ON AMERICAN ACCULTURATION IN ASIAN AMERICAN LITERATURE

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Abstract: In the first part of the paper, the history of the United States of America as a land where not all dreams come true and not everybody is equal is presented, taking as a starting point the nineteenth century when Africans were slaves and poorly paid Asian immigrants worked hard to survive, while most Europeans enjoyed a prosperous life. However, after a century of transformation, in today’s United States all naturalized inhabitants receive the right to be equal citizens, although many Americans of European descent still discriminate against Asian Americans and African Americans.

Although the evolution of Asian immigrants in America from poorly paid workers to businessmen is a fascinating topic, it provides the backdrop for the subject of acculturation. As such, after a short introduction into Asian American history, the current paper prefers to focus on the manner in which immigrants strive to become American citizens and the stages they pass through in order to become true Americans, as reflected in the main characters from Susan Choi and Gish Jen’s life based novels. Moreover, it underlines that Asian immigrants still want to preserve their Asian cultural and linguistic legacy in their private life, even though they become typical Americans in public.

Keywords: Acculturation, Chinese American, Korean American, adaptation, imitation.

Historical Introduction

Probably the first accounts made by the first European explorers of North America helped to imprint it in the collective consciousness as the land where dreams come true, determining thousands of people to come and try to find a better life in this new territory. Unfortunately, America was not everybody’s Promised Land, because only Europeans had the right to establish farms and mine for gold, while Africans were used as slaves on farms and Asians were hired as poorly paid workers in gold mines or on the railway construction sites.
As time passed the situation of Asian workers did not improve, but became even worse at the end of the nineteenth century, because Americans of European descent considered that Asians took many job opportunities away from the hands of white Americans. Finally, in 1882 the U.S. Congress voted the “Act to Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to Chinese”, an act which prohibited Chinese laborers, skilled and unskilled, to enter the United States, although some “Chinese people who were exempt from the stipulations of the law included diplomatic personnel, merchants, students, teachers, and tourists”\(^1\).

Although the 1882 act helped to reduce the number of new Chinese immigrants to a couple of people yearly\(^2\), it also had a negative impact on the labor market, where the lack of new Chinese workers led to a crisis of employees, because employers were only looking for new laborers that would work for low wages and could not afford to hire Americans or African Americans. But the rising demand for new employees who agreed to work for low wages would be quickly resolved, because other Asians came to America to look for a better life and accepted to work for a small remuneration\(^3\). The lack of new Chinese workers helped the rise of the Japanese immigrant community, but also stimulated over 7000 Koreans to come to America to look for better jobs\(^4\).

Unfortunately, the number of Japanese immigrants was restricted through the Gentlemen’s Agreement after 1908. Moreover, after “1910 the Korean nation ceased to exist, and Koreans were considered Japanese nationals and therefore came under the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1908”\(^5\).

In 1924 the Immigration Act restricted the number of immigrants to be admitted into the United States of America to a limit of 150000 persons annually\(^6\). Furthermore, “the quota for each country was based on the proportionate number of each nationality already residing in the United States as of 1920. For example, Great Britain was assigned a quota of 65351, whereas the quotas for China and Japan were, respectively, 105 and 185”\(^7\).

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2. Ibidem, p.68.
5. Ibidem, p.34.
Asians were given the right to immigrate to the United States in a bigger number and to become Americans through the McCarran and Walter Act of 1952\(^8\). This act permitted, on the one hand, the entrance of huge waves of Korean immigrants during the Korean War (1950-1953), while on the other, it allowed the Chinese citizens who did not want to live in either the Popular Republic of China or the Republic of China to come to the U.S. Moreover, after the Immigration Act of 1965, the law which “abolished the national-origins quota system”\(^9\), new and bigger waves of Korean and Chinese immigrants arrived in America to fight for a better life in the country of all possibilities.

Towards the middle of the twentieth century, although the laws permitted the entrance and naturalization of Asian immigrants, not all Asian immigrants became Americans, because not all of them could undertake the acculturation process and assimilate into the American culture. One of the reasons for which not all Asian immigrants made it through the Americanization process is that not all of them came to United States of America because they wanted to, as many of them were forced by the political situation in their countries, such as refugees and asylum seekers\(^10\). Other Asian immigrants did not become Americans because they had their minds set on returning to their homeland after they had gotten rich or after they had finished their studies.

Furthermore, even if the discriminatory acts were abolished during times of economic crises, the Americans of Chinese and Korean descent had to endure harsh treatments, because white and African Americans were frightened by the possibility of being robbed of jobs by Asian immigrants\(^11\). Therefore, is not surprising that not all Chinese Americans and Korean Americans managed to adapt and that many preferred to hide themselves inside Asian communities or to go back to their home country after the political situation there had changed for the better.

**A new typology of characters in Asian American literature**

The majority of Asian American writers, in general, and Chinese and Korean American writers, in particular, concentrate their skill either on picturing the traditional culture of their

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\(^8\)Ibidem, p.35.

\(^9\)Ibidem.


homeland, because they feel that they live in exile, or on describing how Asian immigrants adapt to the American life. Unfortunately, “the concept that “Orientals” are perpetual foreigners has led many readers to think that Chinese American literature [especially, and Asian American literatures, in general], like Pidgin English spoken by “Ching Chong Chinamen,” is virtually foreign writing. [...] In reality, that concept is misleading. Stylistically, Chinese American [and Korean American] writers from the beginning were influenced by mainstream culture. That they, particularly the native-born, write in the same way as their peers in society at large demonstrates that, stylistically, they have been thoroughly Americanized”\(^{12}\). Fortunately, after the 1970s this misconception started to be less frequently encountered, because the amount of Asian American writing increased\(^{13}\) and this captured the public’s attention, therefore they started to differentiate between Asian literatures and Asian American literatures.

Although there is not “necessarily one common Asian American experience or reality [as] Asian Americans may be of Filipino, Korean, or Asian Indian descent”\(^{14}\) and “the experience of one Asian American in New Orleans, Louisiana, may not be the same as that of an Asian American living in Los Angeles, California”\(^{15}\), a close reader may find some common general features in those Asian American writings that depict the way in which Asian immigrants or second-generation Asian Americans become or do not become American. The close reader may also observe that several authors describe similar processes of Americanization, while other authors make use of different types of acculturation processes to show what an Asian immigrant passes through in order to become Americanized.

Furthermore, when discussing texts written by American authors of Asian descent, in general, and of Chinese and Korean origin, in particular, the process of American acculturation needs to be taken into account. This process of acculturation may be defined as “the cross-cultural adaptation process where individuals learn a new cultural system in their new host society but still maintain their own cultural integrity”\(^{16}\).

\(^{12}\) Xiao-huang Yin, *Chinese American Literature Since the 1850s*, Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 2000, p.4.


\(^{14}\) *Ibidem*, p.77.

\(^{15}\) *Ibidem*.

\(^{16}\) Indira Somani, *Enculturation and Acculturation of Television Use Among Asian Indians in U.S.*, ProQuest, Ann Arbor, 2008, p.120.
According to Abou, there are five types of acculturation processes: reinterpretation, synthesis, syncretism, assimilation and a process through which the immigrant or a person from a colonized country totally rejects the new culture and wants to return to the fundamentals of their original culture\(^\text{17}\). The first process, reinterpretation, means that the newly arrived immigrant embodies the characteristics and models of the dominant culture in the public sphere and maintains his own culture in their private life; second- and third-generation children usually go through a synthesis process, by going to school where they encounter new ways of thinking and feeling, after learning to embrace their own culture at home\(^\text{18}\). Furthermore, some end up passing through a process of cultural syncretism, during which the individuals mix the dominant culture with elements from their own traditional culture, while others assimilate the new culture and forget their original culture\(^\text{19}\).

When observing characters in Asian American writings that depict the way in which Asian immigrants or second-generation Asian Americans become or do not become American one may realize that, depending on the motives for which they came to the United States of America and depending on their social or class affiliation, the way in which characters evolve is different. However, due to the fact that there are several similarities in the evolution of several characters who come from similar types of environment, it can be said that there are four major types of characters that describe four types of manner in which Asian immigrants respond to the Americanization process.

After a close reading of Asian American novels, it is possible to say that the first type of character is the immigrant who wanted to come to America and wants to adapt, but cannot adapt to the American culture, because they either do not know the language or they cannot find a well-paid job. The second type is the Asian American who came to America in order to prosper and manages to adapt, because although they did not know the language and are continuously discriminated against, they strive to learn and adapt and their efforts are well rewarded, in the end. The third type is the immigrant who does not want to adapt and does not adapt to the American society. In this case, it is a matter of Asian immigrants who cannot assimilate into American culture, because they do not know the language and cannot adapt to the American culture.


\(^{18}\)Ibidem.

\(^{19}\)Ibidem.
culture, or of second generations that cannot find their place in either of their cultures. Finally, the last type of character, suggested by Asian American authors, is the immigrant who does not want to become American, but ends up becoming a true American. In this case, as we will discuss in the following pages, the reader encounters Asian immigrants that came to America as students, who wanted to go back to their native country, but end up settling in America, due to political problems in their home countries.

Those who did not want to, but became American

The immigrant character that comes to stay in the United States of America only for a short while, but changes his mind and decides to settle, is an unusual type of character in Asian American ethnic literatures. It can be said that this type of character is rare because only a few authors made use of it to depict the life of the Asian immigrant. Unfortunately, only the image of this type of character as it appears in Gish Jen’s and Susan Choi’s texts will be analyzed due to a lack of primary resources.

When discussing Gish Jen and Susan Choi, it is necessary to take into account that they “represent […] emerging voices in the contemporary Asian American literature”\(^{20}\), because they offer “settings/ situations outside the conventional expectations”\(^{21}\) of tradition.

While Gish Jen is a second-generation American of Chinese descent\(^ {22}\) which makes her concentrate more on the Chinese immigrant’s ability to adapt to the American culture, Susan Choi comes from a different background, having both a Korean immigrant as a father and a Russian-Jewish mother\(^ {23}\), therefore she is more attracted to writing about both the manner in which Korean immigrants adapt to American life, and about their relation with white Americans.

Both their first novels, The Foreign Student by Susan Choi and Typical American by Gish Jen, concentrate on young Asian immigrants that come to America to study for a short while only, but decide to be reckless and do everything in their power in order to stay and live the American dream, after having had a taste of the American experience.


\(^{21}\) Ibidem.


In both of the analyzed novels, the main characters state that they will only go to America to study and temporarily escape from the problems in their home countries. For example, after carefully reading the first chapter of Gish Jen’s novel, Typical American, it is possible to say that the father has temporarily sent his son, Yifeng Chang, to America because he was afraid the “new dynasty”\(^{24}\) would overthrow the old government and that he, a scholar of the old regime, would be subjected to discriminatory treatment for a period of time, along with his family. Unlike his concerned father, Yifeng Chang, the main character of the novel, had simply wanted to go to America in order to study and had set as main goals “to be first in his class, and [that] he was not going home until he had his doctorate rolled up to hand his father”\(^{25}\). Moreover, the majority of people from Chang’s entourage also hope that he will graduate and return to China with a degree in Advanced Engineering\(^{26}\).

Unlike Yifeng Chang, the main character from Susan Choi’s novel, The Foreign Student, wanted to leave his country in order to forget the painful experience of the Korean War. In order to do so, he wrote numerous application letters to universities in the United States. He persevered until he received a positive response from the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee, where he had been accepted as a student with “full financial support, including airfare”\(^{27}\).

In the first chapters of both Asian American novels it is revealed that Yifeng Chang and Ahn Chang learned English in their own countries and could speak some English when they arrived in the United States. Moreover, it is possible to say that both authors intentionally designed the characters to know English, because they wanted to write novels about the Asian immigrants that perfectly adapt to American society and they knew from studies\(^{28}\) or from their parents’ experiences that those Asian immigrants who knew the language of their new home and had some knowledge of their new country had a better chance to assimilate the new culture and integrate into the new society. Furthermore, upon reading the novels, one may conclude that neither character could have become American had they not mastered English, because Yifeng Chang could not have become an assistant professor in Mechanics at an American university if

\(^{25}\) Ibidem, p.6.
\(^{26}\) Ibidem, pp.5-6.
he had not spoken English, and it is possible that Ahn Chang would not have fallen in love with Katherine had he not entertained her with his stories.

The most important moment in the process of Americanization is the moment when the Asian immigrants received an English name, because in that moment they had the possibility to take another identity and to assume the culture of the person who had offered the English name. Moreover, this moment of baptism offers the named one a feeling of belonging to the American community, which is essential to the American acculturation process.

Ahn Chang had received his English name long before he came to America. He was given this name by mister Peterfield when he had been hired by the United States Information Center in Seoul, because mister Peterfield “decided that he couldn’t deal with Korean names” 29 and he thought that Chang sounds like Chuck, which is why he decided to call Ahn Chuck.

Unlike Ahn Chang who receives his name, Yifeng Chang has the chance to choose his own name when he arrives to America. After some research, he decides to assume the name of Ralph after researching the meaning of the name in books and dictionaries. He found it interesting to have the name of an animal, although initially he had wanted to have a name “that sounded a bit more like Yifeng” 30, because he thought that “in the art of picking English names (which everyone seemed to know except him), that was considered desirable” 31.

One of the reasons for which Ralph truly wanted to become an American and settle in this so-called dream land is because he found his other half, and she could not go home to China and had to stay in “exile” 32, due to the fact that her arranged marriage in China had failed and she had thus brought shame to her parents 33. Therefore, after marrying Helen, one of his sister’s Chinese friends, Ralph makes great efforts to become American and starts to mimic his neighbor’s behavior. He began by “imitating Pete’s walk” 34, but afterwards his whole family started to study “the way Pete blew his nose, […] his sneeze, his laugh, the self-important way he flipped through his calendar” 35. Moreover, they had the habit of saying that they were mimicking

29 Susan Choi, op.cit., p.84.
30 Gish Jen, op.cit, p.11.
31Ibidem.
32Ibidem, p. 63.
33Ibidem, p.62.
34Ibidem, p.66.
“typical Pete”\textsuperscript{36}, but changed it into saying that they were mimicking the “typical American”\textsuperscript{37}, which lead them to strongly believe that by imitating Pete they were becoming authentically American.

Unlike the main character from Gish Jen’s novel, who came to the United States to study and settled there after he got married, Chuck wanted to escape from his homeland, where horrible memories haunted him, but after arriving in America, he fell in love with Katherine and decided to do anything in order to form a relationship with her, which meant that he tried to improve his English and integrate into the American society. Moreover, at the end of the novel, when he found out that she was not yet engaged to Professor Addison, he left his summer job and managed to convince her to change her mind and choose him as a husband, although his romantic misadventures made him lose his scholarship, and he had to repeat his first academic year of study. Although the text does not specify if he remains with his loved one forever and if he truly becomes an American, one may assume that his sacrifices were rewarded with a happy marriage and the right to become an American citizen.

In a manner similar to Ralph, Chuck does not only put constant effort in order to assimilate Professor Addison’s way of speaking, but he also tries to acquire American patterns of behavior by closely observing how the professor and his roommate act.

Some researchers posit that being American means not only having the behavior of a person who was born or who has spent most of their lives in America, but also subscribing to “civic values such as equality, democracy, or striving for self-improvement”\textsuperscript{38}. After a closer look at Gish Jen’s novel, we discover that Ralph does not only stoop to imitation, but tries to become “the typical American” by self-improvement. Although Ralph’s process of self-improvement is slow and gradual, in the end he does manage to slowly climb the American social ladder, as desired. Firstly, he earns his Ph.D. in Mechanical Engineering and is employed at the university as an assistant professor, which enables him to leave his small apartment and get a bigger one in better a neighborhood. Afterwards, he continues to improve and becomes a professor, but this does not seem to satisfy him. After talking to a rich Asian American, known

\textsuperscript{36}Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{37}Ibidem.
as cheating Grover, he wants to own a business which makes him decide to buy a fast food restaurant and put it in the Asian American investor’s name.

After arriving in America, Helen, Ralph’s future wife, rapidly accepted “that it was time to make herself as at home in her exile as she could”\(^3\). Moreover, she started to live the American way of life and adored to read “American magazines, American newspapers”\(^4\) and to listen to “American radio”\(^5\). Furthermore, for her wedding, she preferred to wear “a Western-style, white gown with a matching veil”\(^6\) and to hold the ceremony in a Western-style “side chapel of a college church”\(^7\). As much as she desires to become American, she also wishes for her children to become Americanized and decides, together with her husband, that their children will learn English and the America way of doing things first\(^8\). Unlike other Chinese housewives, she showed that she wanted to be a truly modern American woman who goes to work\(^9\) and tried to do everything in her power to keep her family together.

Unlike Helen, who learns how to cook Chinese food when she arrives in America in order to preserve the tradition of Chinese food, at least, Chuck gets used to American food and usually eats Western food such as “poached eggs, fried ham, grits with butter, […] and a short stack of buttermilk pancakes”\(^10\), although in the beginning he only ate fruits.

Another important step in Ralph’s long journey of Americanization is the acquisition of an old car and getting his driver’s license, because being American means that you have “[a] college education, [a] good job, [a] big house, [and a] nice car”\(^11\). Even though he had some trouble with his driving instructor, in the end he managed to get his license and convinced his family to spend some time together on small trips by car, even as he rhetorically asks “what better way to Americanize the children than to buy a car [and go on trips]”\(^12\).

The space one inhabits is also an important factor in being considered American by others, because the majority of the citizens from the United States of America consider that a

\(^3\) Gish Jen, \textit{op.cit}, p.63.
\(^4\) \textit{Ibidem}.
\(^5\) \textit{Ibidem}.
\(^6\) \textit{Ibidem}, p.58.
\(^7\) \textit{Ibidem}.
\(^8\) \textit{Ibidem}, p.128.
\(^10\) Susan Choi, \textit{op.cit.}, p.9.
\(^12\) Gish Jen, \textit{op.cit}, p.128.
true American lives in a house\textsuperscript{49}. Therefore, it is not surprising that Ralph felt the need to live in a better abode than the apartment from “125\textsuperscript{th} Street, […] where the poorest of students lived”\textsuperscript{50} after receiving his Ph.D. and becoming assistant professor, due to the fact that he had felt like an immigrant there. Fortunately, Ralph and his family soon moved to a “larger place, in Washington Heights”\textsuperscript{51} and continued their journey to becoming Americans, which culminated with the acquisition of a big house with “three bedrooms, one and a half baths, [and] a walk-out basement”\textsuperscript{52}.

The fact that Chuck did not obtain his driver’s license and did not buy a big apartment or a big house does not make him look less America than Ralph, because he still wants to do these things. For example, when Katherine asked him if he wanted to learn how to drive, he replied that he would like to learn how to drive a car\textsuperscript{53}. Moreover, after being expelled from college and being kicked out of the Strake House, he had to work in order to stay in “a small rented room in Monteagle”\textsuperscript{54}, which shows that even though he had lost everything, he still wanted to remain in America. Furthermore, the situation that cost him a year of study, his scholarship and the arrangements for his stay in America, offered him the possibility to live independently as a true Western youngster.

The moment when Chuck received the letter from “the University of the South, in Sewanee, Tennessee”\textsuperscript{55}, which offered him “full financial support, including airfare”\textsuperscript{56}, is the moment when his American dream began, because this letter helped him enter the United States and meet people who would help him transform into a true American. Moreover, the fact that the University offered him full financial support in exchange for several lectures on Korean history and culture at different Christian churches in the vicinity also helped him transform into an American, because he had the chance to visit several places in America and he also made the acquaintance of many Americans who served as models for his behavior.

\textsuperscript{49} Suzy Khimm, \textit{Buying a home: The American dream won’t die}, http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/homeownership\textendash;credit\textendash;access\textendash;minority\textendash;low-income\textendash;mortgages(27 August 2015).
\textsuperscript{50} Gish Jen, \textit{op.cit.}, p.65.
\textsuperscript{51}Ibidem, p.120.
\textsuperscript{52}Ibidem, p.152.
\textsuperscript{53} Susan Choi, \textit{op.cit.}, p.36.
\textsuperscript{54}Ibidem, p.324.
\textsuperscript{55}Ibidem, p.316.
\textsuperscript{56}Ibidem.
Another important moment in Chuck’s Americanization process is when he got the job in Chicago, because in that moment Chuck realized that he could earn money in the United States and be independent. Although his first job in America was not demanding, it was dirty and poorly payed, as he worked in a bindery where he had to control that the books were empty and tear the old covers of dirty books, afterwards. Unfortunately, his colleague Fran was constantly suspecting and harassing him, because he thought he was stealing the money that was inadvertently left in books, which made him feel uncomfortable.

Although the moment when he ran away from the bindery with a one-hundred-dollar bill in order to see Katherine in New Orleans cost him his scholarship, and he had to work for the rest of his student life, at least he managed to convince Katherine to choose him and not the professor. Therefore, the rebellious act of making a risky decision was another important moment in his process of Americanization, because he learned, like Ralph with his restaurant business, that only those who take risks can self-improve and obtain what they want in America.

Not only does Ralph want to be “one-hundred-percent American”\(^\text{57}\), but also wants his children to be true Americans and therefore he and his wife “decided that Mona and Callie [their daughters] would learn English first, and then Chinese”\(^\text{58}\). This decision was taken because Ralph and Helen, as the majority of Asian immigrants, see Americanization “as a surrender in which Chinese values are suppressed for the sake of acceptance and survival in Eurocentric America, or else the retention of Chinese culture is regarded as secondary or insignificant”\(^\text{59}\). Despite this, it is really interesting to notice that some members of the Chang family sometimes use Chinese words and proverbs throughout the novel, because they forget how to express themselves in English. Therefore, they cannot become “one-hundred-percent American”\(^\text{60}\), due to the fact that they preserve their cultural legacy. For example, Ralph prefers to use the expression “fan tong […] – rice barrel”\(^\text{61}\) in order to describe Pete as an incompetent worker, and Helen frequently uses the expression “man man zou – go slow, take care”\(^\text{62}\).

In the end, both Gish Jen and Susan Choi created realistic characters in their novels in order to illustrate how Asian students transformed into truly “typical Americans” after living in

\(^{57}\)Gish Jen, \textit{op.cit.}, p.128.  
\(^{58}\)\textit{Ibidem.}  
\(^{59}\)Marlon K. Hom, \textit{op.cit.}, p.64.  
\(^{60}\)Gish Jen, \textit{op.cit.}, p.128.  
\(^{61}\)\textit{Ibidem}, p.66.  
\(^{62}\)\textit{Ibidem}, p.77.
the United States of America for a short while, where they were strongly attracted to the
American way of life and the values by which its citizens live. Even though the Asian immigrant
type that came to America for a short while, but managed to accommodate and settle in America,
is less frequently depicted in Asian American literature, it remains a possible type of Asian
American character and thus, it must be discussed.

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