American activism. There were also earlier publications that explored Asian American resistance, but, significantly, it was in this period that Asian American activists recovered, most significantly, Carlos Bulosan's semi-autobiographical *America Is in the Heart* and John Okada's novel *No-No Boy* by getting them republished and widely disseminated, in both cases by the University of Washington Press.<sup>13</sup>

### **Late 1970s to late 1980s: From activism to electoral politics**

This period of time marked what might be thought of as a dormant period in Asian American activism research, as scholars turned more toward an interest in studying Asian American electoral politics, indeed, as Sucheng Chan observed, there was a lull in Asian American studies publications as a whole. There were important activist memoirs published in this period, but few research studies. It was in this period that Glenn Omatsu, then Associate Editor of *Amerasia Journal*, introduced the category of "contemporary politics and social movements" as an effort to resist the erasure of Asian American activism at a time when "[m]ost in AAS felt there were no social movements and preferred the more traditional classification of politics, which they interpreted as electoral politics," as Omatsu recounted. So despite the relatively quiet period of research publications on Asian American activism, there were struggles on how to frame the scholarship that would, in conjunction with other influences, shape future studies of Asian American grassroots and collective movements.<sup>14</sup>

### **Late 1980s through 1990s: Resurgence of Asian American activism research**

The publication of a 1989 special issue of *Amerasia Journal*, commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the San Francisco State College strike that established the field of ethnic studies, sparked a renewed focus on Asian American activism studies. This research not only concerned itself with "contemporary politics and social movements," but it also introduced new frameworks for analyzing Asian American activism. Scholars sought to deepen scholarly understandings of the nature and complexity of Asian American identity, the development of political consciousness as it is rooted in individual and collective identity formation, and the sets of structural and institutional conditions that promote or inhibit political identities. They also worked to make better sense of the kinds of activism in which Asian Americans engage, under what conditions Asian Americans mobilize, and the challenges facing Asian Americans when working to advance common interests. Scholars further examined different forms of political action to assess the effectiveness of collective mobilization.<sup>15</sup>



In the late 1980s and 1990s, several influential anthologies brought together Asian American writers, activists, and scholars to examine Asian American activism through Asian American women's collectives (Asian Women United of California's *Making Waves* and *Making More Waves*, 1997; the Women of South Asian Descent's *Our Feet Walk the Sky*) and individual editors (Karin Aguilar-San Juan's anthology, *The State of Asian America: Activism and Resistance in the 1990s*; Sonia Shah's *Dragon Ladies: Asian American Feminists Breathe Fire*). These writings were rooted in the U.S. Third World feminist literary and political movement of the mid-1970s and 1980s, a period often seen as dormant for Asian American activism. Scholars were also publishing articles on Asian American women's activism. Together, these books and articles brought closer attention to Asian American women's and queer activism (and their intersections), the latter of which had to that point been virtually ignored.<sup>16</sup> In addition to writings on Asian American women's activism, scholars were developing an Asian American feminist and gendered *analytic lens* on activism studies and the field more broadly. Asian American feminist scholars challenged the male-centeredness of Asian American historiography and expanded the very notion of what constitutes "Asian American women's activism." Equally invested in advancing Asian American community interests as their male counterparts, Asian American women engaged in distinctive forms of activism not always recognized as such because they were often confined to the home. As Shirley Hune (1997) argues, "A consideration of women's activities gives new attention to their leadership and situates community building within the domestic sphere and informal networks, as well as within the public sphere and formal associations." Notably, a number of studies focused on organizing against violence against women and also challenged the lack of focus on race and class within the women's movement and women's studies.<sup>17</sup> Gay and lesbian (as it was called then) activism scholarship challenged the field's (hetero)patriarchal logics and assumptions offering new perspectives for understanding the complexities, contradictions, and multiplicities of Asian American gendered and sexual identities and how those identities animate collective struggle.<sup>18</sup>

If Asian American feminists and queer scholars questioned the primacy of ethnic identity to Asian American activism, the late 1980s through the 1990s was also a period when scholars were trying to better theorize what actually accounts for "Asian American" panethnic activism. Yen Le Espiritu's *Asian American Panethnicity* (1992) best emblemizes this kind of work. Her work is most centrally interested in panethnic identity construction: "This study asks how, under what circumstance, and to what extent groups of diverse national origins can come together as a new enlarged panethnic group." Yet, because panethnic identity is necessarily a political identity for Espiritu, her book documents different kinds of collective political action by Asian Americans ranging from the grassroots mobilizations of the AAM of the late 1960s to electoral politics in the 1980s. Linda Trinh Vo's research on Asian American activism in San Diego from the 1970s to 1990s in *Mobilizing an Asian American Community* engages in a similar project of exploring how Asian Americans come together around a panethnic identity. Unlike Espiritu, her project is less to understand the nature of panethnic identity as it is to examine how panethnic organizations actually operate and the extent to which they are able to achieve their aims. While Chris Friday's *Organizing Asian American Labor* (1994) is a historical study of salmon industry labor organizing, he also shows how Asians came together across ethnicity (and even across immigrant status) to counter the longstanding "divide and rule" strategies used by employers to undercut the workers'

organizing. Espiritu, Vo, Friday, and other scholars recognized that Asian American activism as a phenomenon is not natural or inevitable. If anything, Asians in America were often deeply divided along ethnic, linguistic, religious, and other lines. How Asians were able to bridge those divides to mobilize in common cause around a shared political identity as “Asian Americans” was something they helped explain.<sup>19</sup>

It is important to mention that writing on Asian American activism during this time also raised questions about the efficacy of panethnic politics. Scholar-activist Haunani-kay Trask’s *From a Native Daughter* (1993) on the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, as well as work by Daviana McGregor and others, ultimately critiqued “Asian American Pacific Islander” as a category – at a time when the Association of Asian American Studies itself was debating the relationship between Pacific Islander studies and Asian American studies. These debates centered on Asian Americans’ role in settler colonialism in Hawai’i making an “Asian American Pacific Islander” formation problematic. South Asian activism scholars would shed light on the differential racialization experienced by South Asian Americans, making panethnic identity formation with East and Southeast Asians tenuous at best. Critiques raised by activism scholars echoed similar critiques being lodged at the field of Asian American studies as a whole.<sup>20</sup>

Significantly, though the resurgence of Asian American activism research in the late 1980s and 1990s commenced with *Amerasia*’s special issue on the AAM, the period was characterized by a substantial amount of work that either focused on civil rights activism or analyzed activism from a civil rights framework. During this period, for example, studies examined the compelling struggle for redress and reparations for the wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans, with much of the publications spurred by this movement’s culmination in the passage in 1988 of the Civil Liberties Act.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, studies like William Wei’s *The Asian American Movement* (1993) ultimately characterized the activism of 1960s–1970s as political mobilizations that evolved linearly to more conventional (and in Wei’s view, more effective) mainstream politics. Espiritu appears to share this view of movement from grassroots dissent to electoral politics: “The confrontational politics of activists eventually gave way to the conventional and electoral politics of the politicians, lobbyists, and professionals.” Scholars framed activism as a struggle for empowerment and not necessarily as liberation.<sup>22</sup> In fact, the period of the late 1980s and 1990s was not only a time for a resurgence of Asian American activism scholarship, but it also marked the beginning of more scholarship on Asian American electoral politics and public policy through the establishment of the *Asian American Policy Review* (AAPR) in 1989 based in the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. Studies of Asian American electoral politics would continue through the 1990s and beyond.<sup>23</sup>

### **2000 to present: An emergent Asian American activism studies**

The most robust period for knowledge production on Asian American activism studies has taken place in the last two decades. Several key topics and themes emerge during this time, including: (a) a renewed focus on the AAM of the 1960s–’70s, often framed through the analytics of radicalism; (b) different forms of solidarity activism; (c) an engagement with the “long movement” that focused attention on Cold War activism; (d) transnational activism; and (e) resistance movements against shifts in U.S. racialized governmentality after 9/11.<sup>24</sup>

While primarily activist analyses and reflections, two pioneering anthologies – Fred Ho’s *Legacy to Liberation* (2000) and Steve Louie and Glenn Omatsu’s *The Movement and the Moment* (2001) – inspired renewed research attention on the AAM of the late 1960s and 1970s. With *Legacy to Liberation*, activist-intellectual-musician Fred Ho was making an intervention to examine the politics and cultures of the revolutionary AAM – an analysis that remained in the shadows in the scholarly literature. Daryl Maeda’s scholarly study, *Chains of Babylon* (2009), similarly read critiques of racism and imperialism, the “twin ‘Chains of Babylon’,” as key features of the AAM. Many of the studies published in this period further reveal the radical roots of the Asian American activism, thereby disrupting the hegemony of the model minority trope. These studies also locate the AAM’s genealogies in Black Power and Third World decolonization. Books on radical Afro-Asian solidarities include: Bill Mullen’s *Afro -Orientalism*; Laura Pulido’s racial comparative analysis of Asian, Black, and Chicano radical organizing in Los Angeles; and Diane Fujino’s political biographies of Yuri Kochiyama and Richard Aoki, which wed analyses of collective social movements with individual biography. Other important treatments of solidarities include Judy Wu’s on activist internationalism, Tamara Roberts’s on music, Rychetta Watkins’s on culture and politics, Moon-Kie Jung and Michael Schulze-Oechtering’s on interracial labor activism and beyond. Together, these studies infuse an analytic of radicalism into Asian American activism studies and show Third World and Afro-Asian solidarity as a central feature of Asian American struggle, returning to the kinds of analyses offered by AAM activists themselves.<sup>25</sup>

Other studies focus on specific themes or approaches to studying the AAM. In *Snake Dance of Asian America* (2008), Michael Liu, Kim Geron, and Tracy Lai offer three important interventions. First, they apply sociological social movement theory to analyze the development of the AAM. Second, they argue that the AAM’s “length, breadth, and effects were of a significantly greater magnitude than generally understood.” Third, they contend that “[t]he AAM was grounded in a vision for structural change and was not primarily an assertion for identity,” thus challenging the framework emerging in the 1990s. Daryl Maeda and Fred Ho show the crucial role of art and culture to building social movements, including sparking an imagination of emancipation and advancing political change on the ground, when reality so often seems to point otherwise. Clement Lai brings an important racialized spatial analysis to examine the relational positioning of Japanese Americans and Blacks in San Francisco’s Fillmore neighborhood and in their anti-gentrification struggles. Estella Habal combines research with autobiographical activist critical reflection to center Filipino activism in the San Francisco’s International Hotel struggle, which was at once the site of a decade-long anti-eviction battle and a hub of Asian American social movement activity – so much so that some say one phase of the AAM died with the I-Hotel evictions in the late 1970s. May Fu’s research illuminates Japanese American women’s organizing against drug addiction in Los Angeles and Asian American activism in the Midwest. Moreover, the publication of important overviews of the AAM by Daryl Maeda (2012) and Karen Ishizuka (2018) are bringing greater public focus on Asian American activism.<sup>26</sup>

In the recent period, scholars have begun to study Asian American activism in the early Cold War. This scholarship expands the more common periods of Asian American activism studies and connects with the historian Jacquelyn Dowd Hall’s call for “long” movement studies and the critical research on Cold War activism that challenge the

standard civil rights narrative's ambitions for integrationism, gradualism, and nonviolence.<sup>27</sup> Instead, this research shows the persistence of Asian American radicalism and progressivism into the Cold War. By taking a global approach to frame U.S.-based activism, these studies reveal that Asian Americans and Asians were central to the U.S. Cold War imperial project and thus to U.S. history broadly. Simeon Man and Cindy I-Fen Cheng engage with studies of activism to develop their arguments in their studies of post-1945 history. Man examines how Asian soldiers deployed by the U.S. military were central to U.S. empire building in the Asian Pacific region. He shows how U.S. state officials achieved global capitalist integration while appealing to antiracism and anticolonialism, thus supporting his position that "[d]ecolonization was not antithetical to the spread of U.S. global power but intrinsic to it." With the backdrop of the U.S. Cold War in China and Korea, Cheng examines how the U.S. state both enabled the rewards of assimilation, while disciplining Korean and Chinese radicals, thereby shaping the racialization of Asian America.

In a study examining contrasting Japanese American mobilizations around the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, Diane Fujino unsettles the common story of Japanese American struggles for citizenship rights by situating it within U.S. imperial expansionism in Asia. Her study reveals how Japanese American activists in the Nisei Progressives took a decided stand in favor of solidarity against the anti-Asian, anti-Black, and anti-Left features of the legislation, even at the cost of gaining rights for their own group. Like Man, Cheng, and Fujino, Greg Robinson utilizes historical research, but, in his case, to uncover multiple untold stories of Japanese American postwar activism.<sup>28</sup> Other important research on pre-1960s Asian American activism, includes studies by Moon-kie Jung and Gerald Horne on labor activism, Scott Kurashige on Japanese-Black relations in urban spaces, Josephine Fowler on the Chinese and Japanese immigrant Left, and Cherstin Lyon and Arthur Hansen on Japanese American wartime activism.<sup>29</sup> Together, this scholarship shows the existence of pre-1960s Asian American radicalism or progressivism and at times reveals greater intergenerational continuity among Asian American activists than previously understood.

Reflecting, in part, trends in other fields, but also consistent with the field's origins in international liberationist movements, Asian American activism research took a transnational turn in the millennium, and numerous studies on Asian American transnational, diasporic activism began to be produced. Scholars have found that different Asian groups engaged with anti-colonial, anti-militarization, and anti-authoritarian struggles in their "homelands" from their vantage points in the United States. Christian Collett and Pei-te Lien's anthology *The Transnational Politics of Asian Americans* includes research on transnational activism among a range of Asian American groups, both contemporarily and historically. Valerie Francisco and Robyn Rodriguez examine Filipino American diasporic activism among migrant workers today. Rodriguez's forthcoming anthology *Filipino American Transnational Activism* includes studies of how the anti-imperialist Philippine national democratic movement and anti-martial law activism of the 1980s expanded in the diaspora. Richard Kim offers an examination of Korean American diasporic activism against Japanese colonialism in the early twentieth century, while other research on Korean American transnational activism examines the "comfort women" issue. Chinese (or Sinophone) transnational activism is explored by Him Mark Lai's *Chinese American Transnational Politics*, while Wendy Cheng has studied efforts at transpacific political mobilization by the Taiwanese. If transnational politics link specific

ethnic communities to their “homelands,” it also links feminists to each other across borders, as Pamela Thoma argues in her work on comfort women activism bringing together Asian American and Asian women in transnational feminist coalitions.<sup>30</sup>

The events of September 11, 2001, a watershed moment in U.S. history, have focused attention on Asian American activism in response to 9/11. Scholars are examining the resistance to the targeting of Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians (Sikh) in the aftermath of 9/11, as well as stepped-up immigration enforcement following the dissolution of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security. Scholars are also examining Asian American anti-imperialist struggles and solidarity struggles with Palestine, including the Association of Asian American Studies’ struggles as the first U.S. scholarly association to pass a resolution in support of the Palestinian civil society’s call for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS). Activists and scholars are further deploying the history and symbolism of Japanese American incarceration to protest anti-Muslim and anti-Arab discrimination, unlawful detention, and the abrogation of civil liberties. Moreover, the post-9/11 moment has raised questions about the “borders” of the field of Asian American studies, with scholars questioning whether West Asia should be included in the rubric of Asian American studies. Here, too, is evidence of the way Asian American activism is based on an expansive “Asian American” political identity grounded in part by geography (i.e., roots to “Asia,” broadly imagined) and racialized experiences (albeit differential forms of racialization), but also in a critical politics. If we extend Glenn Omatsu’s generative analysis of the transformative work done by the AAM, it becomes clear that liberatory Asian American activism is rooted in an identity shaped by politics, rather than a politic derived from identity.<sup>31</sup>

## Overview of the special issue

It is not by coincidence that this special issue focusing on Asian American activism is published in fall 2019, at the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of Asian American studies programs at San Francisco State, UC Berkeley, UCLA, and elsewhere. Karen Umemoto, current director of the UCLA Asian American Studies Center, which publishes *Amerasia Journal*, initiated the vision for this special issue. In 1989, Umemoto published the first scholarly article on Asian American student participation in the Third World Liberation Front strike at San Francisco State College in *Amerasia Journal*.<sup>32</sup> The seven research articles in this volume reflect a diversity of subjects, disciplinary and methodological groundings, theoretical approaches, geographies, ethnicities and cultures, and historical periods within this area of study. Most of the articles focus on present-day Asian American activism, although two examine organizing in the 1970s to 1990s. The essays focus on Khmer (or Cambodian), Hmong, Korean, Filipino, Chinese, Taiwanese, and Afro-Asian organizing. Three articles examine issues of gender and sexuality in Asian American activism, while three discuss different, and at times, opposing perspectives of Afro-Asian relations. While the west coast tends to be overrepresented in Asian American activism studies, this special issue includes two studies on the east coast, two on the midwest, two on California, and one that is national in focus. The scholars deploy ethnographic, historical, feminist, queer of color, and media studies approaches. Even as nearly all essays differently examine progressive and at times radical politics, we included one article on the Chinese right – a politic usually overlooked within Asian American activism studies. In addition, the special issue features a discussion forum on

Asians for Black Lives and two community spotlights, one on the Kānaka Maoli (Indigenous Hawaiian) struggle for land rights at the sacred site of Mauna Kea and the other on the Progressive Asian Network for Action's (PANA) solidarity with the Sunrise Movement to fight environmental racism in Los Angeles.<sup>33</sup>

The first three articles examine the general activism, with attention to immigration struggles. Monisha Das Gupta's article offers a scholar-activist and ethnographic study of the youth organizing, leadership development, and pedagogical intervention of Khmer Girls in Action (KGA), a Cambodian girls youth group in Long Beach, CA. The KGA developed a political education curriculum that puts "young women's leadership front and center" and produces ways of knowing based on the lived experiences and ideas of the KGA youth. This pedagogical approach not only shaped a critical consciousness in the youth, but it also worked to counter the common problems of "overdetermin[ing] young people's vulnerability to violence" and youth organizations' efforts at "youth management techniques." KGA activists developed organizing tools that enabled them to oppose the deportations of Cambodian youth and to produce a critical analysis that, rather than individualizing the problems of troubled youth, framed the migrations and deportations as displacements occurring under conditions of settler colonialism.

Elizabeth Rubio examines what she calls "immigration liberation" activism (as opposed to "immigrant rights" activism) in the Korean American community, with a focus on campaigns led by the National Korean American Services and Education Consortium (NAKASEC), a group that encompasses organizational affiliates across the United States. Informed by her own experiences as an activist, Rubio offers a "thick" ethnography of NAKASEC's work, examining not only the highly visible campaigns they led – such as their 24-hour-a-day, 22-day protest action in front of the White House to contest the prospective elimination of DACA or their 1700-mile "Journey2Justice" bike tour from the Canadian to Mexican borders – but also the more intimate moments organizers shared with one another and the more radical critiques they offered on immigration politics that their more public actions did not otherwise reveal. Rubio found that in the spaces "outside of the spotlight" and between protest actions, organizers began to experiment with more collectivist modes of living as a means to further a liberationist political agenda that goes far deeper than a fight for "immigrant rights." Similar to the activists that Das Gupta studies, the NAKASEC organizers, while recognizing the importance of fighting for reforms of the immigration system, believe in the importance in sustaining a radical analysis of U.S. settler colonial and racial capitalism through organizing to achieve an effort at genuine liberation for all peoples. Though this "both/and" perspective of both fighting for reforms within a prevailing system of power and imagining its dismantlement is not specific to Asian American activism, but the scholar-activist approach that is distinctive to an Asian American studies (and broadly ethnic studies) draws out this critique in ways that more conventional methodological approaches fail to accomplish.

Wendy Cheng's contribution looks at the often-overlooked activism of Taiwanese Americans. Focused on the diasporic organizing by New York-based activists, Cheng found heterogeneous politics, with more mainstream activists adopting a "U.S.-based 'civic transnationalism'" and others adopting more leftist leanings in their struggle for democratization in Taiwan. Ultimately, however, what united activists was a commitment to the overthrow of the Kuomintang and securing Taiwan's independence. Their vision of a post-independence Taiwan was often of lesser concern and not as fully articulated.

Cheng provides a carefully researched and nuanced account of this movement, teasing out its tensions and contradictions.

In the next two articles, Karen Hanna and Kong Pheng Pha bring a much-needed gender and/or sexuality analysis to the study of activism. Hanna, similar to Cheng, examines Asian American diasporic activism, in her case of Filipino American activism in Chicago. Through a feminist analysis, Hanna focuses on the ways Filipina mothers struggle with their gendered parental roles while attempting to sustain their activist work. Hanna introduces the term “revolutionary adaptability” to describe how activist mothers’ “practice of adjustment and ingenuity led to their refusal to choose one ‘opposite’ over another.” They were “[a]ble to envision and create an intergenerational, and thus more sustainable, form of organizing that both served the needs of their immediate communities *and* supported the Philippine revolution abroad, [and] they reject[ed] the stigma of “bad motherhood” sometimes internalized by activist mothers.” Hanna illustrates how, women are always performing the “second (or third or fourth) shift” of care work in addition to being employed and actively organizing. Indeed, part of the “revolutionary adaptation” of activist mothers included an orientation away from a primarily diasporic focus to a more locally rooted one. Moreover, activist mothers began to engage more in cultural work, thus expanding the narrower scope of activist praxis in which they were once engaged in anticipation of raising second-generation Filipino Americans in the United States. This piece is yet another example of a “both/and” approach to reformist and liberationist politics.

The next piece, by Kong Pheng Pha examines the politics of gender and sexuality, with a focus on contemporary marriage equality activism by Hmong Americans in the Midwest. Focusing on the campaign to resist a ballot initiative to amend the Minnesota state constitution to define marriage as solely a union between one man and one woman, Pha juxtaposes activism by mainstream (white) queer organizations that focused on the legalization of same-sex marriage against the activism of queer Hmong Americans who both aimed to raise awareness about same-sex marriage in their community, as well as fought against racial and gendered marginalization within mainstream queer organizing. Using a queer of color critique, Pha illustrates the distinctive ways Hmong Americans have been figured as racially and sexually nonnormative not only in mainstream (white) American discourse, but even against the (East) Asian model minority stereotype. Hence, Hmong American queer activists are concerned with expanding the rights of LGBTQI individuals within their communities, and in combatting the material consequences of the racial and sexual othering of Hmong Americans, even those who are in heterosexual relationships, but fall outside the heteronormative order. Pha reminds us that a queer critique is not only important for bringing the lives and issues of those identified as LGBTQI into focus, but that it is also important for revealing the ways that straight people are constrained by the demands of heteronormativity.

The next three articles address the limits and possibilities for Afro-Asian solidarity in the contemporary moment. Jeanelle Hope’s essay examines the solidarities of Asian Americans and Blacks in the struggle against state-sanctioned violence in the era of #blacklivesmatter. Focusing on a California city that is not often the focus of Asian American activism scholarship, Sacramento, Hope traces histories of Asian American, specifically Southeast Asian, settlement in the region to show how their experiences with state violence, present-day and intergenerationally, become the grounds for Afro-Asian solidarity. Her research examines solidarity expressed through cultural activism and on-

the-ground responses to intensified urban policing. While these solidarities are not automatic and are constantly being tested, Hope finds that Asian Americans are especially committed to resisting the state violences that they directly confront, while also resisting how they are situated in the racial order to advance an anti-Black agenda.

Asian Americans' relationships with and deployment of anti-Black discourses are the focus of Yuanyuan Feng and Mark Tseng-Putterman's essay. A unique contribution to this special issue and indeed the field at large, Feng and Tseng-Putterman offer a close look at conservative Asian American activism, particularly in the Chinese-speaking community, as people mobilized in support of Chinese American police officer Peter Liang despite his role in the murder of African American Akai Gurley. Equally important, this essay focuses on the understudied area of digital activism, a form of organizing that is heavily relied on in today's organizing. Feng and Tseng-Putterman find that Chinese conservatives appeal to racial justice arguments, contesting the unequal treatment of Chinese American and white police officers in cases of police shooting. However, the activists in this study either misread, in the authors' words, "the *visibility* of Black liberation movements as political *power* over an ostensibly invisible Asian American minority, painting Blacks as a 'powerful, persecuting majority' rather than a primary target of white racial power," or they sidestep a discussion about Asian Americans' racial positioning against African Americans in their claims that both Liang and Gurley were victimized by racism. In addition, the discussion forum on Asians4BlackLives offers a progressive Asian American perspective on the Movement for Black Lives that contrasts with the account of how the so-called "Chinese Tea Party" mobilized social media in support of Peter Liang, as depicted by Feng and Tseng-Putterman.

Finally, we feature discussions of current activist campaigns. In particular, this issue highlights the current status of the Kānaka Maoli struggle over Mauna Kea and the construction of the Thirty Mile Telescope (TMT) on native Hawaiian lands. We also provide a profile on the community organization Progressive Asian Network for Action (PANA), which undertakes social justice struggles for Asian American communities, including environmental justice activism in Los Angeles.

The articles in this special issue build upon existing scholarship, while also opening up new lines of inquiry for Asian American studies activism research. Rubio's work, for example, sheds light on immigrant activism – a still under-researched topic in Asian American activism studies – yet does so in a way that also questions the more civil rights-oriented framework of the immigrant activism scholarship that does exist to lift up more progressive and radical formations. Das Gupta's work, meanwhile, speaks to the power of Asian American studies pedagogy, which invites further studies on activist struggles for the expansion of Asian American studies across the K-12 system and the curriculum's impact on youth activism. Indeed, the intergenerational impacts of the AAM beyond the establishment of Asian American studies are an important area for research.

Asian American studies scholars have been at the forefront of developing a queer of color theorizing, yet studies that closely examine Asian American queer activism on the ground are still wanting. Pha offers an important examination of Hmong queer activists approaching queer of color critique through ethnographic work informed by scholar-activist sensibilities. Moreover, Pha illustrates how activists apply a queer critique in attempting to mobilize other members of the Hmong community in support of marriage equality. They show how heteronormative ideas of "family" in the United States



marginalize even Hmong families that might be described as based on heterosexual relationships. Hanna's research brings different kinds of feminist insights into activism. Hanna does not simply look at women's activism, but examines how Asian American women activists are indeed expanding the very terms of what is meant by "activism" within the context of social movement building.

Cheng's piece adds to the well-established interest among Asian American studies scholars on transnational and diasporic activism; however, her work also brings attention to a group that is not only understudied – Taiwanese Americans – but one that may be mistakenly presumed to be always, already politically conservative in orientation. Just as importantly, Cheng argues that Asian Americanists take on a "Sinophone" approach to understanding the Chinese diasporic experience. She argues, "Sinophone offers a potentially fruitful (if also challenging) framework for Asian American studies to confront the ideological as well as ethnic and racial heterogeneity of Asian America – and in particular, the heterogeneity of Chineseness." Cheng's work, if read alongside Feng and Putterman's piece, challenges us to consider the complexities of "Chinese" activism as they examine new forms of right-wing social movement building. On the other hand, Feng and Tseng-Putterman's essay may also be read alongside Hope's article, which teases out exactly what is meant by "Afro-Asian" solidarity. Though #blacklivesmatter has been taken on by many Asian American activists on social media platforms, what that solidarity looks like in the spaces that Asian Americans and African Americans cohabitate and share requires further study, as pairing Hope's piece and Feng and Tseng-Putterman's study suggests.

### Future directions

We have provided an extensive review of the extant scholarship on Asian American activism, and yet there is still much work to be done. It is our intention to have this special issue contribute to developing Asian American activism studies as well as to point to future directions for research. First, in reviewing the literature, we became keenly aware that in certain areas of central importance to Asian American studies – we refer here to social justice issues commonly featured in our teaching, scholarship, and public conversations – the *research on activism* remains surprisingly scarce. Immigration studies, for example, is a fundamental pillar of the field, but there is sparse research on contemporary Asian American undocumented immigration activism, despite the significance of Asian American immigration protests on the streets and the essential scholarship on historical immigration struggles.<sup>34</sup> The Filipino farmworkers movement and the Asian American labor movement broadly remain understudied, despite important research on labor activism.<sup>35</sup> Only now are scholars conducting research studies on the intensive anti-Marcos organizing of the 1980s, some of which will appear in a forthcoming anthology on Filipino transnational activism.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, there is relatively little research on Asian American environmental justice (EJ) *activism*, even as EJ scholars such as Julie Sze and Lisa Park have made important contributions. Given the urgency of the climate crisis, the growth of the EJ movement, and the amplified calls to link EJ and race studies, we anticipate a sizable expansion of research on Asian American EJ activism, in addition to scholars – and the public – reframing Asian American activism as EJ issues (such as migration and displacements arising from environmental catastrophes; war, militarism, and nuclear waste; food insecurity).<sup>37</sup>

We further anticipate the future growth of studies on media activism, given the widespread uses of social media for political organizing and the sizable presence of Asian Americans on social media.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, while valuable memoirs and oral history interviews provide much

important extended knowledge on activists, there are actually few extensively researched biographies of Asian American activists.<sup>39</sup> We anticipate the publication of more book-length scholarly biographies on significant Asian American activists such as Delia Aguilar, Frank Emi, Alice Hyun, David Hyun, Kazu Iijima, Larry Itliong, Mo Nishida, Pam Tau Lee, Philip Vera Cruz, and Nellie Wong. We anticipate the growth of Asian American activism studies in all of these areas that are central to the field and/or to social movements on the ground. Finally, we anticipate future research to examine the significant contributions of Asian American activism, including to further theorize racial relational or comparative studies of Asian American resistance, solidarity formations, and models of collective leadership.<sup>40</sup>

Second, there are trends in Asian American studies and broader allied fields that we anticipate shaping the future directions of research on Asian American activism. One major shift in Asian American studies and American studies broadly focuses attention on the analytics of settler colonialism and relationship between Asian migrants and Indigenous peoples. Important writings by Pacific Islander scholars have been instrumental in developing this area of thinking. In Asian American studies, the debate challenges the long prevailing framework of migration. Here, Candice Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura's *Asian Settler Colonialism* argues that Asian Americans are positioned as settlers, at least in Hawai'i where Japanese Americans have come to dominate state politics, whereas Iyko Day's *Alien Capital* contends that Asian Americans are positioned as "alien migrants," different from and in relationship to both settlers and Native Peoples. Already, studies are raising the frame of settler colonialism and articulating relational racial analyses of critical refugee, migration, and Indigenous studies, including in examinations of Asian American activism.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, with the growth of carceral studies widely, we anticipate increased research attention to the activism around imprisonment and Asian Americans – an area little studied outside resistance to the Japanese American concentration camps. Here, further research might focus on activism for Cambodian deportees, Asian American imprisonment in U.S. prisons and detention centers, and struggles that link the symbol of Japanese American incarceration with protests against immigrant detention.<sup>42</sup> We also anticipate seeing more studies that examine resistance to anti-Asian violence in multiple forms, including the violences of economic austerity, racial and gendered oppression, and immigration and ecological displacements.

Finally, another important direction for future studies builds on Asian American Studies critiques of neoliberal multiculturalism. If there was a period when Asian American studies as a field was invested in an inclusionary, reformist politics, the scholars and indeed most of the movements documented here are either highly suspicious of such politics or reject them. Notably, Soo Ah Kwon, in *Uncivil Youth*, examines the creative and energizing strategies of Asian American youth organizers, but also offers a critique, not of the activists per se, but of the "nonprofitization of activism" that promotes the kinds of activism that align with neoliberal governance and capitalist logics. Likewise, Monisha Das Gupta, in *Unruly Immigrants*, reveals the complexity of South Asian women's, queer, and labor organizing among activists who sought liberation beyond investments in U.S. citizenship, while at the same time made rights-based appeals to the state (e.g., for minimum wages laws and domestic violence protections). Numerous studies of the AAM of the 1960s–1970s raise critiques of colonialism and racial capitalism that align with analysis in Asian American studies and the AAM itself.<sup>43</sup> Contrary to the mainstream view of model minorities, there has been a long history of Asian American radicalism, even an "Asian American radical tradition," to borrow

from Cedric Robinson. We anticipate future research to focus on Asian American radical activism as well as to examine intergenerational continuities and discontinuities across time.<sup>44</sup>

Third, we anticipate that Asian American studies activism scholarship will continue to engage activist-scholarship as a mode of research, but will more fully articulate its theoretical and methodological framework. While there is no single approach to activist-scholarship, there is, at minimum, a common ground that requires greater engagements with communities. Activist-scholarship is not just a matter of reaching broader audiences, but is, as Charles Hale and Craig Calhoun note, a way of thinking about knowledge claims and research methods that rest on the collaboration between scholars and community members. This involves a partnership, not with “informants” or “data sources,” but with people viewed as bearers of experiences, wisdom, theorizing, and histories who contribute substantially to a collaborative process of knowledge production. Here, Eric Tang’s *Unsettled* is a model for learning from and theorizing the knowledge of communities of color, in this case, refugee knowledge. While not a study of social movements, *Unsettled* is rooted in Tang’s activist-scholar engagements.<sup>45</sup>

In this special issue, the majority of the authors and we as guest editors are activist-scholars in varying ways. Some of the authors are actively engaged with the subjects of their particular research project, others are not. Some identify as activist-scholars, others may not. Either way, they bring an activist-scholarship ethos in their interactions with the subjects of their research, their recognition of the knowledge already existing in activist communities, and the extent to which they involve activists or communities in the research process. The conventional view is that activist engagements diminish the rigor of research. To the contrary, we are aligned with feminist epistemologies that contend that all knowledge claims are situated in social and political contexts – what Donna Haraway calls “situated knowledge.” Haraway is arguing for a methodology and a way of knowing that requires rootedness in reality and academic rigor, of “location, positioning, situation,” which to her means “the view from a body, always a complex, contradictory, structuring, and structured body, versus the view from above, from nowhere, from simplicity.” In fact, by acknowledging that the “positionality” of the researcher is embedded within social life, and not abstracted from it, Sandra Harding argues that such research – often referred to as feminist standpoint theory – actually results in “stronger objectivity.” By contrast to those at the top of a stratified society, whose vision is occluded by their positions of power and privilege, those on the margins of society see through multiple lenses that have the potential to “generate the most critical questions about received belief.” While many activist-scholar studies deploy ethnographic methods in sociology, anthropology, education, and/or American studies, other studies of Asian American activism rely on historical and archival methods, autobiographically informed research, and activist theorizing.<sup>46</sup>

At this moment of the fiftieth anniversary of the field of Asian American studies, perhaps it ought not surprise us that Asian American activism studies is reaching its arrival. It is our hope that this special issue not only brings to light new studies of Asian American activism, but that it helps provide analytical, conceptual, and methodological tools that researchers can use to further the growth of scholarship, while making Asian American activism studies a legible area of research.

## Notes

1. W.E.B. Du Bois’s research and writings ground the field of Black studies, dating back more than a century. Studies of anti-slavery activism, struggles during Black Reconstruction, labor

organizing, the Civil Rights Movement, Black Power and more position Black struggle as central to Black studies. To a lesser extent, but still notably, studies of the Chicano Movement or El Movimiento, the Chicana women's movement, the farmworkers and labor movements, the "Mexican American generation," and more form the base of activism research within Chicana/o Studies.

2. On the influence of big money in organizing and publicizing right-wing campaigns, see Jane Mayer, *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right* (New York: Doubleday, 2016). On WeChat and the Chinese Right organizing, see Yuanyuan Feng and Mark Tseng-Putterman, this issue.
3. Robin D.G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon, 2002), 8–9; Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Luke Charles Harris, Daniel Martinez HoSang, and George Lipsitz, *Seeing Race Again: Countering Colorblindness across the Disciplines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019).
4. Jodi Kim, *Ends of Empire: Asian American Critique and the Cold War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Robert G. Lee, *Orientalism: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999); Simeon Man, *Soldiering Through Empire: Race and the Making of the Decolonizing Pacific* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018); Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Moon-ho Jung, ed., *The Rising Tide of Color: Race, State Violence, and Racial Movements across the Pacific* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014); Cindy I-Fen Cheng, *Citizens of Asian America: Democracy and Race During the Cold War* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Diane C. Fujino, "Cold War Activism and Japanese American Exceptionalism: Contested Solidarities and Decolonial Alternatives to Freedom," *Pacific Historical Review* 87 (2018): 264–304; Thomas J. McCormick, *America's Half-Century: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War and After* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1995); and Claire Jean Kim, "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans," *Politics & Society* 27 (1999): 105–38.
5. Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).
6. Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Diane C. Fujino, *Samurai among Panthers: Richard Aoki on Race, Resistance, and a Paradoxical Life* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Robin D.G. Kelley and Betsy Esch, "Black Like Mao: Red China and Black Revolution," *Souls* 1 (Fall 1999): 6–41; Robeson Taj Frazier, *The East Is Black: Cold War China in the Black Radical Imagination* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Barbara Tomlinson and George Lipsitz, "American Studies as Accompaniment," *American Quarterly* 65 (2013): 1–30; Diane C. Fujino, "The Indivisibility of Freedom: The Nisei Progressives, Deep Solidarities, and Cold War Alternatives," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 21 (2018): 171–208.
7. Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Diane C. Fujino, "Grassroots Leadership and Afro-Asian Solidarities: Yuri Kochiyama's Humanizing Radicalism," in *Want to Start a Revolution: Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle*, ed. Dayo F. Gore, Jeanne Theoharis, and Komozi Woodard (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 294–316; Jennifer Jihye Chun, "Building Political Agency and Movement Leadership: The Grassroots Organizing Model of Asian Immigrant Women Advocates," *Citizenship Studies* 20, no. 3–4 (2016): 379–95; Jennifer Jihye Chun, George Lipsitz, and Young Shin, "Immigrant Women Workers at the Center of Social Change: Asian Immigrant Women Advocates," Nilda Flores-González, Anna Romina Guevarra, Maura Toro-Morn, and Grace Chang, eds., *Immigrant Women Workers in the Neoliberal Age* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2013); also articles by Chun, Lipsitz, and Shin in *Kalfou* (2010) and *Signs* (2013).
8. See, for example, Ellen D. Wu, *Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014); and Lee, *Orientalism*.

9. Diane C. Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement?: A Historiographical Analysis," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 11, no. 2 (2008): 127–69. Fujino's use of the capital M, as in Asian American Movement (AAM), is meant to signify the existence of the AAM as a unique and widespread social movement in the late 1960s to late 1970s. This is not intended to homogenize the varied ideologies, practices, geographies, and ethnic communities of this movement or to rigidly restrict the time period of Asian American activism. By contrast, Maeda uses the lower-case m, as in Asian American movement, to denote the heterogeneity of Asian American activism in the late 1960s to mid-1970s.
10. Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); Gary Okihiro, "Japanese Resistance in America's Concentration Camps: A Reevaluation," *Amerasia Journal* 2, no. 1 (1973): 20–34; Arthur A. Hansen and David A. Hacker, "The Manzanar Riot: An Ethnic Perspective," *Amerasia Journal* 2, no. 2 (1974): 112–57; Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: Morrow, 1976); Douglas Nelson, *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976); and Gary Okihiro, "Tule Lake under Martial Law: A Study of Japanese Resistance," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 5, no. 3 (1977): 71–86.
11. Him Mark Lai, "A Historical Survey of Organizations of the Left Among the Chinese in American," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 4, no. 3 (1972), 10–20; Yuji Ichioka, "A Buried Past: Early Issei Socialists and the Japanese Community," *Amerasia Journal* 1, no. 2 (1973): 1–25; Karl Yoneda, "One Hundred Years of Japanese Labor in the U.S.A.," in *Roots: An Asian American Reader*, ed. Amy Tachiki, Eddie Wong, Franklin Odo, with Buck Wong (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1971); Howard A. Dewitt, "The Filipino Labor Union: The Salinas Lettuce Strike of 1934," *Amerasia Journal* 5, no. 2 (1978): 1–21; and Yuji Ichioka, "Asian Immigrant Coal Miners and the United Mine Workers of America: Race and Class at Rock Springs, Wyoming, 1907," *Amerasia Journal* 6, no. 2 (1979): 1–23.
12. Kingsley K. Lyu, "Korean Nationalist Activities in Hawaii and the Continental United States, 1900–1945, Part I: 1900–1919," *Amerasia Journal* 4 (1977): 23–90; and Yuji Ichioka, "The Early Japanese Immigrant Quest for Citizenship: The Background of the 1922 Ozawa Case," *Amerasia Journal* 4 (1977): 1–22.
13. Amy Tachiki, Eddie Wong, Franklin Odo, with Buck Wong, eds., *Roots: An Asian American Reader* (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, Asian American Studies Center, 1971); Emma Gee, ed., *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1976); *Asian Women* (Berkeley: Asian American Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1971); reprinted by AASC, UCLA, 3<sup>rd</sup> printing, 1975; Carlos Bulosan, *America Is in the Heart* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973/1946); and John Okada, *No-No Boy* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976/1957).
14. Sucheng Chan, *In Defense of Asian American Studies: The Politics of Teaching and Program Building* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 187, 203; Glenn Omatsu, "Annual Selected Bibliography," *Amerasia Journal* 13 (1986–87): 181–4; Glenn Omatsu, letter to Diane Fujino, circa Fall 2006. On activist writings, see, for example, Fred Cordova, *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans: A Pictorial Essay, 1763-circa 1963* (Seattle: Demonstration Project for Asian Americans, 1983); Karl Yoneda, *Ganbatte: Sixty-Year Struggle of a Kibei Worker* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1983); and Peter Hyun, *Man Seil: The Making of a Korean American* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986).
15. Glenn Omatsu, guest editor, "Commemorative Issue: Salute to the '60s and '70s, Legacy of the San Francisco State Strike," *Amerasia Journal* 15 (1989).
16. Asian Women United of California, *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and about Asian American Women* (Boston: Beacon, 1989); Elaine K. Kim, Lilia V. Villanueva, and Asian Women United of California, *Making More Waves: New Writings by Asian American Women* (Boston: Beacon, 1997); Women of South Asian Descent Collective, *Our Feet Walk the Sky: Women of the South Asian Diaspora* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute, 1993); Karin Aguilar-San Juan, ed., *The State of Asian America: Activism and Resistance in the 1990s* (Boston: South

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21. Leslie T. Hatamiya, *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993); Yasuko I. Takezawa, *Breaking the Silence: Redress and Japanese American Ethnicity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); Mitchell T. Maki, Harry H.L. Kitano and S. Megan Berthold, *Achieving the Impossible Dream* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Eric K. Yamamoto, *Race, Rights and Reparation: Law and the Japanese American Internment* (Gaithersburg, MD: Aspen Law and Business, 2001); Alice Yang Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008); and Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress, *NCRR: The Grassroots Struggle for Japanese American Redress and Reparations*, ed. Lane Hirabayashi, Richard Katsuda, Suzy Katsuda, Kathy Masaoka, Kay Ochi, and Janice Iwanaga Yen (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2018).
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25. Fred Ho, with Carolyn Antonio, Diane Fujino, and Steve Yip, eds., *Legacy to Liberation: Politics and Culture of Revolutionary Asian Pacific America* (San Francisco: AK Press, 2000); Steve Louie and Glenn Omatsu, eds., *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2001); Bill V. Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow and Left*; Diane C. Fujino, *Heartbeat of Struggle: The Revolutionary Life of Yuri Kochiyama* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Fujino, *Samurai among Panthers*; Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Radicals on the Road: Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism during the Vietnam Era* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013); Tamara Roberts, *Resounding Afro Asia: Interracial Music and the Politics of Collaboration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Rychetta Watkins, *Black Power, Yellow Power, and the Making of Revolutionary Identities* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012); Moon-Kie Jung, *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii’s Interracial Labor Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press,

- 2006); Michael Schulze-Oechtering, "The Alaska Cannery Workers Association and the Ebbs and Flows of Struggle: Manong Knowledge, Blues Epistemology, and Racial Cross-Fertilization," *Amerasia Journal* 42, no. 2 (2016): 23–48; Fred Ho and Bill V. Mullen, eds., *AFRO ASIA: Revolutionary Political and Cultural Connections Between African and Asian Americans*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008). While these studies center Black influences on Asian American activism, the influence of Asia on Black activism and thought is examined by, among others, Robin D.G. Kelley and Betsy Esch, "Black Like Mao: Red China and Black Revolution," *Souls* 1 (Fall 1999): 6–41; Marc Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan & China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Yuichiro Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism: Afro-Asian Solidarity in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Black America, Japan, and Okinawa* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Frazier, *The East Is Black*. For more on Afro-Asian studies, see Fujino, "Historiography," 146.
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  30. Christian Collet and Pei-te Lien, *The Transnational Politics of Asian Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009); Valerie Francisco and Robyn Magalit Rodriguez, "Countertopographies of Migrant Women: Transnational Families, Space, and Labor as



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31. Nadine C. Naber, “So Our History Doesn’t Become Your Future: The Local and Global Politics of Coalition Building Post September 11<sup>th</sup>,” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 5 (2002): 217–42; Robyn Rodriguez and Nerissa S. Balce, “American Insecurity and Radical Filipino Community Politics,” *Peace Review* 16, no. 2 (2004): 131, 140; Etsuko Maruoka, “‘Wearing Our Sword’: Post-September 11 Activism Among South Asian Muslim Women Student Organizations in New York,” *Social Justice* 35 (2008): 119–33; Junaid Rana and Diane C. Fujino, “Taking Risks, or the Question of Palestine Solidarity and Asian American Studies,” *American Quarterly* 67 (2015): 1027–37; Sunaina Marr Maira, *The 9/11 Generation: Youth, Rights, and Solidarity in the War on Terror* (New York: New York University Press, 2016); Sohail Daulatzai and Junaid Rana, eds., *With Stones in Our Hands: Writings on Muslims, Racism, and Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018); Sunaina Maira, *Boycott: The Academy and Justice for Palestine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018); Russell C. Leong and Don T. Nakanishi, eds., “After Words: Who Speaks on War, Justice, and Peace?” *Amerasia Journal* 27 (2001); Sunaina Maira and Magid Shihade, “Meeting Asian/Arab American Studies: Thinking Race, Empire, and Zionism in the U.S.,” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 9 (2006): 117–40; and Glenn Omatsu, “The ‘Four Prisons’ and the Movements of Liberation: Asian American Activism from the 1960s to the 1990s,” *Amerasia Journal* 15 (1989): xv–xxx.
  32. Karen Umemoto, “‘On Strike!’ San Francisco State College Strike, 1968–1969: The Role of Asian American Studies,” *Amerasia Journal* 15 (1989): 3–41.
  33. This special issue’s original call for papers was for research on “Asian American and Pacific Islander activism.” We received very few research submissions on Pacific Islander activism and none are included in this special issue. So while we value solidarity, we also recognize

- differences, especially the subjugation of Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders to settler colonial relations. We focus this special issue on “Asian American activism studies.”
34. Research on contemporary immigration activism include: Kathy H. Rim, “Latino and Asian American Mobilization in the 2006 Immigration Protests,” *Social Science Quarterly* 90 (2009): 703–21; John S.W. Park, *Illegal Migrations and the Huckleberry Finn Problem* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), chapters 5 and 8; Ga Young Chung, “At the Crossroads of Change: Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, Undocumented Korean Americans’ Political Participation, and Upcoming Challenges,” *Harvard Journal of Asian American Policy Review* 27 (2017): 67–73.
  35. Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988); Lilia Villanueva and Craig Scharlin, *Philip Vera Cruz: A Personal History of Filipino Immigrants and the Farmworkers Movement* (Los Angeles: UCLA Labor Center, Institute of Industrial Relations and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1992). Kent Wong, “Building Unions in Asian Pacific Communities,” *Amerasia Journal* 18, no. 1 (1992): 149–54; Miriam Ching Louie, “Immigrant Asian Women in Bay Area Garment Sweatshops: ‘After Sewing, Laundry, Cleaning and Cooking, I Have No Breath Left to Sing,’” *Amerasia Journal*, 18, no. 1 (1992): 1–26; Lydia Lowe, “Chinese Immigrant Workers and Community-based Labor Organizing in Boston: Paving the Way,” *Amerasia Journal* 18, no. 1 (1992): 39–48; Arleen de Vera, “Without Parallel: The Local 7 Deportation Cases, 1949–1955,” *Amerasia Journal* 20, no. 2 (1994): 1–26; Miriam Ching Louie, *Sweatshop Warriors: Immigrant Women Workers Take on the Global Factory* (Boston: South End, 2001); Edna Bonacich, “The Challenge of Organizing in a Globalized/Flexible Industry: The Case of the Apparel Industry in Los Angeles,” in *The Critical Study of Work: Labor, Technology, and Global Production*, ed. Rick Baldoz, Charles Koeber, and Philip Kraft (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Grace Chang, “From the Third World to the ‘Third World Within’: Asian Women Workers Fighting Globalization,” in *Labor Versus Empire: Race, Gender, Migration*. Routledge, ed. Gilbert G. Gonzalez, Raul A. Fernandez, Vivian Price, David Smith, and Linda Trinh Võ (New York: Routledge, 2004); Xiaolan Bao, *Holding Up More than Half the Sky: Chinese Women Garment Workers in New York City, 1948–92* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2001); Kornel Chang, “Circulating Race and Empire: Transnational Labor Activism and the Politics of Anti-Asian Agitation in the Anglo-American Pacific World, 1880–1910,” *The Journal of American History* 96, no. 3 (2009): 678–701; Adrian Cruz, “The Union Within the Union: Filipinos, Mexicans, and the Racial Integration of the Farm Worker Movement,” *Social Movement Studies* 15, no. 4 (2016): 361–73; Rohma A. Khan, “Cab Fair: Taxi Driving and South Asian Labor Activism in New York City, 1985–1999,” *Labor History* 59, no. 6 (2018): 676–91; and Robyn Magalit Rodriguez, ed., “Guests and Strangers: Asian Workers in Transnational Perspective,” *Journal for Asian American Studies* 22, no. 1 (2019).
  36. Rodriguez, *Filipino American Transnational Activism*.
  37. Asian American EJ activism studies include: Julie Sze, Paul M. Ong, and Charles Lee, “Asian American and Pacific Islander Environmentalism: Expansions, Connections, and Social Change,” *AAPI Nexus* 11 (2013): 83–90; Tina Duyen Tran, Jacqueline H. Tran, My Tong, Lisa Fu, Peggy Reynolds, Vinh Luu, and Thu Quach, “Engaging Vietnamese American Communities in California in Environmental Health and Awareness,” *AAPI Nexus* 11 (2013): 111–37; Eric Tang, “A Gulf Unites Us: The Vietnamese Americans of Black New Orleans East,” *American Quarterly* 63 (2011): 117–49; David N. Pellow and Lisa Sun-Hee Park, *The Silicon Valley of Dreams: Environmental Justice, Immigrant Workers, and the High-Tech Global Economy* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), chapter 9; and Julie Sze, “Asian American Activism for Environmental Justice,” *Peace Review* 16 (2004): 149–56.
  38. Lori Kido Lopez offers the important study *Asian American Media Activism* (New York: New York University Press, 2016).
  39. To date, among the most influential activist memoirs are Grace Lee Boggs, *Living for Change: An Autobiography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Villanueva and

Scharlin, *Philip Vera Cruz*; Yoneda, *Ganbatte*; Yuri Kochiyama, *Passing It On*, ed. Majorie Lee, Audee Kochiyama-Holman, and Akemi Kochiyama-Sardinha (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2004). Among the few book-length scholarly biographies on Asian America activists are Fujino, *Heartbeat of Struggle*; Fujino, *Samurai among Panthers*; Stephen M. Ward, *In Love and Struggle: The Revolutionary Lives of James and Grace Lee Boggs* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016). Judy Wu is writing a biography on Patsy Mink, the first woman of color in the U.S. Congress, and Diane Fujino is writing a political biography of siblings, feminist poet Mitsuye Yamada and radical minister Michael Yasutake. In addition, there is a vast need for Asian American activist biographies for children and youth; among the few are Dawn B. Mabalon, with Gayle Romasanta, *Journey for Justice: The Life of Larry Itliong* (Stockton, CA: Bridge+Delta, 2018).

40. In addition to the extensive studies of solidarity already mentioned throughout this introduction, we point to Shireen Roshanravan, "Weaponizing Our (In)Visibility: Asian American Feminist Ruptures of the Model-Minority Optic," in *Asian American Feminisms and Women of Color Politics*, ed. Lynn Fujiwara and Shireen Roshanravan (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018), 261–81.
41. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); Iyko Day, *Alien Capital: Asian Racialization and the Logic of Settler Colonial Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Colliding Histories: Hawai'i Statehood at the Intersection of Asians 'Ineligible to Citizenship' and Hawaiians 'Unfit for Self-Governance,'" *Journal of Asian American Studies* 13 (2010): 283–309; Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor, "Statehood: Catalyst of the Twentieth-Century Kanaka 'Oiwai Cultural Resistance and Sovereignty Statehood," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 13 (2010): 311–26; Lisa Hall, "Which of These Things Is Not Like the Other: Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders Are Not Asian Americans, and All Pacific Islanders Are Not Hawaiian," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2015): 727–47; and Yén Lê Espiritu, "Critical Refugee Studies and Native Pacific Studies: A Transpacific Critique," *American Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (2017): 483–90.
42. Wendi Yamashita, "The Colonial and the Carceral: Building Relationships Between Japanese Americans and Indigenous Groups in the Owens Valley," *Amerasia Journal* 42 (2016): 121–38; Chol Soo Lee, *Freedom Without Justice: The Prison Memoirs of Chol Soo Lee*, ed. Richard S. Kim (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017); Bill Ong Hing, "Deporting Cambodian Refugees: Justice Denied?" *Crime & Delinquency* 51, no. 2 (2005): 265–90; and Soo Ah Kwon, "Deporting Cambodian Refugees: Youth Activism, State Reform, and Imperial Statecraft," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 20, no. 3 (2012): 737–62.
43. Soo Ah Kwon, *Uncivil Youth: Race, Activism, and Affirmative Governmentality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); and Monisha Das Gupta, *Unruly Immigrants: Rights, Activism, and Transnationalism South Asian Politics in the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
44. Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of a Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000/1983).
45. Charles R. Hale, *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Craig Calhoun, Foreword, in Hale, *Engaging Contradictions*; Eric Tang, *Unsettled: Cambodian Refugees in the New York City Hyperghetto* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015); also see Michael Viola, Valerie Francisco, and Amanda Solomon Amorao, "Carlos Bulosan and a Collective Outline for Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies," *Kritika Kultura* 23 (2014): 255. In a special issue of *Public*, co-editors Robyn Rodriguez and Erica Kohl-Arena attempt to highlight different forms of "public scholarship," see "Public Scholarship, Place and Proximity: Imagining America at the University of California, Davis," *Public: A Journal of Imagining America* 5 (2018), at <http://public.imaginingamerica.org/archive/2019/01/26/volume-5-issue-1/>.
46. Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14 (1988): 589, 575–99. Sandra Harding, "Rethinking

Standpoint Epistemology: What is ‘Strong Objectivity?’” in *Feminist Epistemologies*, ed. Linda Alcoff and Elizabeth Potter (New York: Routledge, 1993), 54–5, 49–82.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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