DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 132 235 UD 016 633

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TITLE Rural Asian Americans--An Assessment. A Report of the Yakima Valley Asian American Task Force.
INSTITUTION Washington State Commission on Asian-American Affairs, Olympia.
PUB DATE Jul 76
NOTE 44p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Administrator Attitudes; *Asian Americans; Case Studies; Chinese Americans; Community Agencies (Public); *Employer Attitudes; *Employment Problems; Filipino Americans; Indochinese; Japanese Americans; Korean Americans; Local Government; Public Officials; *Rural Population; Statistical Data
IDENTIFIERS *Yakima Valley

ABSTRACT

Underlying this report on Asian Americans in Central Washington State is the concept that Asian Americans do have common problems, experiences and needs. An extension of this concept is that Asians should point out institutional racism when appropriate, and take their place as members of American society in the dual spirit of self-determination and cultural pluralism. Included in this report are statistics on Yakima Valley Asian Americans, a brief look at the historical process, and a special section headed "Attitudes and Employment". This final section, divided into three topics, is the most important. The employment attitudes toward Yakima Valley Asians are examined in light of the jobs Asians presently occupy, the general employment picture in the Valley, and the area's "Affirmative Action" programs. The problem outlined in the final section requires the concern of Asian Americans and non-Asian Americans. Information was culled from government documents and research, area publications, and from people. Interviews were recorded with representatives of wide sectors of the social environmen city, county, and state government officials, private agencies, local newspapermen, produce middlemen, a minister, small farm workers, laborers, farmers, students, and community people. Asian American and non-Asian Americans, community leaders and community people were interviewed. (Author/JM)

RURAL ASIAN AMERICANS--AN ASSESSMENT

A REPORT OF THE YAKIMA VALLEY ASIAN AMERICAN TASK FORCE

JULY 1976

Written By: Reynaldo Pascua, Jr.

State of Washington
COMMISSION ON ASIAN AMERICAN AFFAIRS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR OLYMPIA

Washington State

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PREFACE

The following is a report on Asian Americans in Central Washington State. To be added to a very small amount of material written about the Yakima area Asian subgroups, the findings represent a significant first: a paper treating all of the Central Washington Asian subgroups together under the concept of "Asian American."

Underlying this report is the concept that Asian Americans do have common problems, experiences, and needs. An extension of this concept is that Asians should point out institutional racism when appropriate, and take their place as members of American society in the dual spirit of self-determination and cultural pluralism.

A further motivation behind this study lies in the fact that little information is available on the status of Asian Americans who live in isolated and/or rural areas of Washington State. Most of the information on contemporary Asian American communities is confined to those who live in the larger metropolitan areas. For the young rural Asian American going through an identity crisis, the importance of the report is clearly evident.

We hope that the general public, Asian American and non-Asian American, can get a glimpse of the status of Asian Americans living in non-urban areas.

Included in this report are statistics on Yakima Valley Asian Americans, a brief look at the historical process, and a special section headed "ATTITUDES AND EMPLOYMENT." This final section, divided into three topics, is the most important. The problems outlined in the final section require the concern of Asian Americans and non-Asian Americans.

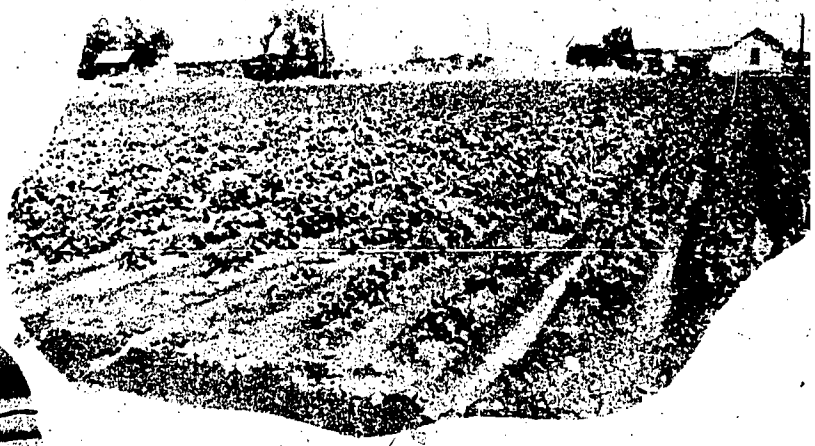
Information was culled from government documents and research, area publications, and obtained from what we feel is the most important source: people. Interviews were recorded with representatives of wide sectors of the social environment: city, county, and state government officials, private agencies, local newspapermen, produce middlemen, a minister, small farm workers, laborers, farmers, students, and community people. Asian Americans and non-Asian Americans, community leaders and community people were interviewed.

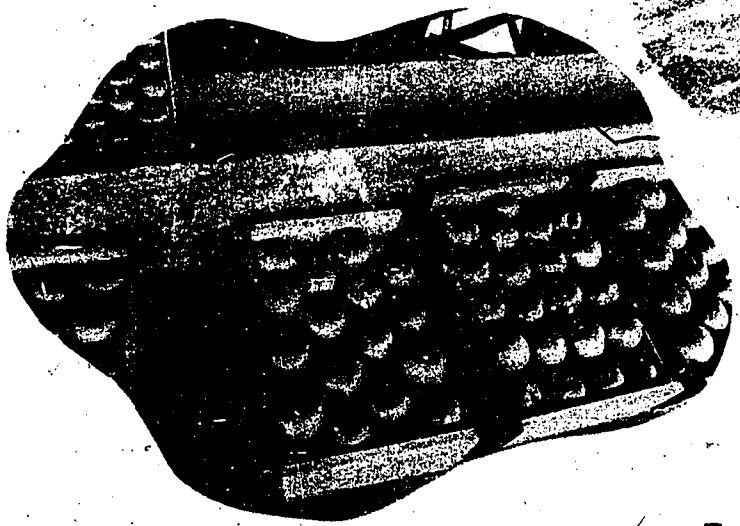
The report is sanctioned by the Washington State Commission on

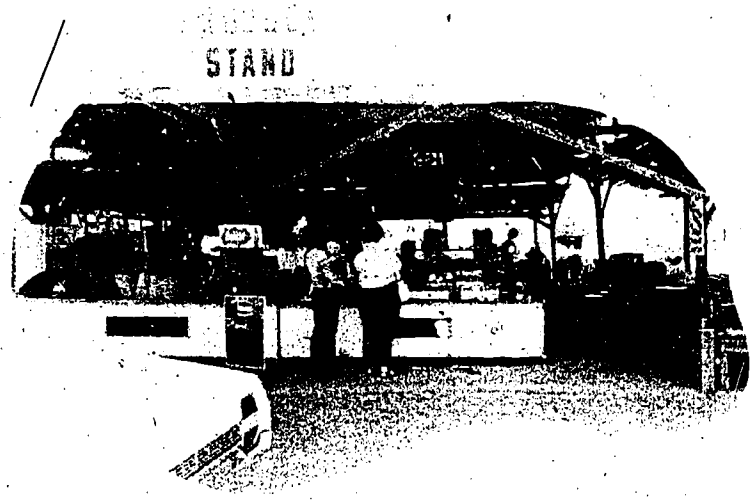
Asian American Affairs, and is coordinated with the Asian American Coalition of the Yakima Valley. Original research consisting of a week of taped interviews was conducted by Gary Iwamoto, then Student Intern for the Commission during Summer, 1975. Photographs are by Ken Mar.

Finally, we feel that the significance of the report is that it is for the Asian American community of the Yakima Valley. We urge Asian community leaders and people, elected and appointed officials, area agencies, and non-Asian Americans to read the report. In its message, we hope that it will provide an educational tool, a call for reflection, and a commitment to further research Asian Americans living in the rural and isolated areas of our state.

Rey O. Pascua, Member
Yakima Valley Task Force



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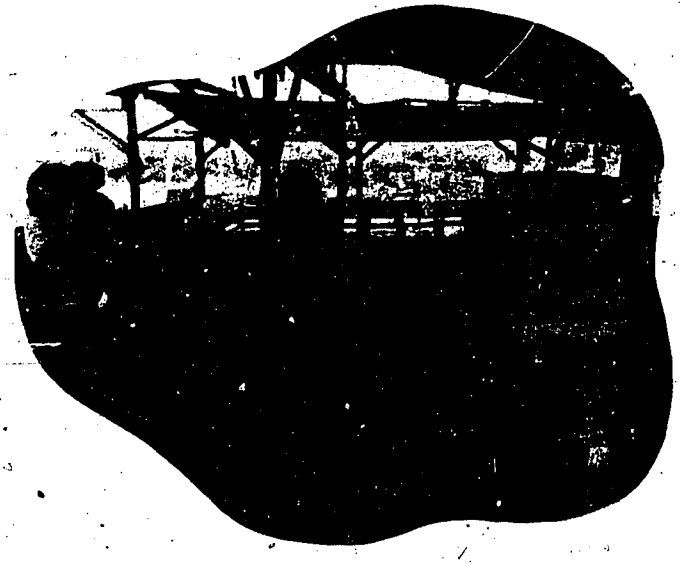


INTRODUCTION

Yakima Valley comprises most of the land area in South Central Washington State. Yakima County is part of Yakima Valley. In this report we shall use "Yakima Valley" to designate both the Valley and the County. The Yakima Indian Reservation also comprises a large percentage of the land area of Yakima Valley. Geographically, and in its people, it exhibits contrasts. Economically, the Valley is single-faceted.

Yakima Valley is a basin of relative flatness and rivers, surrounded by small, sagebrush-covered hills. Temperatures range from hot, arrid, desert-like summers to near zero winters. Various irrigation projects begun at the turn of the century have made the area agriculturally rich. Yakima Valley is a major producer of the nation's apples, cherries, pears, mint, hops, corn, grapes, cattle, and potatoes.

Yakima is the largest city, with a population of almost 50,000. It serves as the hub for most of the area's activities. Yakima is the County seat for Yakima County, contains most fruit and vegetable warehouses and canneries, is the major train depot for this agricultural area, and contains most businesses as well as governmental, cultural, employment, and recreational activities.

Yakima is surrounded by a number of small towns, with populations ranging from 500 to 8,000 people. As proof of their Indian heritage, these towns were named: Yakima, Selah, Wenatchee, Kittitas, Wapato, Toppenish, White Swan, and Satus.

Yakima Valley depends heavily on the farming industry as the main source of income. Consequently, governmental activities and personalities, businesses, employment, and the people have traditionally been geared to agriculture. This agricultural orientation has produced an element of political conservatism influencing the area.

The Valley's single-faceted economic system has produced glaring contrasts:

--While

...Yakima County is first in the nation in the production of hops, apples, pears, and mint

...Seventh in the nation in cherry production (1st in 1954)

...Fourth in the nation in sweet corn production, 38th in cattle production, and 74th in potato crops.[1]

--there are glaring negative statistics

...Yakima County has Washington State's highest public assistance caseload

...the state's highest school dropout rate

...one of the highest alcoholism rates

...one of the highest rates of low income households (less than $3,000 per year).[2]

The Human Element. In spite of this single faceted economic system, the Valley's people do exhibit contrasts in cultures, language, celebrations, living styles, and motivations. One can find oneself at the White Swan Indian Encampment, eating Japanese Sukiyaki or soul food dinners, attending Mexican fiestas, or Pilipino community anniversary celebrations, and observing traditional American holidays.

In addition to English, Spanish, Mexican Spanish (both the migrant and Central Washington dialects), Yakima, Nez Pierce, Walla Walla Indian, Ilocano, Korean, Japanese, Chinese, and Vietnamese are spoken.

In 1970, the total population of Yakima County was 145,200. The majority was composed of Whites--137,805. The breakdown of the difference was: 15,757 Spanish Americans, 3,882 Native Americans, 1,560 Blacks, and 1,020 Asian Americans.[3]

Statistics show that whites hold most professional, managerial, sales, clerical, and craftsmen positions, while the minority groups comprise most of the work force in both the non-farm laborer and farm worker categories.

With the backdrop of both the Valley's single-faceted economic system and its multi-ethnic society, we now turn to the Asian-American minority group. Their history and the conditions they live under in Yakima Valley will be examined.

TOWARD AN ASIAN AMERICAN IDENTITY

For the young Asian American activists of the Yakima Valley, May 25, 1975, was an exceptionally significant date. That day, members of the YAKIMA VALLEY ASIAN AMERICAN TASK FORCE co-sponsored* an "Asian Day" to bring the different Asian ethnic groups in the Valley together. The event, entitled "Traditions Worth Sharing," brought more than 400 Asian and non-Asian Americans together and featured cultural exhibits, food, dances, discussions on identity, and movies of Asian American groups. It was the first time in the history of the different Asian ethnic groups in the Wapato and Yakima areas that such broad interaction occured. The event exposed some of the commonalities which they shared.

The event was the culmination of a movement begun two years earlier. With the objective of raising "Asian consciousness" among the area's Asian Americans, several of the younger members of the Pilipino community together with members of the Japanese and Chinese communities, organized the YAKIMA VALLEY ASIAN AMERICAN TASK FORCE, a "task force" of the Governor's Asian American Advisory Council.

With the goal of consolidating the traditionally separate Asian ethnic communities, efforts were made to encourage social and cultural interaction among the Japanese, Chinese, Pilipinos, and Koreans. This was a departure from the historical interaction only in the business realm; e.g., farming, restaurants, etc.

The activities were based on the concepts of common backgrounds, experiences, and needs in the concept of an Asian American Community.

The "movement" included a number of objectives and methods to obtain these goals. The most important goals were to increase interaction among the Asian ethnic groups and to alleviate community problems. Social program information was secured, and for the first time an Asian American community (Pilipino) was identified. Emphasizing social information, such as education on Asian Americans, and inter- and intra-cultural activities, it was felt that the task force complemented the two local organizations: the Yakima Valley Japanese Association, and the Yakima Valley Filipino-American Community, Inc.

*co-sponsors included the Washington State Commission on Asian American Affairs, Pacific Northwest, Pacific/Asian Coalition, the Yakima Valley Filipino-American Community, Inc., Yakima Valley Japanese Association.

For those who were involved in trying to organize an Asian American movement in Yakima Valley, the images people held about Asian Americans was the biggest handicap that Yakima Valley Asian Americans faced. This was coupled with four other factors which forestalled the making of a viable Asian American community. These included: (1) isolation - the Asian American population was spread out from the city areas of Central Washington State, and many of the Asian American-owned farms were not in close proximity; (2) priority - many of the Asians are in farming and do not agree with others who are in professional or governmental occupations regarding major issues which face the community; e.g., agricultural needs vs. social service needs; (3) numbers - perhaps the essential factor, for there are not enough Asian Americans in the area for city, county, and state officials to worry about; and (4) class differences - class differences in terms of Asian Americans striving for the "middle class" and once having reached it, feel comfortable without the need to "struggle" as as Asian American.

Thus, there was and still is opposition, misinformation, and apathy toward the new concept of "Asian American" among Valley Asian Americans. The philosophical concepts of common ethnic minority problems--e.g., "Asian American Movement," self-determination, and cultural pluralism--are met with beliefs that problems facing Asian American groups are individual rather than community problems. Many wish to dissociate themselves from the stereotypic image of aggressive, militant Asian Americans demonstrating, picketing and marching.

There are strong feelings among some Asians in being classified as "Asian American" because they feel it singles them out as an identifiable minority. They do not consider themselves as a minority, in any sense of the word. With the belief that they worked themselves up into positions of respectability and acceptance, they cannot understand why others cannot do the same.

The Valley Asian population being a long and stable one, there was considerable effort at assimilation, gaining acceptance and respectability from the white community. Although their ethnic heritage was not completely denied, emphasis was placed on assimilating American ideas, lifestyle, and the English language.

It is taking a long time for some Yakima Valley Asian Americans to openly show their ethnic identity after many years of suppression.

A BRIEF HISTORY

Yakima Valley has a fairly sizable populat. of Asian Americans. It consists mainly of Japanese and Pilipinos, but there is also a small number of Chinese, Koreans, and Hawaiians. With the end of the Vietnam War, there has also been a small influx of Vietnamese immigrants.

The 1970 census estimated 1,020 Asian Americans in the Valley, a figure which has been disputed as undercounted by Asian American people. The approximate breakdown of the different subgroups are 450 Pilipinos, 300 Japanese, 25 Hawaiians, and 28 Koreans.[4] Particularly in the case of the Pilipino, underestimating by the Census Bureau is a real possibility, as many Pilipinos may have been placed under the "Spanish American" category.

The following represents a brief history of the Valley Asian groups to date. It consists primarily of the histories of the Japanese and Pilipino communities which dominate most of the Asian American activity in the Valley. The exclusion of the historical background of Koreans, Hawaiians, and Chinese is proof of the lack of historical documentation, first-hand accounts, and contemporary research of these subgroups. Perhaps this can become a project of a scholar in the future.

The Japanese Community

The Japanese were the first Asian ethnic group to settle in Yakima Valley. Around the turn of the 20th century, the wave of Japanese immigrants who sought new opportunitites and bright futures in Hawaii and the West Coast of the United States spilled over into the Pacific Northwest. In Washington State this movement spilled inland into Yakima Valley.

As in other states, the Japanese immigrant became an asset to the fast developing economy. The young Issei (first generation Japanese) became "cheap labor" which usually meant "gangs" recruited to work on the railroads, in logging, in lumbermills, in salmon canneries, and on farms.

The first known Japanese residents to settle permanently in the Yakima Valley were Mr. and Mrs. Oka. As indicated by 1892 records, they may have been the first Japanese farmers in Washington.[5]

Through the early 1920's, other Issei pioneers came to the Valley to settle and establish farms. Encouraged by early day policies on the Yakima Indian Reservation, which permitted leasing and pruchasing of property by aliens, many Issei who came as laborers sought to farm on their own. The Issei, many of whom were farmers in Japan, quickly recognized the rich agricultural potential of the Valley. Small truck farms sprang up around the lower Yakima Valley towns of Toppenish and Wapato as more and more Japanese immigrants moved into the Valley. By 1915, the Japanese community estimated 500 in the Wapato area.

The Japanese continued coming to the Valley until the 1924 Immigration Exclusion Act, which prohibited Japanese nationals from entering the U.S. The existing Japanese population had been viewed as a threat to the welfare of American citizens because of their differences in culture, religion, and lifestyle. Similarly, the success of the Japanese Farmer posed an economic threat to the predominantly white farmers in the state.

The enactment of the Washington State Anti-Alien Land Laws of 1921 and 1923 which prohibited the property ownership and direct leasing of land by alien Japanese and the Federal Immigration Act of 1924 slowed Japanese growth to a standstill.

The Japanese in the Valley were no longer able to lease directly from the Bureau of Indian Affairs or to purchase land. Although their children, the Nisei, were U.S. citizens by birth and entitled to all citizenship rights, most of them were still minors. Issei farmers were forced to sub-lease if they were to farm. Many lessors were Caucasians who found that leasing Indian land and sub-leasing to Japarese farmers was an easy way to make money without doing any work.

Under this arrangement, there were limitations to the growth of single farm ownerships. The added cost meant smaller land parcels and a change to higher per acre crops: farmers who had depended upon alfalfa, potatoes, or onions in older days were forced to change to new crops such as tomatoes, sweet corn, peas, beans, cucumbers, sqwash, cantaloupes, and watermelons.

Changes in farming practices often led to moving from one leased land to another. In many cases, there was inadequate housing for the farmers and their families. The Issei found unique and innovative solutions to this problem by constructing movable units which could be taken with them from place to place. One-room units were built so they could be

placed together to accomodate the needs of a growing family. They served in the similar fashion as a mobile home does today.

The harvesting of potatoes brought in the first migrant workers. In the early days, they were usually fellow Issei, mostly single men. Sometimes families came from the cities seeking supplemental income during the short harvest season.

Many of the single men who came to work in the harvest remained for a time after the season was over. Some stayed throughout the winter, primarily to gamble with the local residents. Gambling was a favorite pasttime as the winters provided a minimal amount of farm work and time passed slowly.

In the 1920's, Wapato emerged as the hub for the slowly growing Japanese population. The Hirashima Store, a combination grocery, hotel, and recreation center, famous for its tofu making facilities and provision of Japanese foods and wares, along with two other grocery stores, a restaurant, and a service station became the heart of "Japanese Town" in Wapato. Nearby, the Japanese Association building was a center for fraternal and social activities as well as serving as the facility for the Japanese language school.

By the 1930's, the Japanese had organized themselves into a strong, viable community. The Japanese Association, the first ethnic organization, was joined by the Japanese Methodist Church in 1926, and the Buddhist Church in 1930. Both churches eventually erected their own buildings

-Wapato's Buddhist Church built in 1930-

as their congregations grew. Through the 1930's, the Seinikais, the Girls' Club, and the Japanese American Citizens League, as well as Judo, Kendo, and other social and cultural groups emerged.

At the same time, the nation was undergoing a severe depression. Coupled with the outbreak of another anti-Asian movement in 1931, the Japanese again became victims of racial hostility. Triggered by the Depression and the resulting lack of jobs, Pilipino laborers, the newest arrivals into the Valley, became the targets of hatred and violence. Some of this violence was directed against Japanese farmers who employed Pilipino immigrants. Japanese farms were bombed and set afire.

The threat of the "Yellow Peril" was further intensified with the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Executive Order 9066, dated February 19, 1942, called for the incarceration of all Japanese and Japanese Americans on the West Coast and severely disrupted their 50 year saga in the Yakima Valley. By June 6, 1942, with possibly one or two exceptions, no Japanese remained in the area. Approximately 1200 Japanese, aliens and citizens, were evacuated, transported, and incarcerated in the Portland Livestock Exposition Center.[6] Later they would be shipped farther inland to the permanent Heart Mountain Relocation Center in Wyoming.

In 1946, when the camps were officially closed and residents allowed to return to the West Coast, only a small percentage of the original 1200 residents returned to Yakima Valley. Many relocated in other parts of the country; a large number moved to Seattle. A few former residents slowly returned only to find unbelievable hostility. "No Japs Allowed" signs appeared in almost every store and business establishement in Wapato. Forced resistance met the Japanese at every point. Some of those who had returned remained only long enough to learn that the Valley had no future for them.

Of those who remained, the farmers were the first to settle down again. Others gradually found farms to rent and stayed. Of those who had been in business before the war, only one or two families returned.

When the Japanese left the Valley in 1942, the Issei dominated the family unit. Today, they have gradually diminished in number so that only a handful remain. Their median age is 80. The Nisei who now dominate the families have also experienced change. They have shifted away from agriculture and small farming to agribusiness and non-farming

activities. Their children, the Sansei, have preferred to leave the Valley when they become of age to seek non-farm employment elsewhere. Thus, today, the Japanese population has diminished to a base of about 300 people (although that number is starting to grow again).

The Present Day. The once active Japanese community in the Valley is now loosely organized. Activities among the members are few, and the community can be classified as a rural, stable, mainly second generation, and civic-minded group of people.

Most in the community are farmers: the descendents of the first Japanese settlers of the Valley. They returned after the wartime evacuation to start with nothing and have gradually built up their farms from a couple of acres to between one and two hundred. Many feel that they have "made it" in this society in a comfortable middle class situation.

-Japanese landscaped patio-

The leaders of the community acknowledge two significant concerns, these being 1) the population not regenerating and 2) the small amount of community participation today.

Regarding the first concern, the excellent educational achievements of the Nisei and Sansei, resulting from the push to excel during the 50's and 60's, have never been complemented by existing labor market in the area. The urban areas offer more employment opportunities for the college trained professionals. Thus, most of the Sanseis are leaving

and only a few Japanese are coming in the Valley. With this trend altering the community the future of the Japanese in the Valley is unclear.

Secondly, there is very little community participation today. Socializing is kept at a minimum except among close friends. The Methodist Church (an integrated church) and Buddhist Church serve as minor gathering spots in the community, providing social contacts as well as fulfilling religious needs.

Too small in number to make a significant impact in the greater community, most of the Nisei participate in occupation-related organizations, such as the Farm Bureau, in service clubs such as Lions, the American Legion and its auxiliary, and Parent-Teacher-School associations. Nisei have held leadership roles in these organizations as well as achieved recognition in professional and some local governmental advisory groups.

Clearly, changes through the years have taken their toll, but the Japanese community, once numbering 1200, remains an important part of the Asian American community in the Yakima Valley.

The Pilipino Community

At present, the most populous Asian group in Yakima Valley is the Pilipino community. First recruited as migrant workers in the late 1910's,[7] they came in "labor gangs" to work in the hops, sugar beets, and apples. Then, by first leasing and later buying land, the Pilipinos have made an outstanding reputation for themselves as truck farmers in the economic life of the Yakima Valley.

The general acceptance of the Pilipinos of today was not always so: the first immigrants were seen as a very visible economic threat by American laborers. During the late 1920's and 1930's, Pilipinos were run out of the town of Toppenish and generally harassed in most of the towns of the lower Yakima Valley.

The Pilipinos, mainly young males, were often met with hostility, misunderstanding, and racial intolerance. Chronicled in a book by the famous Pilipino-American writer, Carols Bulosan, entitled America Is in the Heart, these anti-Pilipino occurrences, beginning with the incident in 1927 in Wapato, represent the first anti-Pilipino riots on the West Coast of the United States.

There were formal barriers in addition to the general harassment by American laborers which handicapped the economic progress of the Pilipino immigrants to the Yakima Valley. The Washington State

Anti-Alien Land Laws of 1921 and 1923 prohibited property ownership and direct leasing of land. Also contributing to the problems of the Pilipinos was their settlement on the lands of the Yakima Indian Reservation. Permission to farm those lands had to be secured from the Yakima tribe.

These institutional barriers and the basic instinct for survival resulted in the formation of the Yakima Valley Filipino Community, Inc., in August of 1937. With a membership of 100, this organization outlived the Filipino Social Club which was formed in the 1920's.

Because of their uncertain legal status (were they aliens, wards of the U.S. government, or American nationals?) from 1935 - 1945, Pilipinos were not allowed to lease land for farming in Yakima Valley. Passage of one more barrier, the Amended Alien Land Act in spring of 1937 by the Washington State Legislature, and the increased surveillance of suspected violators resulted in the arrest of 21 Pilipinos.

The Yakima Valley Filipino, Inc.'s first major act was the undertaking of a court battle to release the 21 farmers who were sent to jail.[8] After a series of court hearings, considerable money, time, and effort, the 21 were released in the fall of 1937.

After this initial victory, the Pilipino community went to work to change the Amended Alien Land Act of 1937. They sought the support of various community organizations, Pilipino communities across the state, circulated petitions, talked to local, state, federal, and Philippine governmental officials, in the effort to repeal the law as it applied to Pilipinos. They supported a Seattle Pilipino, Pio DeCano, in his legal battle against the law.

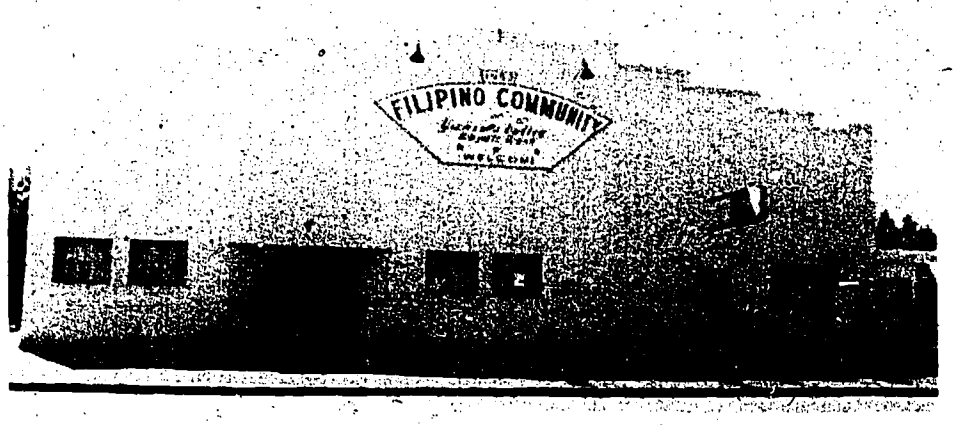
Victory came in the fall of 1939: the Washington State Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional as it applied to Pilipinos.

During World War II, many of the male Pilipinos joined the military in the effort to prove their patriotism to America. Consequently, activities ceased, and membership in the community fell to 25 members.

As they were seeking to lease land on the Yakima Indian Reservation, one further barrier had to be scaled: the community needed the approval of the Yakima Indian tribal council. Meetings held in 1940 - 1941 (among community individuals and the tribal council, Bureau of Indian Affairs officials, and a personal envoy of Philippine President

Quezon, Francisco Barona) resulted in Pilipinos given the right to lease land on the Yakima Indian Reservation. The economic life and future of the Pilipinos was enhanced and secured by the decisions of late fall, 1939 and late fall, 1941.

After the war, more Pilipina women entered the Valley to join the very few who could be found there before 1940. Plans were made in 1947 to build a large Community Hall to service and house the social, cultural, and community needs of the Valley Pilipinos. Activities



-Filipino Hall, built in 1952-

celebrated included Rizal Day, the 4th of July, a Christmas party for the children, and the entertaining of Philippine visitors and diginitaries. With the securance of bank loans, community donations, and community support, construction of the hall was completed and the doors opened on March 22, 1952.

The period from 1920 - 1952 marked most Pilipinos as small truck farmers. They had formed a loosely knit cooperative and financed their own warehouse.

The situation changed in the mid-50's. First, the cooperative warehouse burned down. Then, the larger produce companies began moving in. Because they could not control crop prices, the Pilipino farmers became dependent on the prices set by the larger Valley farmers and corporations such as Libby's and Del Monte.

And so, over the years, most Pilipino farmers were slowly forced off the land and went from a predominantly rural to a more urban way of working. With little education and few skills, the Pilipinos took jobs as dishwashers, bell boys, waiters, and cannery workers. They also returned to farm worker positions, hiring out mainly to the few remaining Pilipino farmers.

The many activities which marked the opening of the Community Hall in 1952 and lasted through the middle 1960's have diminished to approximately three activities a year. Mainly cultural in nature, there has been a recent push to begin commemorating Philippine traditions, history, and culture.

With a population estimated by community leaders at 750, and divided among the first, second, and third generations and new immigrants, they are generally accepted by Valley people today. The Pilipinos of Yakima Valley have been through an intense struggle for survival.

The Present Day. The Pilipino community in 1975 is marked by diminished community participation, by three categories in its Valley population, and by agriculture. Centered in and around Wapato, the community has been a stable, mainly Ilocano dialect speaking community for fifty years.

Most of the Pilipinos are in the fruit and vegetable farming business. Usually leasing land from the B.I.A., Bureau of Indian Affairs, the farms are small, family-run businesses, medium-sized partnerships, and large farms.

The family-run businesses are small acreage farms of 5 - 25 acres. The land is worked by the nuclear family plus one or two hired help. There is minimal use of equipment. The farm's success is based on crop productivity from year to year.

Pilipino partnership farms, ranging from 10 - 50 acres, are based on investment and asset-sharing by two or more Pilipinos. The labor is also shared.

The final type of farm, the large farm, presents a unique type of business in terms of labor used. Ranging from 25 - 100 acres, these farms are worked by a family joined by relatives, often new immigrants to the United States. The land is worked by two and more families. After becoming citizens, families will often lease land from the B.I.A.

They then sponsor other families and relatives to America to work on their farms.

Although exact figures have not been recorded, most Pilipino community members are first, second, or third generation Americans. Only a handful of new immigrants now live among the estimated 750 Pilipinos in the Valley.

Migrant Pilipino farm workers have virtually disappeared. Before the war, large numbers of Pilipino and Japanese farm workers were common; since then, they have decreased to a very small number, working mostly on farms operated by their relatives (migrant or Valley Chicanos are also hired on the larger farms).

-Wapato's "Little Manila"-

Some Pilipinos still make the summer trip to Alaska canneries for work in the salmon industry. But the number is far less than in earlier times when the cannery-farm worker-migrant made seasonal stops in Alaska and the Yakima Valley.

Most of the Valley Pilipinos have some connection with the recognized Pilipino community orgainzation, the Yakima Valley Filipino Community, Inc. The president of that organization, Roy Baldoz, is also co-founder and operator of the Inter-Valley Produce, which is a produce distributor. In addition, most of the older Pilipinos belong

to one or more of the existing fraternal Pilipino organizations.

Community activity today among the Pilipinos has diminished from the myriad of Philippine cultural and community activities of the '40's to the '60's. Like the Japanese in the farming business, most Pilipinos do not have the time and the energy for community activity after working all day on the farm.

There are two main community activities - a Christmas program and an "Anniversary Celebration" held in March each year. These take place in Filipino Hall. Because of the farming season, lasting from March to October, the hall is generally devoid of activity, and has been in the recent past rented out more often to other groups. There has been a push toward more community participation by some of the youth in the community.

The Washington State Department of Social and Health Services helped document statistics of the community during the fall of 1973.[10] The following characteristics were found in speaking to the heads of families who were members of the Yakima Valley Filipino Community, Inc.:

CHARACTERISTICS	% OF THOSE RESPONDING	NUMBER RESPONDING
Members over 50 years old	82	82
No schooling in U. S.	68	84
Completely fluent in English	56	84
Occupations: Farming	60	106
Professional	5	106
Social Security as chief means of support	47	117

An analysis of Yakima Valley Pilipino Community, Inc. shows an older, agricultural, low to medium income community.

The Chinese Community

While there are a few Chinese employed in professionally categorized jobs (e.g., doctors, architects, pharmacists, teachers), most of the Chinese in Yakima Valley are employed in the restaurant business. There are seven Chinese restaurants in the area predominantly in Yakima.

There is no recognized community organization among the Chinese, and they are isolated not only from the other Asian ethnic groups, but from each other as well. The Chinese live in the urban areas while the Japanese and Pilipinos live in the rural areas. With no family associations in the Yakima area, there is friendly competition in the restaurant business. Social gatherings are rare - even traditional Chinese holidays such as "New Year" are not publicly celebrated.

Most of the Chinese have lived in the Yakima area for over twenty years. There is also a pattern of Chinese immigrants periodically entering the area to work in the Yakima restaurants. It is not uncommon for an entire immigrant family of six to seven members to work in the Yakima area a year or so before leaving for some other urban area.

Housing for these immigrants is fairly inadequate: sometimes an entire family would be placed in a small apartment. But for the most part, the Chinese immigrants' stay is only temporary.

In summary, Chinese gourmet cooks have always been needed by the restaurant owners. But turnover is high and people have left the area for better opportunities elsewhere.

The Korean Community

Because of small numbers, little is known of this isolated group.

The Vietnamese Community

A few Vietnamese families and single males have entered the Yakima Valley since mid 1975. They have been the subject of mostly favorable media coverage in the area as "refugees."

Most of the Vietnamese are state sponsored with one family living in Grandview, the only privately sponsored family in the Valley area.

The number of Vietnamese in the area is very small - 57 - and the general attitude toward the Vietnamese is receptive.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES TOWARD ASIANS IN THE VALLEY

The major employers in Yakima Valley are farmers, the farming-related industries; e.g., canning companies, produce distributors; restaurant and service-realted businesses; and specialized industires, such as garment and wood products. The employment attitudes toward Yakima Valley Asians have been examined in light of the jobs Asians presently occupy, the general employment picture in the Valley, and the area's "Affirmative Action" programs.

In the area of farming, the major work force is the agricultural worker, generally of Chicano ancestry. Most of the Valley farmers employ migrant workers, the exception being the family-operated Pilipino farms. An unknown percentage of migrant workers are "illegal aliens" which have entered the area from Mexico.

Regarding Asian Americans, most government and non-government employers interviewed stated that they welcome Asian Americans as employees in their departments or businesses. The general opinion is that they wish more Asians would apply for jobs.

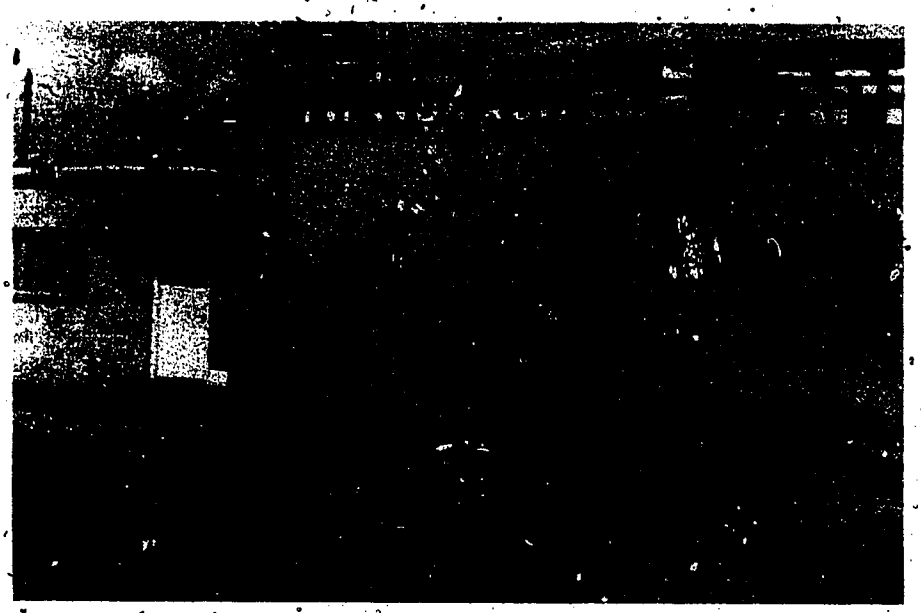
When asked about Asians, most employers pointed to the opinion that Asians have good "attitudes toward work" and to the image of "hard working Asians." These images are definite advantages toward potential employment.

However, if an individual does not measure up to the stereotypes, there is surprise: one employer from the Washington State Employment Security Department mentioned that he "took a chance on this one Japanese American fellow even though it appeared that he was a job hopper, that is, he had drifted from one job to another." It was felt that this Japanese person "was different from Japanese Americans, in that he seemed to lack the 'work ethic' that makes Japanese try to strive harder, make it to the top, etc."

The general impression of public employers interviewed was that Asians are not having employment problems. In fact, one person from Employment Security stated, "Many Asians find work in their own ethnic communities--unlike some of the other people, Asians can find jobs and do not need job referral services."

Concerning such industries as canning and produce distributors, the majority of these jobs are of the type that require manual dexterity,

speed, and routine. In the canning industry, the Asians that do work are mostly women employed on the production line. Job advancement to positions of foreman is possible. Produce distributors employ Asians to drive trucks, conduct inventories, etc.



In the restaurant business, Asians have been employed to serve, cook, and wash dishes. The majority of the Asians in the restaurant business are Chinese.

Indicative of the working class lifestyle of the area is the case of the local garment factories. One is a regional plant office connected to a nationwide outfit, based in Texas. Producers of Farrah slacks, the largest percentage of this factory's jobs is in doing piecemeal work. Highly sensitive to any illusion of the factory being referred to as a "sweat shop," the managers of the company point out that while previously payment was made on the piecemeal basis, their company now paid on a fixed salary or piecemeal basis whichever is higher. Starting pay was $2.10 an hour, peicemeal rates depended upon which part of the pants were being sewn.

One garment factory employers are proud of the fact that they were "Equal Opportunity Employers." As the second largest employer in the area, the company employs approximately five hundred persons of which fifteen to twenty are Asian. The company does not actively recruit

minorities, but they are, however, looking for more males, white or non-white, to work there. About 80 - 90% of the labor force at the factory is female.

The Asians that work at the factory are primarily war brides (Japanese and Koreans), and Pilipinas. In addition, an entire Vietnamese family has been hired to work. The working conditions are such that some of the women have been there over twelve years, working at the same machine, cutting the same patterns, day in and day out.

-Bailey's Manufactoring Company-

As far as the Asian community contact was concerned, the company official was not aware of any Asian community in the area. He stated that he didn't care if a person was black or green. He added that he was happy with the Asian people who were working for them, and had never encountered any problems whatsoever with them. When asked why Asians had not been advanced to any administrative positions, the company official answered, "no particular reason."

In terms of available jobs, there is an abundance of manual labor and secretarial jobs in the area. While advancement in these jobs is possible, the process of promotions has proven very slow to non-existent for Asians and other ethnic minorities.

With "Affirmative Action" being a relatively recent phenomenon, most employers claim to be looking for minority workers. The main places of recruitment are the Yakima Valley Opportunities Industrialization Center,

the Washington State Employment Security Department, and the Yakima County Comprehensive Employment and Training Office. These places mostly serve employers in providing minority workers for low level entry type jobs. Employers are rarely recruiting in the separate ethnic communities.

For college educated Asian Americans, the opportunities are limited. Most professionally oriented businesses are of the opinion that it is hard to get Asian Americans and other college educated minorities to enter the Yakima Valley unless they were born and raised here. The Superintendent of the Yakima School District said that he places teaching position announcements with all of the colleges and Employment Security Departments in the state. He encouraged more Asian Americans and other minorities to come to Yakima to teach.

In summary, the general overall attitudes toward Asian Americans by area employers is colored by the stereotype of the "hard working" minority. In this instance, the stereotype could serve as an advantage in obtaining employment. For sure, the stereotype has worked in areas of employment which require that Asians must use their physical labor, manual dexterity (sewing or typing), or back breaking, long work days. It means hard work at low pay.

Asians who are college-educated work for the state or are self-employed. The most important maxim often is, "It's not <u>what</u> you know, it's <u>who</u> you know." As the second part of the message is not achieved, most Asian youth have left the area to find employment elsewhere.

THE ASIAN COMMUNITY
AS VIEWED BY LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES AND OFFICIALS

The treatment accorded the Asian ethnic groups in Yakima Valley is based upon a general stereotypic image of the Asian American as a "model minority." Most, if not all, of the city, county, and state government agencies and public officials interviewed for this report had no contact with the Asian American communities in the area. The attitude was that Yakima Valley Asian Americans "have no problems" or that "they take care of their own." Therefore, public officials seem satsified that they are "serving the Asian community," even if they don't know much about their Asian constituency.

Public social service agencies report very limited contact with Asian Americans. Yakima County Mental Health Services stated that only 0.2% of 1974's clientele was of Asian ancestry (it was broken down to a family of four). It was the general impression that Asians might have mental health problems, but the burden was placed on Asians to seek the services. Fairly inaccessible to those living in isolated rural areas outside of the City of Yakima, there are presently no Asian or Native American counselors or outreach workers on the Mental Health Services staff.

Many public officials have bought the stereotypes of Asian Americans. While not trying to appear insensitive, an official of the area's Employment Security Office stated that he would help any "Japanese American and 'Chinaman' who came into the office seeking help in finding a job."

The people of Yakima Valley traditionally vote for conservative politicians. The John Birch Society, though discounted by most elected officials, is fairly active in the area, with a national board member of the Society running a paid advertisement regularly in the local newspaper.

Most of the present elected officials are geared toward farming interests and the business community. This has meant conservative policy making for those elected to serve in Olympia and Washington D.C. Social services, public employment, special education - those programs advocated by ethnic minority communities - have low priority on the agenda for the area elected officials. The influence of minority

populations have proven minimal.

The political officials have reflected the influence of their political support: agri-business interests, private business, large farmers and ranchers. If they do not adequately represent the interests of farming and business, they will not be in office for any extended length of ime.

Among the general attitudes on issues affecting Asians and other minorities received during interviews with public officials were:

Bi-lingual Education. It was felt that English should be learned in the schools even though the parents speak the native language at home. English as a Second Language is not necessary because public education should be able to do an adequate job in teaching English language Skills.

Contact with minority communities. "The door is always open." The apparent feeling is that people should come to them, they did not necessarily feel the need to go to the people.

Racism and Discrimination. While racial incidents do occur, it was felt that the area is more sensitive to minorities.

Commissions representing ethnic minorities and women. The general attitude was that such commissions are an added expenditure of the taxpayers' money. It was felt that they should be combined into one, the Washington State Human Rights Commission. (There is a high degree of racial antagonism from some whites of the area toward minority people. To some, it appears minorities are favored: for example, a letter addressed to the Yakima branch office of the Washington State Human Rights Commission stated, "If I were a Jap, Nigger, Spic, Kike, or hippie, I would be helped, but I am just a working class white." The man was asked to correct an improperly filled-out form.)

Regarding Asian Americans. "They have not visibly shown any problems. They have worked hard to gain the respect that they have in the Valley."

The attitude among younger ethnic minority people in the Yakima area is that there is a high degree of racial prejudice in the area's agencies, but it is very subtle. A recent attempt by Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, and a few Asian Americans to have an area minority person hired as Yakima City's Human Relations Officer was met by a response of

the city's recruiting and hiring a white woman from Spokane.

Thus, the political mainstream in the Yakima Valley has rarely involved Asian American and other ethnic minority communities. Though most Pilipinos are Democrats and the Japanese, Republicans, many Asian Americans feel that they have been accepted, yet the general opinion is that there are no Asian Americans qualified to serve in public office.

The fact that some of the economically successful Asian Americans have vocally supported some of the area's elected office holders is important, for if contact with Asians is limited to those who are well off and philosophically conservative, then it comes to no surprise that elected office holders believe that Asian Americans have no problems.

ASIANS VIEW THEIR PROBLEMS

Contrary to the general picture of quiet and humble people satisfied with conditions and of the stereotypic attitude that "Asians have no problems," there are definite problems and needs of Asian Americans in Yakima Valley.

For the elderly: Health, housing, living on a fixed income, isolation and loneliness, are real problems. There is the phenomenon of the "late family" in the Pilipino community: a nuclear family consisting of a father, aged sixty and over, a mother, aged thirty and over, and youngsters. There are often social problems attendant to this three generational makeup in a family.

For the new immigrant: isolation, economic dependence on welfare programs, and feelings of insensitivity and prejudice from people they come in contact with are real emotions. The Korean warbrides are isolated and unaccustomed to the culture, language and lifestyle of white Americans. It is only after their husbands have abused and left them that public agencies have often come in contact with them. The Vietnamese have also had to use welfare.

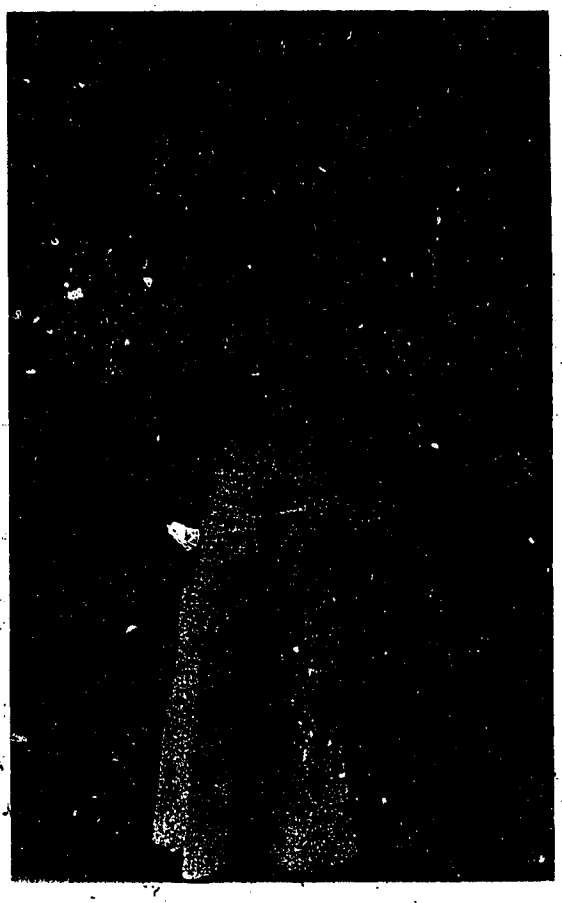
The Pilipino immigrants often enter the country with very little except the dreams and hopes of sudden economic prosperity. The "culture shock" is very real when many find that the life in America is not what was expected.

Unemployment, underemployment, and the lack of available skilled jobs is a major problem among the young in the area. Thus, the traditional pattern is for the youth to leave the area. Also, the youth have not participated in Asian American community affairs, and generally, have de-emphasized Asian values and traditions.

Thus, as the youth leave, there have been very few to draw on for leadership roles in the different Asian American communities. Most of the recognized leaders in the Japanese Association and Filipino Community are in their sixties.

The following is written after interviewing six Asian Americans who are working but not in the occupations for which they have received training.

JOSIE



Josie is a recent college graduate with a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and Chicano Studies. Half Chicana, half Pilipina, Josie has been looking for some type of employment where she can work in either the Chicano and/or the Pilipino communities. She has applied for several positions in social service agencies, but has been unsuccessful. When her applications have been turned down, she is given the customary rejection notice in the mail. But that is the only contact she has had with the employers.

She feels that the employers, in general, do not really care about the candidates that file for the jobs. In addition, Josie has grown tired of the "bureaucratic runaround" that applying for these government jobs entails. She was told by one prospective employer that the reason why she was not chosen for the job as an outreach worker was because she had not worked for the state government before, that the job holder had to have six months experience in state government service.

Upon hearing of a possible caseworker position with the local mental health department, Josie applied. The agency was looking for an Asian but did not have an opening for a caseworker. Josie was informed that she was "misinformed, that there were no jobs available, and that she would be cont[illegible]d sh[illegible]d any opening arise." She feels that this is just another [illegible]ne "bureaucratic runaround."

Josie has been working part-time as a barmaid in a local tavern. But she does not want to work there for the rest of her life. She has a college education but cannot find employment in her field of expertise. She plans to leave the area for Seattle or California if

no job comes up. She mentioned that she knew beforehand that it would be tough trying to find a job. But this area is her home, and she will give it a year's try before she moves on.

BENJAMIN

Ben is a recent college graduate with a Master's Degree in Art. Of Pilipino descent, he has been trying to obtain a teaching job in art education. Educated in the Midwest, he came back to this area because his family and friends are here. Working as a salesman in a local department store selling photo equipment, Ben is finding that there is very limited job opportunities in relation to art.

He is supplementing his income by selling some of his art work. He has applications for employment all over the country and is admittedly biding his time before he leaves the area. Just like Josie, he knew beforehand that he would have a difficult time finding employment in his chosen profession. (He has been given the opportunity to teach one art class at Yakima Valley College, but that is non-tenured.) He will give it a year before he tries some other area.

STAN

A recent immigrant from the Philippines, Stan has experience in accounting and radio technology. Educated at the University of Manila with a Bachelor of Arts in Business Administration, he has several years of experience working in the Philippines. While serving in the Philippine Armed Services, he also learned the technical aspects of radio communications.

Presently, he is unemployed. Despite his skills, he has been unable to find any accounting or radio technicians jobs in the Yakima area. After several frustrating attempts to land jobs, all he has to show for his efforts is a pile of rejection notices. One of the reasons that he was given for being rejected for government jobs is the fact that he has had no prior government experience.

Stan was turned down at Pacific Power, Pacific Northwest Bell, two local radio stations, the City of Yakima, the County of Yakima, but is continuing to look. He attended classes at the Opportunities Industrialization Center, but compares them to high school training. He

felt that he was overqualified for that program.

In the last three years that he has been in this country, he has worked mostly in farm labor type jobs. He feels stifled because he believes he can do accounting jobs if given the chance. Stan thinks that he is being racially discriminated against, but cannot point the finger at what or whom. He is discouraged by his experiences in America, and is thinking of moving back to the Philippines.

For the unskilled, job opportunities seem available. These jobs range from farm labor to janitorial to sewing. But the college educated are finding the employment doors closed. While it is true that most of those who leave for college know that opportunities in the area are limited, some still return to find employment. In the case of the Pilipino immigrant, he is quite shaken to find that he cannot obtain a job despite his background. The image of life in America that is perceived in the Philippines which encourages people to come over does not include the harsh reality of unemployment. Stan definitely feels that racism is very strong in this country -- his wife, Cora, agrees.

CORA

Cora applied for a clerk position with the City of Yakima. After preliminary testing, she was notified by the City that she had the highest qualifications for the job - she placed first out of 50 candidates. Yet, she did not get the job. One of the questions she was asked in the interview was, "Do you know anybody in Yakima?" She replied that she didn't. Cora was told that the clerk position required knowledge of people who were in the City. Since she knew no one, she became instantly "unqualified."

She is now working at night in a local canning company on the production line.

The fact that Asians represent a small portion of the residents in Yakima tends to shift attention away from them. As mentioned earlier, the number of farm workers is declining. While at one time the majority of farm workers were either Japanese or Pilipino, the Asian farm worker is a small minority today. But the fact that there is such a small number does not mean that they are not encountering problems.

Small acreage farmers are isolated because of the spread out areas and farm workers are often cut off from any sembalance of community affiliation. This points to the lack of communications between the Asians in the area.

The following are stories of a farm worker and small acreage farmer living in the Yakima Valley:

BERNARD

Working on the same farm for the past twenty years, Bernard, aged 65, is paid $2.50 an hour for a 50-hour week. He receives no overtime, no unemployment compensation, no medical benefits. Working with a crew of nine, Bernard has served as the foreman responsible for making sure that each man does his work. He has complained because he felt that while he was responsible for the crew, he was not getting paid any more than they were. The crew, including one Native American and seven "illegal aliens," were responsible for eighty acres -- pruning, thinning, and harvesting the orchards for a German American. This employer favors using non-white

workers because the "whites are too lazy, took too many breaks, and goofed around too much."

While the employer did not provide benefits, he does offer living quarters for his workers. Bernard has lived in the same house for the past twenty years -- a small cottage that serves as the home for his family, a wife and two pre-school children. The house itself is not sufficiently insulated, and as Bernard puts it, "It's very cold in the winter." In the summer, the family is constantly bothered by flies, which seems to infer that sanitation conditions are poor.

At 65 years, Bernard has social security benefits as an additional source of income. It comes in handy during the winter time because Bern finds little work then. He did not know about unemployment compensation, but was definitely interested. With one of his children starting school, he is looking for additional income. Like many people in his situation, Bern often talks about leaving the area; but when the farming season comes, he is out in the fields again. He has spoken of leaving for the past three or four years.

The majority of concerns toward farm workers in the area has been directed toward the plight of the Chicano migrant worker. It is very apparent that social services, such as medical services, bilingual education, drug counseling, and housing, are definitely needed by the Chicano farm worker. But, in the most part, the concerns of Pilipino farm workers, such as Bernard, are overlooked because of their small numbers.

As far as Bernard is concerned, the farm is not unionized and he wonders why. He does feel exploited and wants the benefits that a union (he has heard of the UNITED FARM WORKERS UNION) can help obtain. He is sure that the rest of his crew wants the benefits and higher wages as well.

TONY

Tony, a small farm owner of three acres has worked the same land since 1949. His typical work day schedule includes getting up at 5 a.m., out in the fields by 6, and then tending his fruit and vegetable stand in the afternoon. In the summer, he will close up the stand at 10 p.m. In effect, he will put in about 16 hours a day during the farm season.

In the summer, he tends this farm. In winter, he holds a part-time job pruning trees for another farmer. While he does sell some of his produce to food distrubutors, such as the Inter Valley Produce Company, most of his income comes from the roadside fruit and vegetable stand.

With the help of a son and mininal equipment, Tony does all of his farm work - planting, sowing, plowing, harvesting. At the age of 66, he has seen the disappearance of the small farmer, the emergence of corporation farms, and feels it is only a question of time before he will be forced out.

The future of the small farmer is not bright. Tony started out in 1949 with five acres. The Washington State Highway Department took one acre (for which Tony was paid $700) for Highway 97 connecting Wapato to Toppenish. He has been offered $1,000 an acre for his land, but he has no intention of selling out. On the other hand, he does not foresee that his business will continue to exist in the future.

Corporation farms have emerged in the area because of the excellent profit potential in the area's good farming conditions. Boise Cascade, Del Monte, Libby's, Sno-Kist, and U & I Sugar have already established roots. It has been mentioned that the Boeing Company is very interested in entering the Valley as a farmer as well. With competition such as this, small farmers are slowly being edged out of the business.

Tony does not expect to make plenty of money - just enough to get by. He feels that as long as the roadside traveler drives by and stops to shop at his stand, he will continue to thrive. But he has envisaged

turning an area of many small farms into an area of a few large ones. Because many of the small farmers are getting advanced in age, because younger small farmers have not appeared to take the land over, and because of the corporate trend, most small farms are being sold.

In summary, the vital concerns of the Asian American community are real; the elderly, health, housing, the new immigrants, alcoholism, unemployment and underemployment, identity, the continuation of the ethnic communities. In very few cases have solutions been offered by area agencies, either at the governmental or private levels.

Sadly, the Asian American community has rarely called attention in a unified way to these problems.

CONCLUSIONS

We have attempted to give the reader an account of the history of Valley Asian Americans and an insight to some of their concerns today. Repeating an often used phrase, it was done in line with the philosophy that Asians do have common problems, experiences, and needs in America. We have found that Yakima Valley represents a unique rural-agricultural area and that the problems facing Asian Americans in the Valley are similar among Asians all across the United States.

The area gives strong contrasting views of the ways that the capitalistic system operates in the country. One view shows the seasonal farm workers working long ten hour days doing hard back-breaking labor; another, the garment factory worker, sewing day in and day out on the same machine for seven years; another, the small farmer, sitting at his roadside stand, doubtful of his future and just waiting until the large farmers or corporations take away his business. The final view is of ethnic groups attempting to preserve their cultural heritage in an era of diminished community participation.

The opposite view has the corporation and large farms employing "illegal aliens" because, "they are the only good workers that can be depended upon," not to mention that these people can ill afford to demand anything since recognition means deportation. The view of the politicians is that they are answerable to the people that provide their campaign support; i.e., the large farmers and the private sector.

The irony behind all of this is that there are more people without land and out of business in the Valley. The contrast between the have and the have-nots is very vivid.

The intense struggles that the different Yakima Valley Asian American communities went through from the 1900's to 1940's have been transformed to newer struggles and issues. The achievements of getting a foothold in America and winning the rights to economic independence have been transformed by the fact that America itself has gone through profound changes, especially during the past fifteen years.

Admittedly, the Asian Americans in the area have seen worse times. Anti-Asian prejudice and discrimination is something that people in the Valley remember as a real threat to their lives. The Japanese who returned after the war were not welcome. The Pilipinos had to struggle

against laws and people in the area which made it difficult for them to start farming. These Asian Americans have seen mobs, pickets, angry newspaper editorials calling for their removal, bombing, and name calling.

But, the issues facing Asian Americans today are just as important as those first struggles. They are more so, because of the complacency of Asians and the false labels which have been placed on Asian Americans by White America.

The issues facing Yakima Valley Asian Americans today encompass the young and old, the long time resident, and the new immigrant. It is a struggle of identity, class prejudice, economic instability; against problems of health and aging, diminishing numbers, immigration, education systems; diminishing interest in Asian American community affairs, and participation in America's political system.

For Yakima Valley Asian Americans, how these issues are faced will determine the future. It looks doubtful: The Japanese and Pilipino farm owners are concerned that there will be no one left to take over their farms. The young people are leaving. One Japanese community leader concedes the view that the Japanese community is dying. The Pilipino community has stagnated and needs new blood. The Chinese have no opportunities other than the restaurant business.

The choice seems clear. In America's bicentennial year, the Asian American group of Yakima Valley are also involved in renewing self-determination, the concept that Asian Americans become a part of any decision or policy making positions which dictates how the system will affect them. The few people that are committed to an Asian American concept in Yakima Valley will continue to try to unite the people of the different Asian American communities in this effort.

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