

The Discrimination of Taiwanese-American Portrayed in *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu

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ABSTRACT

*This research investigated the sociology of literature, especially regarding Taiwanese American discrimination in the *Interior Chinatown* novel by Charles Yu. This study aimed to describe the forms of discrimination in the novel *Interior Chinatown* and explore the causal factors of discrimination in the novel *Interior Chinatown*. The method in this research was literary criticism using a sociological approach with an analysis of discrimination based on a perspective by Thomas F. Pettigrew. This research's data source was the novel *Interior Chinatown*, published in 2020 with 257 pages. This research employed the theory of discrimination by Thomas F. Pettigrew. The results of this study were; (1) the forms of discrimination against Taiwanese Americans in the novel *Interior Chinatown* consist of two types: direct and indirect. Direct discrimination consists of seven forms of discrimination, namely: citizenship status discrimination, racial discrimination, physical violence discrimination, colorism discrimination, regional discrimination, age discrimination, and gender discrimination. Indirect discrimination consisted of five forms of discrimination, namely: government regulations regarding the prohibition of owning property for Taiwanese immigrants in the United States, government regulations on restrictions on property ownership in the United States, government regulations on restrictions on types of work and the environment, government regulations on legal restrictions for Taiwanese immigrants, and the government's strict regulations on marriage to immigrants; (2) the causes of Taiwanese American discrimination in the novel *Interior Chinatown* consisted of two factors; they were stereotypes and prejudice.*

Keywords: Taiwanese American discrimination, *interior Chinatown* novel, sociology of literature

INTRODUCTION

Discrimination is one of the factors that causes hostility between human beings in parts of the world today. Therefore, the researcher is interested in further studying the forms of discrimination and the causes behind the discrimination against Willis Wu and

Taiwanese American immigrants in the novel *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu. The discriminatory behavior contained in the novel is related to the current world discrimination, especially discrimination that afflicts Taiwanese American and Asian American descent living in the United States.

In early 2021, the issue of racism and discrimination against Taiwanese or Asian descent in the United States was again at the center of world attention. It has happened since the global coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic started, which has hit the entire world (Xu et al., 2021). The fact that the first coronavirus outbreak (Covid-19) was reported in Wuhan, China, is the reason for crimes of racism and discrimination against Taiwanese and Asian in the United States (US) to increase sharply. The acts of racism and discrimination in the United States against Taiwanese or Asian descent have even taken their lives.

CNN Indonesia, an online media, reported that on March 19th, 2021, a shooting incident at three massage parlors in Atlanta, the United States, killed eight people, six of whom were women of Asian descent. Taiwanese and human rights advocacy groups in the United States are concerned that the shooting incident occurred because it was motivated by racist sentiments from the perpetrators. Because at the time of the shooting, Anti-Asian sentiment, including sentiment of Taiwanese, continued to increase significantly in the United States, especially during the coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic ((Lin et al., 2022); (Costello et al., 2021); (Lam, 2022)).

At the beginning of 2020, the former President of the United States, Donald Trump, caused a stir among the world's citizens, especially people of Asian descent living in the United States. Donald Trump referred to the coronavirus as the Chinese virus in his speech. He called it "Kung-Flu," which exacerbates the Anti-Asian sentiment that has fueled the stigma against people of Asian descent living in the United States.

Based on data from Stop AAPI Hate, an organization that tracks incidents of hate and discrimination against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, there were at least 500 incidents in the first two months of 2021 (Wong & Liu, 2022). If referring to last year, the number was inevitable and higher, reaching 3,795 complaints. In addition, most reports on discriminatory behavior noted that 68% discriminated against verbal abuse, while 11% discriminated against physical violence. Based on the report, it could be concluded that discrimination in this world is still happening. Therefore, people have a lot to learn and learn about what forms of discrimination are and the factors that cause discrimination so that we can all avoid discriminatory behavior (Tessler et al., 2020).

Understanding discrimination, according to experts (Spiegel & Watson, 1984), stated that discrimination was the adverse treatment of certain groups. While (Brigham, 1991) stated that discrimination was different treatment because of membership in certain ethnic groups. These ethnic groups include ethnicity, language, customs, religion, nationality, etc. Swim (cited in Baron et al., 1997) states that discrimination is a harmful action against people who are the object of research, such as race, ethnicity, and religion. Discrimination is prejudice in action. For example, to think Negroes are stupid is to arrange their time to work or work in a particular institution because they are black is discrimination (Smith, 2005). Perceiving women as weak in a position that holds them back from becoming leaders is also discrimination (Haslam & Ryan, 2008). Discrimination is a factor that undermines cooperation and communication between individuals. Discrimination is usually not accepted by the individual or subject who receives the discriminatory treatment and by the person who deals with the discriminatory act (Laer &

Janssens, 2011). Discriminatory practice is an act of differentiation based on skin color, class, ethnicity, religion, nation, gender, and so on to obtain community rights and services (Tamimi Sa'd & Quiñónez Eames, 2021).

Furthermore, discrimination implies unfair treatment of a group of people, essentially the same as the discriminating perpetrator group (Chibanda, 2022). Discrimination often encountered in social society is caused by the tendency of humans to discriminate against others, or it could be when someone was mistreated because of differences in ethnicity, between groups, sex, race, religion, or belief so that a sense of justice was not created. Discrimination has a long history and has a downward trend. In America, restrictions on members of certain groups to use public facilities such as schools, public buses, cinemas, gas stations, and others are almost non-existent. However, certain types of work still covertly pay attention to these differences. For example, black citizens have never held the positions of Attorney General, President, and other strategic political positions (Quillian et al., 2017).

The source of this discrimination was almost the same as the source of the emergence of prejudice, namely social influence, competition within and outside the group, historical factors, and others. Unfortunately, in Indonesia, discriminatory practices still occur today. A clear example is the treatment of the Indonesian government and society towards Chinese ethnic. This discrimination is mainly applied to public education institutions, civil servants, and military institutions, where recruitment regulations always include the requirement to be a native citizen. So even though they are smart, only a few go to top universities or public schools (Fish & Syed, 2020).

The cause of discrimination that occurs in society is due to prejudice and stereotypes. Prejudice is a negative feeling towards a person or group based solely on membership in a particular group. The prejudice of one group against another group arises because of aggression. A group wanted to act when its efforts to gain power were blocked. If another group blocks aggression, aggression is about to be diverted by scapegoating that other group. This action is about to grow into a prejudice held by group members who launch aggression (Fish & Syed, 2020). Stereotypes are rigid images of other racial groups or cultures without paying attention to the truth of the image. Examples of stereotypes are thoughts on the elemental composition of the population, which are considered lazy, stupid, not ambitious, and others (Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983).

Pettigrew, in prejudice, divided discrimination into two types, namely: 1) Direct discrimination is the act of limiting certain areas, such as settlements, types of work, and public facilities for a particular race/ethnicity. 2) Indirect discrimination is carried out by creating policies that prevent certain racial/ ethnic groups from freely associating with specific racial/ethnic groups to have free relations with other racial/ ethnic groups (Pettigrew, 1979).

This study used the object of a novel entitled *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu. The novel *Interior Chinatown* was world literature, namely national and internationally recognized literature. *Interior Chinatown* was the second novel by Charles Yu, published by Pantheon Books on January 28th, 2020. The novel won the National Book Award for the fiction category at the 71st performance. The novel *Interior Chinatown* tells the story of the stereotype of Taiwanese-American society; the book by Charles Yu is written in a script style; the novel, Charles Yu, divides the script into seven parts and uses a scenario-style structure. The novel *Interior Chinatown* tells the story of Willis Wu, a second-generation

Taiwanese immigrant who lives in America's Chinatown. He is an actor. He played several minor roles in a TV police drama titled Black and White, which was shot inside a Chinese restaurant beneath the SRO (single-room occupancy) apartment building where he and his parents lived. However, there was an upper limit to the characters Willis could play as of Taiwanese descent.

Nevertheless, he rose through the ranks, from an oriental male background to an Asian male making weird faces as a special guest star, until he finally got his chance at the role, he coveted the most, playing the role of a kung fu guy. However, when Willis and Karen Lee marry and have a daughter, Willis has to choose between career and family. The focus of the research that will be discussed in detail in this study is to find out the forms of discrimination and then classify each form of discrimination and what factors cause discrimination in the novel *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu.

The term "Taiwanese Americans" was far from straightforward. There were numerous interpretations. To begin with, a Taiwanese American is someone who emigrated from Taiwan and has become a citizen of the United States in the eyes of many people in the United States. As a result, labeling persons who originate from that island as Taiwanese Americans was a convenient word (Franklin, 1998)

In this study, the researcher analyzes the discrimination in the novel *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu. To be able to do that, this study applies Pettigrew' theory of discrimination to describe the types of discrimination contained in the novel's story. There have been some related studies that applied the same theory. The researcher found several previous studies that used the same approach, including Hutapea (2022), who discussed prejudice and discrimination during slavery as depicted in the characterization of black and white figures in *Twelve Years a Slave* an enslaved person. This study used the theory of prejudice proposed by Pettigrew (1979) and Healey (1998).

Furthermore, Saludung (2019) discussed discrimination of the majority against minorities in the novel *Kedai 1001 Mimpi* by Valiant Budi. The study used discrimination theory based on Pettigrew's perspective (1979). Next, Zahran (2017) analyzed the representation of racial discrimination in the case film department, using the theory of discrimination put forward by Theodorson & Theodorson and the theory of racial discrimination and the types of discrimination proposed by Blank & Dabady in their book entitled *Measuring Racial Discrimination*. In addition, Rizky Hidayati, in his research, discussed discrimination against Tokue figures as lepers, as reflected in the film *AN* by Naomi Kawase.

Based on the explanation of the previous studies above, the researcher found differences and similarities with current research. The function of previous studies is used as a comparison and, simultaneously, helps position the researcher to ensure the study's originality. The similarity between previous studies and current research lies in the approach and analysis of the research, namely the theory of discrimination. The difference between the previous and the current research is in the studied object. The current research uses the novel as the object of the latest 2020 release, *Interior Chinatown*, and explicitly discusses discrimination and prejudice against Taiwanese Americans.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is categorized into literary criticism as it aims to analyze a literary work (Ellis, 2022). Since the study investigates social aspects in Charles Yu's *Interior Chinatown*,

it applied a sociological approach with the analysis of discrimination based on the perspective of Thomas F. Pettigrew. The novel was published in 2020 by Pantheon Books. The data were collected by doing a close reading, highlighting, note-taking, and sorting out the scenes and dialogues that cause discrimination in Charles Yu's *Interior Chinatown*. The data were then classified based on the causes of discrimination and forms of discrimination. The collected data were then analyzed to figure out the causes of discrimination and forms of discrimination using the theory of discrimination based on Pettigrew's perspective. Moreover, in the last step, the researcher drew conclusions based on the results of data analysis from the novel.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

The results of this study include the kinds of discrimination and the factors that cause discrimination in the novel *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu based on Pettigrew's theory of discrimination. The following research results are presented in the form of tables and descriptions.

The Forms of Taiwanese Discrimination Found in the Novel *Interior Chinatown* are based on Pettigrew's Perspective.

The researcher thoroughly explored the forms of discrimination in the novel *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu based on Pettigrew's perspective. The forms of discrimination that the researcher will discuss were based on Pettigrew's perspective, divided into two types: direct and indirect. The researcher explores in depth the novel and conceptualizes the data obtained by the researcher in the table and analyzes it in detail. The presentation is presented as follows:

Table 1. Forms of discrimination in the novel *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu

No.	Type of discrimination	Form of discrimination
1	Direct discrimination	Citizenship status Race Physical abuse Age (Ageism) Gender
2	Indirect discrimination	Government regulations regarding the prohibition of owning property for Chinese immigrants in the United States. Government regulations regarding property ownership limits in the United States. Government regulations regarding restrictions on types of work and the environment. Government regulations on legal limits for Chinese immigrants. Strict government regulations on marriage to immigrants.

Direct Discrimination

The definition of direct discrimination based on Pettigrew's perspective is limiting a particular area, such as settlements, types of work, and public facilities for a specific race/ethnicity. Direct discrimination occurs because of a person's personality, such as gender, race, age, disability, parental status (caste), and physical violence. The direct discrimination contained in Table 1 based on the data contained in the novel *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu can be described as follows:

Citizenship Status

The issue of citizenship is fundamental concerning the rights, obligations, and problems of acquiring, losing, or rejecting a citizen. Therefore, citizenship status is critical and very valuable for the survival of human life. The novel shows the story of Ming Chen Wu and Dorothy, immigrants from China living in the United States. They were discriminated against because of their citizenship status, which was not from the United States. The following quote, as listed in the direct discrimination table, describes the discrimination they experienced:

"Striving Immigrants was the only kind of work they could get. Still, they were appreciative. It was a plot with a shape to it, something understandable—tiny, anonymous parts for each of them, an undercurrent of social or political relevance. Hard to see the big picture from their vantage point, but they knew that behind them was a historical backdrop, that they were part of a prestigious project with the sweep and scope of a grand American narrative. So they do what it takes, make the best of a small role, to get in." (Yu, 2020, p. 132).

Based on this quote, it can be seen that the discrimination in citizenship status was clearly illustrated in how the life story of Ming Chen Wu and Dorothy was challenging; bearing social status as an immigrant was very difficult to get the highest role in a job in another country. Ming Chen Wu and Dorothy only played the smallest part in the film. They were complementary roles in the film, Ming Chen Wu as a restaurant waiter and Dorothy as a pretty Asian hostess. The supporting cast in the film was all Asian Americans because their faces were a lot the same, and they were also newcomers like Ming Chen Wu and Dorothy. So in the discrimination of citizenship status just because one was not a citizen of the United States, it was difficult to penetrate the highest role in the film industry system in America.

Race

Racial discrimination is not as popularly thought, simply the accumulation of the individual act of unfairness between members of different groups (Pettigrew et al., 2015). Below are examples of racial discrimination found in Charles Yu's novel *Interior Chinatown*, as listed in the direct discrimination table:

"All five of Young Wu's housemates are called names. They compare names. Chink, of course, and also slope, jap, nip, gook. Towelhead. Some names are specific; others are quite universal in their function and application. However, the one that Wu can never quite get over was the original epithet: Chinaman, the one that seems, in a way, the most harmless, being that, in a sense, it is just a descriptor. China. Man. However, in that simplicity and breadth of its use, it encapsulates so much. It is what you are. Always will be, to me, to us. Not one of us. This other thing." (Yu, 2020, pp. 144-145).

The quote describes the direct discrimination that occurs in the social environment. The racial discrimination experienced by Ming Chen Wu and his five friends was that they got a generalized treatment that placed them in the same category despite their different backgrounds. Ming Chen Wu and five friends live in the same house; Nakamoto is from Japan. Kim and Park were from Korea. Singh, a Punjabi Sikh.

Moreover, the last one is Allen Chen, who was from Taiwan, and Ming Chen Wu, who both came from Taiwan. Even though they all came from different countries of residence but they are generalized by the surrounding community; Ming Chen Wu and his five friends are called "Chinaman". The discrimination experienced by Ming Chen Wu and his five themes is also classified as verbal discrimination (Verbal Expression) because it was carried out insultingly or through words.

As in the news published in the online media CNBC INDONESIA, there was news that in the United States (US), discrimination against Asians and their descendants was increasing sharply. The fact that the first outbreak of Covid-19 was reported in Wuhan, China, is the reason. There are cases of discrimination, namely two Indonesian citizens (WNI) in Philadelphia, USA, whom five unidentified people reportedly beat. It is known from a release issued by the Indonesian community in Philadelphia. They said two Indonesian citizens were ganged up at a station while waiting for the train to depart on Sunday (21/3/2021) evening local time. The two teenagers reported that the gang had targeted them for racial reasons (Putri, 2021).

Skin color discrimination, or colorism, is a system that privileges people with lighter skin (white) over people with darker skin (black) in a community. Discrimination of skin color is different from racism. However, the two are interrelated because skin color discrimination is a product of racism (Dixon & Telles, 2017). Below are examples of skin color discrimination found in Charles Yu's novel *Interior Chinatown*.

"People do not want to sell Dorothy and Wu a house. Moreover, that is okay because they cannot afford one. Nevertheless, people also do not want to rent them an apartment. It would also be understandable, as Dorothy and Wu have a meager income, except that their income is not why no one will rent. No one will rent to them because of their skin color, and although technically, at this point in the story of America, this reason for not renting to someone is illegal." (Yu, 2020, pp. 150-151)

Based on the quote, it can be seen that the direct discrimination that occurs is racial discrimination because of skin color. Ming Chen Wu and Dorothy often refused to rent or buy an apartment due to discrimination against their skin color. There were even stories when renting apartments to immigrants in America was considered illegal.

Physical Abuse

Physical violence is any intentional act or abuse that directly damages the victim's physical and psychological integrity; this includes hitting, kicking, slapping, pushing, biting, pinching, sexual harassment, and others (Meinck et al., 2015). Below are examples of physical violence discrimination found in Charles Yu's novel *Interior Chinatown*, as listed in the direct discrimination table:

"It is Allen.

What?

He is in the hospital. Someone beat him unconscious. I called him a *jap*.

According to a witness, as the first man hit Allen in the temple, knocking him to the ground, they said, "This is for Pearl Harbor." (Yu, 2020, pp. 145-146).

The direct discrimination in the form of physical violence experienced by Allen was illustrated based on the quote, Allen was attacked by an American citizen, who called him "Japanese" and said that this violence was carried out in retaliation for the Pearl Harbor attack carried out by the Imperial Japanese Navy on the Pacific Fleet United States Navy docked at Pearl Harbor Naval Base, Hawaii, on Sunday morning, December 7th, 1941. This attack sparked the United States' direct involvement in World War II. Allen's act of physical violence and discrimination was so fatal that he had to undergo treatment at the hospital. The results of the examination from the hospital stated that Allen's head suffered from a chronic disease, namely a concussion, as a result of the incident.

In CNBC INDONESIA news, it was stated that there was an act of discrimination against physical violence in the form of beatings that occurred in Koreatown, Los Angeles, United States. This case happened to an Asian immigrant named Denny Kim, who was 27 years old. Denny said his attackers shouted. She needs to return to China because you were affected by the Chinese virus; (Putri, 2021).

Region

An area is a part of the earth's surface with unique or distinctive characteristics. These characteristics are shown by different properties (Sudaryono, 2014)—examples such as the Chinatown residential area, which is characterized by being a residence for Chinese residents. However, Chinatown is located in the United States rather than in China. Therefore, it gave rise to regional discrimination against Chinatown settlements in the United States. Sociology. Below are examples of regional discrimination found in Charles Yu's novel *Interior Chinatown*, as listed in the direct discrimination table:

Green: "Not sure we have a choice. We need someone to help us get around this place. (then) "Chinatown is a different world." (Yu, 2020, p. 79)

Following the character's conversation in the quote, Officer Sarah Green said that Chinatown settlement is another world, which is an act of direct discrimination against the area where Taiwanese Americans live. Even though the area is still part of the territory of the United States of America, the area is considered a foreign territory because the people living in the Chinatown area come from Asia. That is why Officer Sarah Green called the settlement "Chinatown is a different world." The reason is that the population is not American.

Age (Ageism)

Age discrimination or Ageism is a form of stereotyping and discrimination against individuals or groups because of their age. Age discrimination is a belief, attitude, norm, and value that is used to justify prejudice and acts of discrimination ((Voss et al., 2018); (Gordon, 2020)). Below are examples of age discrimination found in the novel *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu, as listed in the direct discrimination table:

Turner: "Is he going to help?"/ Willis Wu: "He says he will help as much as he can (then). You know, he used to be someone. A teacher. Kung fu"/ Turner: (Appraises et al.) "So this is him, huh? The master?"/ Willis Wu: "Yes. He was my teacher. He taught

everyone in Chinatown. When he was a young man, he was incredible. He could show you some things" / Turner: "Show me some things?" (Yu, 2020, pp. 95-96)

Based on the conversation between officers Turner and Willis Wu, there was direct discrimination which was age discrimination against Willis Wu's father. From the conversation, Willis Wu said that his father was a Kung Fu master, especially when he was young. His father was extraordinary. Officer Turner did not believe Willis Wu's words because Willis Wu's father was just a weak and senile older man; even Officer Turner asked for proof if Willis Wu's father was a Kung Fu master. From this quote, it can be concluded that Turner's officer committed age discrimination against Willis Wu's father, the reason being that Willis Wu's father's age factor was no longer young, which made Turner's officer not believe that he was a Kung Fu master.

An online media reporter mentioned that discrimination against Asian immigrants in the United States afflicts the elderly. The elder was often the target of anti-Asian sentiment. Amanda Nguyen, the solopreneur and human rights activist, was furious and shared many case reports on her social media after the attack on her 84-year-old grandfather from Thailand. There was an attack on a 64-year-old Vietnamese grandmother. He was attacked and robbed in San Jose, California. Then, there was the attack on a 61-year-old Filipino man whose face was slashed with a box cutter in New York (Ediyati, 2018).

Gender

Gender discrimination is a form of injustice with differences in attitudes and treatment of fellow human beings only seen by gender (Loots & Walker, 2015). In the novel *Interior Chinatown*, there is a gender discrimination treatment that befell Dorothy when she was still working as a nurse at a hospital; the following is an excerpt from the gender discrimination, as listed in the direct discrimination table:

"Hey, come here, hey you China doll, with the porcelain skin and almond eyes, let me look at those slim thighs, and then when the advances were politely yet firmly rebuffed, the quick turn to embarrassed indignation, to entitled anger." (Yu, 2020, p. 132)

The quote clearly describes the forms of gender discrimination experienced by Dorothy. Dorothy worked as a nurse at a hospital, and she got discriminated against; in that conversation, Dorothy is called someone as China doll, who thinks that women are dolls, and Dorothy comes from Taiwan; that person also generalizes that Taiwan and China are the same. Not only that, but the person also asked to be shown the body parts of Dorothy's thighs. Dorothy refused politely and firmly, but she got outraged at the refusal.

In an online media reporter, it is stated that the violence of discrimination against Asian immigrants in the United States is primarily a woman. According to data released by the reporting forum Stop AAPI Hate, the number of female victims is much higher than the report, which is 68 percent, compared to men, who comprise 29 percent of respondents. Russell Jeung, professor of Asian American studies at San Francisco State University and founder of the forum, said the combination of racism and sexism, including the stereotype that Asian women are gentle and submissive. It is likely contributing to gender discrimination (Ediyati, 2018).

Indirect discrimination

Based on Pettigrew's perspective, indirect discrimination is an action carried out through the creation of policies that prevent certain races/ ethnicities from connecting freely with other racial/ ethnic groups where the rules and procedures they follow contain invisible discrimination and result in systematic harm to people, particular community or group of people. These rules are made to harm the minority community groups living in the area.

The indirect discrimination contained in Table 1 based on the data contained in the novel *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu can be described as follows:

Government Regulations Regarding the Prohibition of Owning Property for Chinese Immigrants in the United States

1859 Oregon's constitution is revised: no "Chinaman" can own property there. (Yu, 2020, p. 210).

Based on this quote as listed in the indirect discrimination table, the indirect discrimination act that occurred was the formation of a government regulation in 1859 which stated that the Oregon constitution stipulates regulations that prohibit "Chinaman" Asian immigrants from having the authority to own any property in the United States of America. The regulation impacted Ming Chen Wu and Dorothy when they were looking for an apartment or house to rent for their residence, but they were rejected.

Government regulations on property ownership limits in the United States

1879 California's constitution was revised: land ownership is limited to aliens of "the white race or of African descent." (Yu, 2020, p. 210).

Based on the quote as listed in the indirect discrimination table, the indirect discrimination that occurred was the formation of a regulation that was revised by the California constitution; The regulation contains limitations on land ownership for foreigners of white race or African descent. As a result of this regulation, Asian-Chinese immigrants could only live in Chinatown residential areas because of the limitations on land ownership for immigrants living in the United States.

Government Regulations Regarding Restrictions on Types of Work and the Environment

1890 In the City of San Francisco, the Bingham Ordinance prohibits Chinese people (whether or not US citizens) from either working or living in San Francisco, except in "a portion set apart for the location of all the Chinese," thereby creating a literal, legally defined ghetto (Yu, 2020, p. 210).

Based on the quote listed in the indirect discrimination table, indirect discrimination through the San Francisco city government regulation in 1890 contains a prohibition on working or living in San Francisco except in the section specified for the location of all Chinese immigrant members themselves. These regulations severely limit the movement of the economy and life for Chinese immigrants; they can only live and work in the Chinatown residential area.

Government regulations on legal limits for Chinese immigrants

1892 The US (Federal) Geary Act requires all Chinese residents of the United States to carry a permit, failure to carry such permit (at any time) being punishable by deportation or one year of hard labor. In addition, Chinese are not allowed to bear witness in court. (Yu, 2020, pp. 210-211)

Based on the indirect discrimination table quote, the indirect discrimination in the regulation requires all Chinese immigrants living in the United States to bring a permit. If there is someone who violates it will be punished with deportation or one year of forced labor. In addition, Asian Chinese immigrants were not allowed to be witnesses in court. It robbed Asians of voting rights when in court, as when Willis Wu was caught in a legal case and his brother was rejected because his brother is an Asian-American immigrant, as his lawyer filed an appeal. According to the above regulations, it was explained that Asian-Chinese immigrants were not allowed. Be a witness in court.

Strict Government Regulations on Marriage to Immigrants

1920 The US (Federal) Cable Act decrees that any American woman who marries "an alien ineligible for citizenship shall cease to be a citizen of the United States." (Yu, 2020, p. 211)

Based on the quote in the indirect discrimination table, the regulation stipulates that any American woman who marries a foreigner who does not qualify for citizenship will be stripped of her status as a citizen of the United States. The regulation indirectly discriminates against Karen Lee's character, Willis Wu's wife. Karen Lee was formerly a citizen of the United States, but her citizenship was lost after she married Willis Wu, an Asian immigrant.

Factors Causing Taiwanese Discrimination in the Novel *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu based on Pettigrew's perspective

Taken from the book *Prejudice* (Pettigrew, 1979), Discrimination actions that often occur in people's lives are caused by two things it is prejudice and stereotype. Stereotypes give rise to prejudice. Prejudice results in social distancing, and anyone who is prejudiced will tend to engage in discriminatory behavior. (Pettigrew, 2015). The researcher traces every incident that causes forms of discrimination to explore the factors that cause discrimination thoroughly. The researcher obtained two causal factors behind discrimination in the novel *Interior Chinatown*. Here is the presentation:

Stereotype

The stereotype is an assessment of a person based solely on the perception of the group in which that person can be categorized. It makes deviations in assessing a person's negative based on the characteristics of other group members (generating a group). The result of the stereotype is that a person cannot distinguish between the character possessed by the individual members of the group and the character of the group. Stereotypes that are maintained for a long time will lead to the emergence of prejudice and discrimination. The novel *Interior Chinatown* shows that stereotypes trigger acts of discrimination. Here is the presentation:

"It is Allen.

What?

He is in the hospital. Someone beat him unconscious. I called him a *jap*. According to a witness, as the first man hit Allen in the temple, knocking him to the ground, they said, "This is for Pearl Harbor."

The dialogue between Ming Chen Wu and his friend shows how Americans stereotype Asian immigrants. The stereotype motivated by the history of America's hostility to Asia, especially Japan, is the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, which is none other than the headquarters of the United States naval forces. This history creates the stereotype that all Asians are enemies of America. The hatred of Americans is directed at Japan and generalized to Asians. In the end, these stereotypes gave birth to American discrimination against Asians.

Prejudice

Prejudice is the view that people form based on opposing views without knowing about the data of a social group as an expression of social attitudes, negative feelings, or manifestations of hostility and discrimination against group members because they belong to that group. The novel *Interior Chinatown* shows that prejudice triggers acts of discrimination. Here is the presentation:

"People do not want to sell Dorothy and Wu a house. Moreover, that is okay because they cannot afford one. However, people also do not want to rent them an apartment. It would also be understandable, as Dorothy and Wu have a meager income, except that their income is not why no one will rent. No one will rent to them because of their skin color, and although technically, at this point in the story of America, this reason for not renting to someone is illegal." (Yu, 2020, pp. 150-151).

In the monologue, Americans are prejudiced against Dorothy and Ming Chen Wu, immigrants from Asia. The attitude of Americans who did not care about their presence; some even refused their presence to rent an apartment or buy a house for them to live in. It was even explained in another quote that there are regulations that legalize or strictly prohibit the renting or trading of property for Asian immigrants. Attitudes born of the above prejudice create indirect discrimination against Asian immigrants. This prejudice is classified as racial prejudice.

"Hey, come here, you China doll, with the porcelain skin and almond eyes, let me look at those slim thighs, and then when the advances were politely yet firmly rebuffed, the quick turn to embarrassed indignation to entitled anger." (Yu, 2020, p. 132)

In the dialogue, someone called Dorothy a "China doll." One's prejudice is that Dorothy is a doll she can play with as she pleases and that women are weak and obedient. Attitudes born of this prejudice create gender discrimination against women, predominantly Asian immigrant women. This prejudice belongs to the prejudice of sexism.

Turner: "Is he going to help?"/ Willis Wu: "He says he will help as much as he can (then). We know he used to be someone. A teacher. Kung fu"/ Turner: (Appraises et al.) "So this is him, huh? The master?"/ Willis Wu: "Yes. He was the teacher who taught everyone in Chinatown. When he was a young man, he was incredible. He could show some things"/ Turner: "Show me some things?" (Yu, 2020, pp. 95-96)

In the dialogue between Turner and Willis Wu, Turner, who is an American citizen, depicts the prejudice against Willis Wu's father, who is an older man. In the dialogue, Turner thinks that Willis Wu's father is just an older man who is weak, senile, and sickly. Willis Wu also defended his father, a kung-fu master, in his youth. However, Turner's prejudice toward Willis Wu's father, who is an older man, does not believe it. This prejudice has led to age discrimination (Ageism) against older people, especially Asian parents who live in the United States. This prejudice belongs to the prejudice of Ageism.

CONCLUSION & SUGGESTION

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that the results of the research on Asian-American discrimination in the novel *Interior Chinatown* by Charles Yu are as follows: (1) The forms of discrimination of Asian-Americans in the novel *Interior Chinatown* consisted of two types: discrimination, namely direct discrimination and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination consists of seven forms of discrimination, namely: citizenship status discrimination, racial discrimination, physical violence discrimination, colorism discrimination, regional discrimination, age discrimination, and gender discrimination.

Indirect discrimination consisted of five forms of discrimination, namely: government regulations regarding the prohibition of owning property for Chinese immigrants in the United States, government regulations on restrictions on property ownership in the United States, government regulations on restrictions on types of work and the environment, government regulations on legal restrictions for Chinese immigrants, and the government's strict regulations on marriage to immigrants; (2) the causes of Asian-American discrimination in the novel *Interior Chinatown* consisted of two factors, including stereotypes and prejudice.

The researcher suggests the future to analyze discrimination in *Interior Chinatown* from different perspectives. Since the novel reflects the Asian immigrants in the United States who have often been discriminated against until now. Recently, the Anti-Asian Movement grew due to the coronavirus that hit the world, which was thought to have originated from Wuhan, China, Asia. The novel shows that discrimination is born from hereditary hatred against the background of the history of hostility between the United States and Asia in World War II, especially the bombing of the headquarters of the United States Navy fleet by Japan. It creates discrimination in the United States against Asian immigrants.

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