Social structures of the new Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park California

Yuan-Hsin Shilo Chou

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Social Structures of the New Chinese Immigrants in Monterey Park, California

by

Yuan-Hsin Shilo Chou

B. A., Christ's College, Taipei, 1983

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts University of Montana 1989

Approved by

Chairman, Board of Examiners

Dean, Graduate School

Date June 5, 1989
An elite group of immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong have since 1979 turned Monterey Park, California into a "Chinese Beverly Hills". The social structures of the new Chinese immigrants are different from the old Chinese immigrants in the Chinatowns due to their different economic status and purpose of immigration. This study is based on a comparison of the two groups of immigrants.

Data were collected during four months' fieldwork in Monterey Park, including participant observation and questionnaires. The investigator found that the organizations in the Chinatowns are not recognized by the new Chinese immigrants. Monterey Park, replacing the Los Angeles' Chinatown, has developed into a reception city for the new Chinese immigrants.

The Chinese community in Monterey Park is loosely structured because the demands for mutual aid among the new immigrants are comparatively low. Cultural brokerage tends to be informal - liu-hsueh-sheng (student-immigrants) were the business pioneers and mediated a bridge between the second wave immigrants and American society. Professional service agents, such as realtors, and insurance agents, are the informal gatekeepers for the newly-arrived immigrants.

With a low degree of mutual needs in the businesses, the patron-client relationship (structured kan-ch'ing) between employers and employees tends to be a case of balanced reciprocity. Monterey Park provides sufficient social contacts and fang-pien (convenience) for the new immigrants, therefore they, living in an ethnically integrated community, do not tend to interact with other ethnic groups. The anti-assimilation tendency has caused tremendous conflicts within the community.

Monterey Park, the first suburban Chinatown in the United States, has become the center of the expansion of the new Chinese immigrants in Los Angeles. This expanding trend of the new Chinese immigrants is also followed by Chinese communities in New York City (Flushing), Vancouver and Toronto.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LISTS OF FIGURE</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Position</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structured Kan-ch’ing</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segmentary Structure</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture Brokerage and Patronage</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypotheses</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. METHODOLOGY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieldwork One</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieldwork Two</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important Immigration Laws</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinatowns</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity and Conflicts</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. &quot;LITTLE TAIPEI&quot; IN MONTEREY PARK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnographic Review</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmental History</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecca for the Chinese Immigrants</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts between Native Residents and Immigrants</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS (I)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reception City</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Metropolis for the Chinese</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving out of Monterey Park</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-status Residence</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatekeepers</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration Process</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Leadership</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realtors and the Chinese Beverly Hills</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Second Wave of New Immigrants</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION (II)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structured Kan-ch’ing</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal and Temporary Association</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation and Assimilation Problem</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary Segregation</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VII. CONCLUSIONS 121

APPENDIX I 129
APPENDIX II 134
APPENDIX III 143

REFERENCES CITED 146
**LIST OF TABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Chinese Population And Sex Ratio in the United States 1860-1970</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Numbers of Chinese Immigrants Admitted to the United States, by Sex, 1922-32, 1945-71</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Percentage of Distribution of Chinese Immigrants Admitted Under Annual Limit of 20,000 1966-1971</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Distribution of Liu-hsueh-sheng among the Leading Professionals</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Greater Los Angeles Area</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>City of Monterey Park</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Main Reasons to Visit Monterey Park</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Main Reasons to Live in Monterey Park</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Main Reasons to Move out of Monterey Park</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Participation Structure of Organization among the New Immigrants</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Help Pattern for the Newly-Arrived</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Means to Find Jobs/Employees</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Main Reasons to Hire Chinese Employees</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Comparison of Importance of Locality and Language</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Social Interactions (Employees)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Social Interactions (Employers)</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Responses to Business Difficulties</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Cross-check of Kan-ch'ing</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Social Formation Principles</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Self-Perception of the New Immigrants</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The first suburban Chinatown in the United States is in Monterey Park, California (Arax 1987). My purpose in this thesis is to study recent immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong and to compare their social structure with that of the old immigrants in Chinatowns in the United States. Although the two immigrant groups share similar cultural backgrounds, their social structures are different due to: 1) the different nature of immigration; 2) prevailing historical conditions at the time of immigration; and 3) their socioeconomic status at the time of entry into this country (Boyd 1974).

THE PROBLEM

The diversity and conflicts between old and new Chinese immigrants are based on the distinction of socioeconomic characteristics (Mei 1979; Tsai 1980:329-337; Wong M. 1980). Old immigrants came to the United States as laborers in the late nineteenth century, and were not granted legal rights in this country until the 1930s. They share similar speech groups, values, and cultural orientation, and they tend to reside in Chinatowns that are spread all over the United
States. According to the 1970 U.S. Census, seventy percent of the Chinatown residents were low-income, and approximately one third fell below the poverty line (So 1984:77).

In contrast, since World War II, the new Chinese immigrants come from diverse geographic regions in Hong Kong, Taiwan and China. They are highly educated professionals (Wong 1983:40), and are the most highly urbanized of the new immigrants from Asia (Boyd 1971:56). Ninety-four percent of this population resides in urban areas. They see Chinatown as a market place for food and a place for recreational activities, not as an identity symbol. There is little interaction between the two groups of immigrants.

The turning point of large scale immigration from Asia to the United States was the 1965 Immigration Act which abolished the "national origin" quotas and established a system of preferences, whereby immediate relatives, skilled and unskilled workers, refugees, scientists, and technical personnel were listed under different categories of preferences (Keely 1971; Wong M. 1983). Since 1965, 512,088 Chinese immigrants have been admitted to the United States as permanent residents.
THEORETICAL POSITION

The theoretical framework for this study is based on an analysis of social structure, that is to say, of status and role. According to Morton Fried's ethnography in China in the 1950s, kinship ties are the basic orientation of society (Fried 1953:27-67). But the importance of kin ties breaks down in the city, and kan-ch'ing (patron-client relationship) starts to regularize the relationships. In this study, differentiations of the patron-broker-client relationship of the Chinese immigrants in the United States will be examined in terms of status and role.

Much of the meaning of patron-broker-client relationship lies in the sociology of exchange, in particular that of reciprocity. My view of reciprocity is derived from Sahlins' scheme of reciprocities.

1) **Generalized reciprocity** refers to transactions that are "...putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given and assistance returned." Malinowski's "pure gift" was used as the ideal type. Other forms of generalized reciprocity are "sharing", "hospitality", "free gift", "help" and "generosity"; it is willingness to give without expectation of an immediate return (Sahlins 1972:193-194).

2) **Balanced reciprocity** refers to direct exchange. In precise balance, the reciprocation is the customary
equivalent of the thing received and it is returned. Sahlins suggested that balanced reciprocity is not only present in the simultaneous exchange of the same types of goods to the same amounts, but that is also found in friendship compacts, and peace arrangements. Compared to generalized reciprocity, balanced reciprocity is less personal, and more economic. The parties confront each other as distinct economic and social interests (Sahlins 1972:194-195).

Sahlins suggested that kinship is relevant to the form of reciprocity. Reciprocity is inclined toward the generalized pole by close kinship, and toward the negative extreme in proportion to kinship distance " (Sahlins 1972:196). However, in modern societies, "non-kin" denotes specialized status relations of positive quality, such as doctor-patient, policeman-citizen, employer-employee, classmates, or neighbors.

**Structured kan-ch'ing**

In Chinese society, generalized reciprocity is found among: 1) landlord and tenant (in rural China); 2) lao-pan (boss, employer) and clerk (in urban China); and 3) kiu-ling (overseas leaders) and immigrants (overseas). It is expressed in structured **kan-ch'ing**.

**Kan-ch'ing** is a statement of the degree of warmth or
coolness of relationships, regardless of status (Bessac 1966). It expresses a relationship between two individuals who are not on precisely the same social level. It is the primary institutionalized technique by which class differences are reduced between non-related persons, or between distantly related kin. Kan-ch'ing grows between the parties concerned and frequently varies directly with the length of acquaintanceship. Kan-ch'ing can occur between friends, kinsmen, or classmates. It is a spontaneous feeling between two parties. If two individuals have good kan-ch'ing, their relationship is good, and they are more likely to help each other. If their kan-ch'ing is defective, the relationship is usually bad.

Structured kan-ch'ing differs from kan-ch'ing in that it presumes a much more specific common interest, much less warmth and more formality of contact, and includes a recognized degree of exploitation. It also operates to help gentlemen of lower status stabilize their positions with regard to the power of the state. Both of these types of kan-ch'ing, as well as others, such as the relationship between master and apprentice, or shop official and clerk, have one thing in common: they cut across class lines.

The nature of structured kan-ch'ing (patron-client relationship) is, according to Sahlins, balanced reciprocity. But when kin ties are absent, structured kan-ch'ing is adopted to bridge gaps in status and to intensify
relationships for common interests. In other word, structured kan-ch'ing can, in some situations function as generalized reciprocity to replace kin ties. In this study, structured kan-ch'ing will be treated as generalized reciprocity. I shall use ethnographic data to demonstrate how this structured kan-ch'ing regulates relationship among non-kin groups and distant kinsmen as if they were kinsmen.

In the 1950s, in urban China, the employees of a commercial enterprise were recruited on non-kin basis or through people who were related by distant kin ties and friendship with the owner (Fried 1953:138-9). Kinship alone was insufficient to secure employment or promotion. Acquaintance with an influential intermediary was more important than kinship. The most important tie in a commercial enterprise was based on kan-ch'ing (Fried 1953:155).

All the employees lived in the store. There were usually three positions in a store; they were clerk, shopman, and apprentice. Apprentices held the lowest ranked position, in which they did menial household labor. They received no pay, only board, lodging and spending money from his lao-pan (owner). Usually, after three years, if an apprentice established good kan-ch'ing with his lao-pan and had some ability, he might be promoted to a shopman. If his kan-ch'ing with the lao-pan was defective, he was usually discharged permanently.
The shopman was responsible for the services in the shop, making trips to the bank, and checking on prices and supplies. His position was in between apprentice and clerk. The clerk was the highest ranked employee. He dealt with accounts and figures. When the lao-pan was not present, the clerk took in charge of the store.

The word of the lao-pan was the law. The lao-pan had total authority over the apprentice as well as the other employees. The lao-pan gave direct commands to the employees. He could lecture and discipline the employees. Sometimes he made decisions for the employees and helped with their family problems. He acted as the employees' patron and gave them protection and security.

If the employee wanted to switch jobs, a recommendation from the lao-pan was crucial in determining whether the employee would be hired somewhere else. Kan-ch'ing was the most important factor. In one case, the lao-pan did not want to give a recommendation for one employee; so he gave the employee some poultry to help him start his own business (Fried 1953:54).

In Chinatowns all over the United States, the patron-client relationship is found between the kiu-ling (overseas leaders) and members of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (Wong 1982). Kiu-ling act as the members' patrons by securing jobs, protection, retirement, and other benefits. The role of kiu-ling will be discussed in
details in Chapter III.

Segmentary structure

This patron-client relationship among the old immigrants in Chinatowns is related to the hierarchial structure of the communities (Crissman 1967). The patterns of Chinese immigration, cultural adaptations, and present status as minority groups in overseas communities can be quite diverse. However, under the veneer of cultural and historical differences, most major Chinese communities are based upon a similar organizational pattern - a structural motif built upon hierarchy and segmentation, and derived from patterns indigenous to China.

Most urban overseas Chinese communities in North America and Southeast Asia may be divided into a hierarchical series of "sub-communities", each segment being internally autonomous, with its own leaders and recognized membership. Sub-communities are usually formed on the basis of a number of criteria. One of the most important criteria is speech groups, which reflect major differences in language. Languages are associated with discrete localities in China and can be expressed in geographic terms.

Geographic distinctiveness is not limited to language groupings but may be based upon counties usually associated with dialect differences, market areas, and even single
villages. Speech communities often segment into sub-communities based upon such provenience.

Generally speaking, the first segmentation is along speech lines, which can further segment on the basis of locality and/or surname identity. When surname and locality criteria are both operative independently at the same level, overlapping sub-communities are formed and individuals may belong to more than one segment.

A single speech group community usually segments upon distinctions of locality, usually the county (hsien). They may then divide by surname groups, which may in turn segment based upon smaller locality dimensions. The basic unit is the village.

Segmentation does produce separate sub-communities, but the division does not preclude sub-community cooperative endeavors. Segments will combine and dissolve depending upon particular circumstances.

In some contexts, the whole Chinese community is united and acts together, while in different situations small segments act independently against each other. Opponents in one situation are allies in another. (Crissman 1967:193)

Therefore, members of the smaller sub-communities are represented by their leaders in larger groups, and they in turn by their leaders in the highest-level organizations. Leadership positions at ascending levels are often filled by the same persons, producing an interlocking system in which most leaders have official positions in numerous
organizations at all levels.

Cultural brokerage and patronage

Leaders of the community and sub-communities act as patrons and brokers for the Chinese immigrants. Cultural brokers, also called "middleman", "mediator", "gatekeepers", or "go-betweens", are persons who "bridge two or more separate entities, cultures, or sub-cultures" (Trueblood 1977:153).

Paine suggested that the roles of patron and broker are usually subsumed under "patron" (Paine 1971:20). He used a study on overseas Indian communities to demonstrate the two: the patron recruits followers by his powers to dispense favors; the broker is a middleman attracting followers who believe him able to influence the person who controls the favors (Mayer 1967:168). Paine suggested that:

it is part of the responsibility of the anthropologist to provide meanings of concepts as they are used and perceived in the cultures he studies, but it is not helpful should any of these meanings unobtrusively assume the status of an anthropological (hence comparative) concept...The two [patron and broker] are different orders of conceptualization. Can anthropology afford...not to distinguish between the roles of "model to "copy" and "intermediary"? (Paine 1971:20)

Paine suggested that there are processes of brokerage in the role of patron, and they should be distinguished in analysis from those of patronage. The patron "chooses the values
that are put into circulation by him" (Paine 1971:20).
Those who are "engaged in the purveyance of the values but
who are not "responsible for" them" (Paine 1971:20-21) are
in the role of brokers.

The roles of patron and broker are emphasized in the
distinction of the two.

The activity of a broker does not imply that he
necessarily has influence over either of the
groups between which he interacts in this
role.....he is perceived...not to be exercising it
for the purpose of establishing a personal
following based on his own system of
evaluations...A broker does not necessarily
wish to become a patron. (Paine 1971:21)

However, patrons are found to assume a broker role in order
to buttress their positions as patrons.

In summary, patron, broker, and client are roles. They
depend upon the situational context for their recognition;
and therefore, they "may be embraced alternately and even in
combination by the same person...however, both their
embracement and their attribution to others may be usefully
conceived as strategies of persons" (Paine 1971:21). Thus,
designation of the distinctions of patron, broker, and
client becomes part of the work of "mapping the variety of
perceptions of strategy in any given situation" (Paine
1971:21).

Based on the above theoretical framework, I shall make
five hypotheses in the study of new Chinese immigrants in
Monterey Park.
Hypothesis one: reception city

I propose that the suburban Chinatown in Monterey Park has replaced Los Angeles' Chinatown as the new reception city for the new immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Chinatown is an all-Chinese community for the old immigrants (Wong 1982:27-30), whereas Monterey Park is an integrated suburban community of Whites, Hispanics and Asians. Contrary to the function of Chinatown, in which the old immigrants live all their lives, the new arrivals stay in Monterey Park for a period of time, usually one to three years, before they become familiar with American society. They then move out of the reception city for new jobs or to demonstrate their new economic status. Those who stay in Monterey Park are ones who still have difficulty with English (Arax 1987:20), or are retired immigrants who do not want to make changes in their lives.

Hypothesis two: gatekeeper

I propose that the liu-hsueh-sheng (students-become-immigrants) are the informal gatekeepers of the community. But these gatekeepers do not necessarily assume the roles as patrons to the clients.

Between 1966 and 1976, 38,147 Chinese students in the U. S. adjusted their statuses to that of permanent residents
These student-immigrants have been educated in American universities and have adjusted to the American system. Most of them remained in the United States and were employed by American firms and granted citizenship or a green card.

Their function and contribution in the Chinese community are as follows: 1) to use their experiences to introduce new immigrants to American society; 2) their families and relatives qualify for the first and second preferential quota for immigrants by the 1965 Immigration Act, to fulfill the purpose of family reunification (Boyd 1974:507-519; Keely 1980:15-25; Wong M. 1983:388-9), that is, bringing the second wave of immigrants; and 3) they set up role models and lead the business trends in Monterey Park.

Hypothesis three: structured kan-ch'ing

I propose that, although the economic pattern of the new immigrants in Monterey Park is different from old Chinese immigrants, structured kan-ch'ing (patron-client relationship) plays an important role in regulating relationships among the Chinese employees and employers. As patrons to the employees, the employers may provide cultural brokerage to the newly-arrived employees.
Hypothesis four: informal and temporary association

I propose that, although the new immigrants do not belong to speech or surname associations, a temporary and informal association based on speech group is structured among the Chinese when they go to Monterey Park. This is especially true when they choose where to dine or shop.

Hypothesis five: assimilation problem

I propose that a new version of Greater Han Chauvinism is the main block to assimilation to the community they live in. Greater Han Chauvinism was derived from how the Chinese politically defined themselves in relation to foreigners (non-Han people). The Chinese perceived themselves as "Chung-kuo" (central kingdom); all the people outside the "Kingdom" (China) were "barbarians". Greater Han Chauvinism promoted a racial and cultural superiority to other nationalities.

Being chung-kuo-jen (Chinese; the Han people of the Central Kingdom), the new Chinese immigrants feel superior to the "foreigners" (Americans), and do not integrate with the non-Chinese residents in the community.

Racial tension has been used to explain conflicts between Chinese immigrants and native residents (Lymann 1988). Native residents feel threatened by the rapid
changes brought by the newcomers. Those who come to this country with investment money boast of their economic power and tend to transform the local economic activities into those similar to their home societies (Arax 1987). However, new immigrants ignore the rights of native residents, which caused conflicts between the two community groups.
CHAPTER II
METHODOLOGY

The body of data was derived from four months' fieldwork in Monterey Park, California and its surrounding cities. My fieldwork was conducted in two periods of time: the first session was to gather data based on my hypotheses; the second session was to gather statistical data to support my hypotheses.

FIELDWORK ONE

The first period of fieldwork was conducted in the summer of 1988, from June 17 through September 16. Since I did not know anyone when I arrived in Monterey Park, I started to build my social network by first finding a job. I read the employment advertisements in the Chinese daily newspapers. Within a half hour, I was hired as a waitress at a Chinese restaurant in Cerritos. Then, I went to a Chinese shopping center to look for a place to live. Of the twenty-five rental advertisements on the bulletin board outside the supermarket, I found one room in a Chinese home and moved in right away. Later, I learned that Cerritos has the second largest population of Chinese
immigrants outside Monterey Park.

The first two weeks were a period of adjustment. Working in the Chinese restaurant allowed me to have frequent contact with Chinese customers and staff. During this period, my landlord and employer were my major sources of information.

Then, I quit my job and moved to the main site, Monterey Park, and lived there for six weeks. I rented a room from a retired Chinese professor whose house was within one mile of the main Chinese business center on the south (Atlantic Boulevard) and the west side (Garvey Avenue) of Monterey Park.

The Chinese Community Yellow Pages & Business Guide was the most important source of information at this time. It listed all the Chinese businesses, organizations, services, and California state agencies. It also provided information on how to get used to American laws, (such as divorce, car accident), how to take the driving test, analysis of real estate investment, vacation guides, medical emergencies etc. It is an encyclopedia of living in America for the Chinese immigrants. The books were distributed free of charge at major Chinese supermarkets in Monterey and neighboring cities.

The first group of organizations that I visited were the Chinese Culture Center, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and the Chinese Embassy (the North American Affairs Council) in
Los Angeles. Most of these organizations are bureaucratic agencies affiliated with the government in Taiwan. Their major function was to promote the political ideology of Taiwan and provide meeting places for "members" of the organization. They lacked up-to-date information on demographics of the recent immigrants. The majority of the people who worked for these organizations were sent and paid by the Taiwanese government. They did not have much contact with the American society or the mass of the Chinese immigrants.

The second group of organizations I visited included the City Council and the Chamber of Commerce of Monterey Park. I interviewed the Director of City Planning, a councilwoman, the mayor and the police chief. From these government officials, I learned of the problems and conflicts of the city that were related to the Chinese immigrants. They gave me names and references of several businessmen prominent in the Chinese community, including three realtors, one lawyer and one educator. I interviewed these people, who informed me of where to go and to whom to talk for specific information.


This group of people were my key informants for the
The first part of the fieldwork. Most of them were willing and glad to be interviewed by appointment. If they did not have time for an appointment, they usually let me interview them on the phone.

For this category of informants, I used an unstructured interviewing technique (Bernard 1988:204-209). I prepared specific topics according to their professional backgrounds in each interview. Besides the special topics, I collected their life histories, including how they came to the United States, how they established their businesses, network etc. Because of the interviews, I developed good relationships with several informants. They were enthusiastic in introducing me to their colleagues or clients. Later, they became important sources for the distribution of questionnaires during the second period of my fieldwork. One of the informants, who is an insurance agent, let me travel with him to visit his clients in the Los Angeles area. Through this means, I got to meet several Chinese immigrant families.

According to my survey, this group of informants, who are professionals, possess the following characteristics: 1) they are all first generation immigrants from Taiwan or Hong Kong; 2) two thirds of them have a college degree from an American university; 3) they are considered successful in their professions, they are either owners, co-owners or senior staff of the company for which they work; 4) the sex
ratio of this group is 3:1 (male:female); 5) their ages range from 30 to 50; 6) the majority of them are married and their families are in the United States; 7) their businesses are located in Monterey Park, Alhambra, Los Angeles, Temple City and San Gabriel; and 8) most of them are concerned with community developments and are up-to-date concerning the economic trends of the Chinese community.

Through a key informant, who is the Lt. Governor of the Kiwanis Club, I was invited to one of their weekly luncheon meetings. At the meeting, I met the mayor, who was to speak to the members, and ten other business men and women. As a guest, I got to introduce my research to the audience. Afterwards, several members volunteered to give information and new ideas for my research.

Besides the formal interviews, I went to the city library, supermarkets and shopping malls on a regular basis. I met people and talked to them whenever I had a chance.

During the second half of my fieldwork in summer of 1988, I moved to a Chinese condominium complex in Alhambra. I rented a room from a young couple from Taiwan. The landlord was a house painter and did odd jobs. The landlady was a housewife. Living with this couple allowed me to: 1) develop contacts with non-intellectual immigrants; 2) observe their daily activities and social interactions; and 3) observe patterns of residence and lifestyles in a Chinese neighborhood.
For this category of informants, an informal interviewing technique was used (Bernard 1988:204).

The field techniques for the first fieldwork included participant observation, informal interviewing, unstructured interviewing, telephone interviews and library research of events in the community.

FIELDWORK TWO

The second period of fieldwork was conducted from December 16, 1988 through January 10, 1989 in Monterey Park. The techniques used in this period include: questionnaires, telephone interviews, and visits to old informants to confirm data.

Description of the questionnaires

Three questionnaires were designed for this thesis. Questionnaire I was designed for the study of reception city, gatekeeper, informal association and acculturation. The questionnaires were written in Chinese. Questionnaire II and III were to study kan-ch'ing of employers and employees. An English translation of the questionnaires is included as Appendix I. Throughout my thesis, all the Chinese names and terms are spelled in Romanization based on the Wade-Giles system. A total of 558 Questionnaire I's were given out and 148 people responded.
In the first week of the second period of fieldwork, I used a personal, face-to-face interview technique, but because of the negative response of most interviewees (such as suspiciousness, uneasiness, or unwillingness to be interrupted during work), I changed the techniques in the following two weeks. I used 1) a self-administered, combined with drop-and-collect technique; and 2) telephone interviewing (Bernard 1988:241-249).

The questionnaires were sent out by four methods:
1) Two hundred questionnaires were mailed out to the names that were randomly selected from The Chinese Community Yellow Pages & Business Guide and three Chinese daily newspapers.
2) Two hundred and fifty questionnaires were distributed to my informants who work at travel, insurance, realty companies and the Chinese Culture Center. They asked their customers to fill out the questionnaires. Most of these respondents knew my informants, so they were usually willing to help without suspicion. This method had the highest response rate (26.4 percent) of all other methods.
3) Telephone interviews: names were randomly selected from the directory of a Chinese language school, The Chinese Community Yellow Pages, three Chinese daily newspapers, a directory of an alumni association, and a list of clients of a well-known travel agency. 4) Seventy questionnaires, with a cover letter explaining the purpose of my research, were
given out to people I saw on the streets, in the supermarkets, stores, banks, the city library, gas stations, neighborhoods etc. A few filled them out right away. If they expressed interest, I gave them a stamped addressed envelope to mail it back to me.

Of the one hundred and forty-three respondents, 61.36 percent are female, and 38.64 percent are male. The median age is 35.87. When they were asked whether they had a green card (permanent residence card), 83.91 percent of the people answered "Yes". According to my informants, this percentage is "a little bit too high". One informant told me that he knows a few of the clients and friends who answered "Yes", actually did not have a green card. He said most of the immigrants are afraid of any "trouble" from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, so they always tell people that they have a green card. However, the legal status of the immigrants is not a main issue in this thesis, and it will not affect the accuracy of the data analysis. Three hundred each of Questionnaire II (for the employee) and Questionnaire III (for the employer) were given out through:

1) the mail - I randomly selected names that were shown on business advertisements in the newspapers and The Chinese Community Yellow Pages & Business Guide.

2) I distributed the questionnaires to the employees or owners of the eighty-nine stores in the five major Chinese shopping malls. I dropped in with the questionnaires and
explained the purpose of the research project. Then I returned either an hour later or the next day to pick them up. This turned out to be an efficient way to get responses while the interviewees did not appear to be too self-conscious or uneasy about their answers.

To avoid conflicts between the employers and employees, I was careful not to give questionnaires to both parties of the same store or firm.

For Questionnaire II, one hundred and fifteen employees answered. The average age is 29.18; 72.64 percent of them are female; while 27.36 percent are male. The reason that two-thirds are females is that clerical and sales jobs are preferred by females.

For Questionnaires III, one hundred and five employers responded. The median age of the respondents is 35.64; 36.73 percent of them are female, while 63.27 percent are male.

The data collected from both fieldwork sessions will be discussed and analyzed in Chapters V and VI.
CHAPTER III
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Chinese have been in the United States since 1820. Although some historians believe that Chinese Buddhists may have arrived in the Americas in the fifth century, one thousand years before Columbus (Wong B. 1982:65), the first official record of Chinese immigration to the United States was not until 1820 (Kung 1962:38).

To study the differences between the old and the new immigration out of China, it is important to study the purpose of immigration at different stages. Nineteenth-century China was beset with many political and economic problems. The Opium War (1839-1842) between China and Great Britain, and the resulting Treaty of Nanking, drained China's treasury. Under the Manchu Dynasty, the Chinese government lost its diplomatic power and the Chinese people suffered from economic depression. Economic distress was particularly strong in Kwangtung (Canton) and Fukien provinces, which were poor and overpopulated. Those two provinces were on the coast, where contacts with foreign traders were frequent. So it was common at that time for many of the residents of those two provinces to seek employment opportunities overseas. Fukienese usually migrated to the South Seas, and the majority of the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Chinese Population</th>
<th>Males per 100 Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>34,933</td>
<td>1,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>63,199</td>
<td>1,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>105,456</td>
<td>2,107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>107,475</td>
<td>2,678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>89,863</td>
<td>1,887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>71,531</td>
<td>1,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>61,639</td>
<td>696</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>74,954</td>
<td>395</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>77,503</td>
<td>285</td>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>117,140</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>236,084</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>433,469</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Population, United States
Cantonese came to the United States (Kung 1962:76).

The first Chinese migration to the United States was triggered by the "gold rush" in California and by the American mining and railway companies, which needed cheap labor. Many agencies were available to facilitate the immigration from Canton to California. These agencies, such as transportation companies and employment agencies, provided the immigrants a way out of China to the United States. It is estimated that 130,000 Chinese arrived in America by 1854 (Kung 1962:65). Chinese immigration continued to increase and reached its peak in 1890.

Before 1880, the Chinese immigrants settled in California and other Pacific coastal regions. They were engaged in mining, railroad construction, domestic service, and agriculture. These Chinese became a major labor force on the western frontier, especially the states of California, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Montana, Colorado, and Wyoming. Their contribution included construction of the Transcontinental Railroad.

IMPORTANT IMMIGRATION LAWS

The Chinese workers were industrious, hard-working, and efficient, which led to competition with white laborers. After the railroad and mining activities were completed, Chinese labor was no longer needed. To get rid of the
Chinese competitors, anti-Chinese movements were pervasive in California and the other coastal regions. There was blatant legal discrimination against the Chinese. In 1854 the State Supreme Court of California ruled that the Chinese should not be allowed to testify in the courts (Wong B. 1978:338). In 1870, a San Francisco ordinance forbade the Chinese pole method of peddling vegetables and carrying laundry. In 1875, an Anti-Queue Law was put into effect. After the passage of the Anti-Queue Law, gangs of roughnecks began to attack Chinese people with long hair; their braids were chopped off and worn as belts and caps by the hoodlums. Finally, Congress passed the "Chinese Exclusion Law" in 1882, which prohibited Chinese laborers from entering the country. This act suspended the immigration of Chinese laborers, both skilled and unskilled, for ten years. Teachers, students, merchants, and travelers were exempted from exclusion. It prohibited the naturalization of Chinese in the United States. The act was extended an additional ten years by the Geary Act of May 5, 1892. On April 27, 1904, the exclusion of Chinese laborers was rescinded with more restrictions on their entry. The Scott Act of October 1, 1888 prohibited the return of any Chinese laborers who had departed from the United States. At the time it was passed, over 20,000 Chinese laborers had temporarily left the United States for China with re-entry certificates. These re-entry permits were declared void by Congress (Nee
From 1890 to 1940, the number of Chinese in the United States decreased from 107,475 in 1890 to 77,504 in 1940 (Li 1977:51). Because of the anti-Chinese movements on the West Coast, many Chinese started to move to the Atlantic coast to seek employment opportunities (Wong B. 1982:4-5). To avoid competition with the whites, many Chinese engaged in restaurant and laundry business. These two businesses have continued to be the major economic force in the Chinese community until the present day. The Chinese who had left the construction business in the West Coast now clustered in the inner sections of the cities where rents were low and affordable, around the major metropolitan areas in the United States. These clusters later gradually developed into Chinatowns.

The unbalanced sex ratio was one of the main demographic characteristics of the Chinese immigrants before 1940. More than 70 percent of the Chinese immigrants to the United States were male (Li 1977:51-52). This was also due to the Immigration Act of 1924 under which no Chinese women were allowed to enter the United States for permanent residence. Previous to the passing of this act, wives of Chinese merchants and American-born Chinese were allowed to enter the country, although wives of Chinese laborers were barred.

After World War II, because a large number of men in
the American Armed Forces, who were stationed overseas, married foreign women, Congress passed the War Bride Act of December 28, 1945, and the GI Fiancees’ Act of June 29, 1946. These legislative changes resulted in a greater number of Chinese females immigrating to the United States. From 1947 to 1953 females constituted over eighty percent of the total number of the Chinese immigrants (Li 1977:53). Since 1954, the sex ratio of Chinese immigrants has become more nearly equal (Table II; Wong B. 1976:37). Women and children are a common sight in Chinatown (Boyd 1971).

In 1949, the Chinese Communists took over China. The political changes in China from 1949 to 1964 resulted in many "political refugees" migrating from China to the United States. In 1953, the Refugee Relief Act allowed the entry of 2,777 refugees of the Chinese Revolution. It further granted a total of 2,000 visas to Chinese whose passports had been endorsed by the Chinese Nationalist Government for entry to the United States. In 1962 a Presidential Directive by John F. Kennedy permitted Hong Kong refugees to enter the United States immediately as "parolees". By June 30, 1966, 15,111 Chinese refugees had been admitted to the United States. These political refugees included professionals and intellectuals, who dispersed throughout the United States (Wong B. 1982).

A new era of Chinese immigration to the United States opened in 1965. The Act of Immigration was signed by
President Lyndon B. Johnson at the foot of the Statue of Liberty. It abolished the national origin quota system on July 1, 1968 and established a preference system based on family ties and occupational skills (Keely 1980:15-17; Boyd 1974:510). Of the seven preference categories of immigrants, four categories were assigned to relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent residents, two categories were for immigrants with special occupational ability, and one category was for refugees. Each independent country outside the Western Hemisphere has a quota of up to 20,000 immigrants per year. The significance of this act for Chinese immigration is that the Chinese were treated equally with other nationalities for the first time in American history (Wong 1976:37, 1982:9).

The 1965 Immigration Act effectively increased the number of Asian immigrants (Keely 1971) with a higher proportion of relative immigrants to fulfill for the purpose of family unification (Li 1977:54). Table III shows that there was a large increase of Chinese immigrants after 1965. Most were admitted under the category of relative preferences than under the other preferences (Li 1977:54).

After the 1965 Immigration Act took effect, Chinese immigration shot upward, increasing as much as 400 to 500 percent (Sung 1980:39), and these Chinese come from larger areas from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan (Boyd 1974:514).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigration Laws</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>%Male</th>
<th>%Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>81.1</td>
<td>18.9</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>4,074</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1924</td>
<td>79.9</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>4,670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>1,721</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>1,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>1,051</td>
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<td>1932</td>
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<td>41.8</td>
<td>545</td>
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<td>58.7</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Brides Act</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>233</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>87.4</td>
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<td>1948</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>92.8</td>
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<td>1949</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>90.3</td>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>1,289</td>
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<td>1951</td>
<td>11.6</td>
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<td>1955</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>2,628</td>
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<td>1956</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>54.9</td>
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<td>1957</td>
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<td>5,123</td>
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<td>1958</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>3,195</td>
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<td>53.8</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>3,672</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>3,838</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>4,669</td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>5,370</td>
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<td>46.7</td>
<td>53.3</td>
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<td>52.8</td>
<td>16,434</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>52.9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>17,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>17,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>21,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>21,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>22,685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>23,427</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: U.S. Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, Annual Reports
CHINATOWNS

Old Chinese immigrants are those who migrated to this country in the late 19th and early 20th century. This group of immigrants came to this country as laborers. They were not granted civil rights and were denied naturalization until 1943 (Sung 1980:39; Wong 1978:348). The descendants of these immigrants are usually referred to as "ABC" (American-born Chinese) or "juk-sing" (useless, unyielding, and a group of people having no roots either in China or in America) (Wong B. 1982:28). The majority of the old immigrants live in Chinatowns throughout the United States (Tsai 1980:329-331). The San Francisco area has the largest Chinatown in the United States, with a population of 88,402 in 1970 (Nee 1972). New York is second, with a Chinese population of 77,099; Los Angeles is third with a Chinese population of 41,500 (Sung 1970). Generally, there are two important physical features of Chinatowns in the United States. These are: 1) they are only found in cities over 50,000 population, i.e. they are highly urbanized; and 2) there is no Chinatown of less than 250 population (Yuan 1963:255).

The Chinatowns were established by the early immigrants at the turn of the century as a form of defensive insulation to escape prejudice and discrimination. By living in Chinatowns, the early immigrants could hold interactions
Table III PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS
ADMITTED UNDER ANNUAL LIMIT OF 20,000 1966-1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Relative Preference</th>
<th>Occupational Preference</th>
<th>Refugees</th>
<th>Non-Preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>67.4</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

with the White majority to a minimum, thus avoiding conflicts, hostilities, and insults (Yuan 1963:260). Other factors that helped in the development of the Chinatowns were: 1) relatives of the Chinese immigrants tend to live together for mutual help, which formed a strong system of group solidarity to protect the individual in the host society; 2) language difficulties: uneducated laborers relied on friends and relatives to interpret for them; and 3) when the Chinese laborers transferred from mining to domestic services, they migrated to the low-rent areas in the cities.

Most of the long-time residents of Chinatowns are the older foreign-born Chinese (Yuan 1969). Due to nostalgia, separation from their homeland, and segregation from the majority society, many of them still possess a set of attitudes and a life-style linked to the past. Because of their return-to-China mentality, this group of people are also called "sojourners" (Siu 1952:34-44). To maintain family ties, these sojourners returned to China periodically to get married and sire children. After a brief visit to China, they returned to the U.S. to continue their business in the hope of accumulating enough wealth through hard work to retire to China and live a life of leisure.

Nee (1977) and Wong (1982) have generalized the common characteristics of Chinatowns as follows: 1) Chinatowns have experienced a population decrease in the 1950s (Lee 1949),
but a population revival has occurred since 1965 (Hong 1976:512); 2) the geographic boundaries of Chinatowns have expanded outward since 1970; 3) residents in Chinatowns are facing problems of housing, medical care, juvenile delinquency etc.; 4) the lingua franca in Chinatowns, which was Toisanese, has been replaced by other dialects from China, such as Cantonese, Mandarin, Fukienese, Shanghainese etc.; 5) the demographic characteristics, occupation, locality of origin, community organization, and attitudes towards the host society have been altered; 6) the sex ratio of Chinatown residents has tended to become balanced since 1965 (Wong B. 1976:37; Li 1977:53; Boyd 1974: 514).

The English and Chinese illiteracy rates of the old immigrants are high. The average education of this group of immigrants today is fifth grade (Nee 1972:25). Health problems have been noted in Chinatown. Many suffer from general malnutrition, trachoma, tuberculosis, alcoholism, infective/parasitic diseases and depression (Chang 1981). The health services have been limited, while many sojourners refuse to go to the western doctors and persist in their beliefs in traditional Chinese herbal medicines (So 1984).

After 1965, there have been three leadership groups in Chinatowns. The traditional leadership of the community is the Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association (or CCBA). It is the highest authority and represents the whole population in Chinatown. The functions of the CCBA are as
follows: 1) to transact affairs with the U. S. government on matters affecting the Chinese community; 2) to protect the interest of the business community in Chinatown; 3) to negotiate with the Chinese Embassy; 4) to coordinate community activities with various Chinese associations in Chinatown; and 5) to settle disputes.

Kiu-ling (overseas Chinese leaders), leaders of the associations of CCBA, are culture brokers and patrons for the members of the associations. Kiu-lings are first-generation Chinese who are generally well-established economically and are concerned with gaining a name for themselves through activities in the family, dialect, and regional associations and the CCBA. Wong's survey of kiu-lings in New York's Chinatown show that they possess the following characteristics: 1) they are between 50-70 years old; 2) they are born in China; 3) they have little formal education; 4) the majority of them have spent more than twenty years in the United States; and 5) they are entrepreneurs in Chinese restaurants, laundries, garment factories, groceries, and gift stores. Kiu-lings view themselves as the patrons of Chinese culture, the real Chinese.

A kiu-ling helps the new members find suitable jobs and solve disputes. Their contact with the American society is related to their own ethnic niche, as they seek protection of their own economic interests from the larger
society. Their payoff is "prestige", which can be used in their own entrepreneurial activities. Many less prosperous Chinese businessmen look up to these leaders (their wealth, power, and possession of valuable information), and try to form contacts with them.

Under the CCBA, there are different associations based on kinship and regionalism. These associations were organized on lineage and clan relationships (Wong B. 1982:18). These associations, such as fongs, surname association, regional associations, provided the early bachelor immigrants with an atmosphere of brotherhood and family. These associations functioned 1) for members to get together to recreate and celebrate Chinese holidays; 2) for family name associations to worship their ancestors and pay homage to members who died; 3) to settle disputes; and 4) some family name associations have credit clubs, translation services, temporary lodging facilities for the unemployed and the aged.

Other associations, such as occupational and trade associations, function to safeguard ethnic businesses. Many of them were formed in response to pressure from the dominant society. The American-Chinese Restaurant Association and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce have recruited many influential Chinese businessmen. The leaders of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce have donated money and sponsored community projects. They also provide
valuable information for the community concerning economic opportunities, availability of government subsidies, and business regulations.

The tong in Chinatowns were related to anti-Manchu movements in the early eighteenth century. But in later days, the tong became involved in organized crime, and illegal business such as racketeering, prostitution and gambling. In the late 1970s, tongs were involved in international drug dealing, youth gangs etc. (Chin 1986). I was strongly advised by my informants not to touch this subject further.

The second leadership group in Chinatown emerged after the new immigration act in 1965. This new group, which is composed of "new associations", is not related to the CCBA. The new association members are well-educated professionals with cosmopolitan outlooks. These new associations include new regional associations (outside the Chinese mainland), alumni, religious associations, which are apolitical.

The third group of leadership is called the "radicals". These are the government agencies and labor unions. The members of such agencies are composed of the ABC's who have been educated and merged into American society. They speak English and are familiar with the American system. Influenced by the Black and Puerto-Rican movements, and conscious of their own cultural heritage, these Chinese-Americans returned to Chinatown to help the residents gain
equal opportunity and to raise funds for community services in Chinatowns. They also act as brokers for the community.

There have been conflicts between the traditional leadership and the radicals. The radicals say that the CCBA is incompetent in solving the poverty problem in Chinatown and that their methods, such as letter-writing and advice, are useless (Wong 1982:24). The CCBA does not approve the radicals' "altruistic" ways in which they encourage strikes, petitions etc. Generation gaps are the causes of community conflicts and segmentation in Chinatowns (Wong B. 1982:25).

In contrast, the new Chinese immigrants consist largely of well-educated, and highly trained professionals and intellectuals. The Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Report showed that, among the Chinese admitted to the United States in the years of 1969 and 1970, professional, technical, and kindred workers comprised the largest group; 36.9 percent in 1969 and 28 percent in 1970.

DIVERSITY AND CONFLICTS

Armed with high educational and professional skills, the new Chinese immigrants tend to look down upon the old immigrants who live in Chinatown (Tsai 1980:336). The new Chinese immigrants regard the old Chinese immigrants as cultural hybrids or marginal men because they are "backward" (Tsai 1980:336). Not only are their cultural, regional and
educational backgrounds different, their political ideology also separates them (Wong B. 1982:29; Tsai 1980:336-7).

Ethnographies show that the geographical boundaries and populations of Chinatowns in San Francisco and New York City have expanded since 1965 (Nee 1972; Weiss 1974; Wong 1982). However, Los Angeles' Chinatown experienced a population decline since 1970 (So 1984:76). One of the main reasons is that Los Angeles' Chinatown has been replaced by Monterey Park, a suburb outside Los Angeles. Monterey Park has become the first suburban Chinatown in the United States and a mecca for the new Chinese immigrants (Arax 1987).
I first heard about Monterey Park when I visited my non-kin aunt in Rowland Heights, California for Christmas 1986. Through my aunt's children and their friends, I learned about a new Chinatown, "Little Taipei", in Monterey Park. I was entertained by my new friends at a Chinese restaurant in Monterey Park and, later, at numerous Chinese/Taiwanese night clubs and restaurants during the holidays.

Having attended school in Montana as a foreign student from Taiwan, I was overwhelmed by the totally different way of life of the Chinese immigrants in the Los Angeles area. The lifestyle is a combination of that in Taipei or Hong Kong and in Southern California. It is different from the Chinatowns in Los Angeles, Vancouver or New York. It is prosperous, extravagant and superficial. I was told by a young lady that in Monterey Park you only see three kinds of cars: Mercedes, BMW's and Volvo's. Later, during my four months' fieldwork, I often found my 1979 Datsun, survivor of two car accidents, parked between shiny Mercedes 420 SEL's or Volvo 740's. My bruised car did stand out in the
parking lot outside the Hong Kong Supermarket where I shopped. Soon I was forced to buy another car after the Datsun had broken down on the freeway and made me "lose face". I came home with a 1988 Nissan Sentra. One of my housemates, Mr. Chen, who was studying to get an American pharmacist license, looked at my new car and commented, "How long do you think you can drive that car? Nissan is a low-quality car. You should buy a performance car. Look at my car, I just bought this Toyota Celica for the fun of driving. I am going to sell it to my friend at a low price when I return to Taiwan. Ah - you got a bad car!"

When I returned for the second period of fieldwork in December 1988, I stayed at the same house. There was a new tenant from China. She works as a receptionist in a Chinese firm in downtown L. A. I complimented her on her BMW when we first met. She said she had to save every penny and dime to make the payments. I asked her why she suffered in order to buy such an expensive car. She said to me, "Don't you know that in the Chinese community, there's a saying, "Kang-tse-pu-kang-jen" (only looking at the car not the driver; meaning "when you meet someone or choose a date, you examine what car he or she drives, then examine the person.")?...." That explains the principle of living in Monterey Park.

I had culture shock during my first visit to Monterey Park. For the first generation immigrants from Taiwan, the life style in Los Angeles is the best and most secure there
is. "Everything is provided. It's convenient and comfortable. You don't have to deal with Americans to survive in America." A new acquaintance told me why he chose to live in Monterey Park.

Many of the immigrants feel that they are better off than their friends and relatives. They are able to immigrate to America where it is politically secure and free, and keep up with their extravagant lifestyle as in Taipei.

I was frequently asked by my new female friends what it is like to associate with Americans. "Isn't it strange to have to eat foreign food all the time?" Many of my female friends, who have lived in Los Angeles for more than five years, expressed their pity that I, living in a non-Chinese city, have to integrate with "foreigners" (general term used by the Chinese immigrants referring to "Americans"), cannot watch Chinese TV, read Chinese newspapers, or play ma-jong (a Chinese gambling game).

During a two week's visit, I met another Chinese student from Missouri and a new student, who had just landed in L. A. from Taiwan on his way to Houston. The three of us were entertained by our common friends every day. Our friends were generous and proud to show us around town. Very soon, the three of us were introduced to their friends and acquaintances as "wai-chou-lai-te" (from out of state) and "kong-lai-te" (just arrived from Taiwan). They felt
that since we were unfortunate enough to live in a non-Chinese community, they should try to "chung-t´ien" (recharge) us with Chinese food, movies, games, entertainment etc. so when we had to go back to school, we would have enough energy to survive. Many of our acquaintances would encourage the three of us to transfer to schools in the Los Angeles area because "...it's more fang-pien (convenient), and there are more Chinese here. It's better here. Everything is better," many would try to convince us.

I got my first "lecture" from my hostess in a luxurious restaurant in El Monte, a neighboring city southeast of Monterey Park. As their wai-chou-lai-te (out-of-state) guest, I was given the privilege to order whatever I liked. My hostess looked at me puzzled when I suggested "Hot and Sour Soup" and "Ma-Po Tofu", home-style dishes which I really missed. Both of them changed the order to "Shark-fin soup" and "Szechuan Prawn" and five other dishes. They said to me, "Here (Monterey Park), you have to order from the top-priced list." In other words, if you order cheap or medium-priced dishes, you lose face.

Another time I suggested that I treat them to dinner, after they had shown me around. They turned down the idea immediately and said, "No girls here pay for their own dinner out. If you you-pang-fa (know the way), the men will be lining up to pay the bill." After we ordered six courses
for dinner and several Chivas Regals, the two hostesses were discussing whom to call. An hour later, a thirty-year-old gentleman showed up and joined us to finish up the dinner. Of course, he was the one who paid the bill. I heard similar stories from my informants during my first period of fieldwork. The "lucky" guy would not want to lose face, he always pays the bill.

When I returned two years later to do more fieldwork, I rented a room in a four-bedroom house in Monterey Park. My landlord, Dr. Huang, is a retired professor of economics from Long Beach College. One day I mentioned to him that it was inconvenient to cook for one person. He said, "Why bother cooking? If you you-pang-fa (know the way), find a man to take you out for dinner. You should make life easier." Then he complained about the previous tenants who used to cook and make the kitchen greasy. "It's only because he doesn't have money to eat out every day. Such headache...."

During my two week's visit in 1986, I became accustomed to the routine entertainment after a few days. I met different kinds of people: students, doctors, restaurant waiters, lawyers, commercial sign designers, DJ's, and those who mai-shei-tzo (those who do not work or go to school, and simply live on the family wealth). They were all Chinese from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. They talked about the good old days back at home, new cars, where to dine and
dance; they exchanged information on the increasing property value in southern California, where would be a good place to invest in real estate, and they occasionally criticized some political figures in Taiwan without fear.

The Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park have problems. One of the problems is that they "have too much money" (Lemann 1988:62). The Chinese of Monterey Park are similar to the Cubans of Miami. "Even the Cubans of Miami were not instantly affluent" (Lemann 1988:62).

I was most struck when an acquaintance told me that, in the community college she was attending, fifty percent of the students are from Taiwan. The courses are taught in English, and supplemented with Chinese materials. The Chinese-speaking students would help one another study for tests in Chinese, reading supporting materials translated from English to Chinese, or a Chinese translation of the textbook air mailed by their relatives from Taiwan. The above acquaintance lives with her older sister and younger brother in a five bedroom house. They live on the dividends of the money their parents have put in the bank. They move every five months or whenever they get tired of the house. They seldom rent the house, they buy the house. Their parents, who have a gold and jewelry shop in Taichung, Taiwan, come and visit them once or twice a year. This twenty-three-year-old girl has had two abortions and, as a consequence, she has decided that an abortion was more
effective and convenient than other birth control methods.

I became interested in how these Chinese immigrants perceived America. Who are these people? Where do they come from? What are they doing in America? How do they perceive American life without bothering to speak English?

After my fieldwork in 1988, I began to realize that, for most Chinese immigrants, "American life" has a different meaning from what it literally means; "American life" refers to "life in Monterey Park". When I asked informants to describe their "American life" and adjustment difficulties in America, many would come up with the stereotype answer: "It's not much different from Taipei (or Hong Kong) except some of the (traffic) laws are slightly different." or "There is no adjustment difficulty. There are many Chinese here. It's easy to settle down here."

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY

Monterey Park is 7.5 miles east of Los Angeles on the exits of Interstate 10, 60, and 7. The whole city covers 7.72 square miles. With a flow of immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong, Monterey Park has experienced a population growth from 49,166 in 1970 to 60,500 today (Arax 1987). Over the same period, the racial makeup of the city has shifted from 56 percent to 22 percent Anglo, from 30 percent to 37 percent Hispanic and from 14 percent to 40 percent
Asians. Among the growing Asian population, sixty percent are of Chinese descent. The remainder of the population is composed of Japanese, Filipino, Vietnamese, Thai and Korean. Each of the non-Chinese segments of the population represents approximately ten percent of the Asians in Monterey Park.

Monterey Park has the Council-Manager type of government, and the City Council also serves as a Redevelopment Agency Board. According to the Monterey Park Chamber of Commerce, the major industry in Monterey Park is retail trade, which provides 17.4 percent of the employment, the second is durable goods manufacturing (11.1 percent).

Monterey Park was not incorporated until May 29, 1916. The first real estate boom in Monterey Park occurred in the early 1920s, forming the earliest neighborhood of the city. After World War II, groups of developer-built houses for the young families of GIs brought the second real estate boom to Monterey in the 1940-50s, some Jewish immigrants from Boyd Heights moved into Monterey Park. These new-comers were active in education, trade and politics. In the late 1950s the Japanese immigrants started to move into the big houses on the hills. They were the earliest Asian residents in Monterey Park. In the late 1960s, the white population started to shrink when the Hispanics with modest incomes, from eastern Los Angeles, moved in. These ethnic groups got along well and conflicts seldom were reported. "None tried to dominate the other," Chris Houseman, the mayor of
Figure 1 The Greater Los Angeles Area  
Figure 2 City of Monterey Park
Monterey Park told me. At that time, the general public felt Monterey Park was going to become an Hispanic community, and therefore everything was geared toward the Hispanic.

Then changes started to occur with a boom of development in 1976. A Chinese developer, Frederic Hsieh, bought up much land at high prices in Monterey Park (Appendix II). The property values doubled overnight. Many residents sold their houses and moved out. Most of the Japanese residents moved to Torrance where there was a large, steady Japanese population. The houses were torn down to build condominiums. The Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan moved in. As a consequence, the population density increased and many new commercial buildings were built; new Chinese restaurants and night clubs began to appear. In two years, many long-time businesses were forced to close. Safeway was replaced by Ai-Hwa Supermarket. J.C. Penny and Superior Pontiac, which had been the largest tax-payers in town, had finally decamped by 1987. Suddenly, the signs of the new stores and shops were all "Greek" to the native residents. The residents complain about the traffic jams on weekends.

Sentiment against "unreadable signs" (in Chinese with no English translation) has grown. Beyond that is a feeling not of hatred but of resentment. What I heard over and over
isn't an American city any more." The native residents say that the Chinese, who are used to living in crowded cities, have a conception of suburban life that is different from what life in Monterey Park used to be like. It involves bigger buildings, higher residential density, longer lines in stores, later hours, and more restaurants and nightclubs (Lemann 1986:60). The new changes in Monterey Park attracted the attention of the American public in Los Angeles.

MECCA FOR THE CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

The Los Angeles Times (Arax 1987:2) aptly calls Monterey Park the first suburban Chinatown. In 1974, when Frederic Hsieh, a Chinese developer, decided to promote Monterey Park as a destination for Chinese immigrants, he put out the word in Taiwan and Hong Kong that Monterey park was the Chinese Beverly Hills. This, combined with economic currents and political instability in both Taiwan and Hong Kong, brought a flood of immigrants and Asian money into Monterey Park and the surrounding towns. Monterey Park is the second most common place of settlement for Chinese immigrants in the United States with the highest concentration of Chinese residents of any city in America (Lemann 1988:58).

Monterey Park sits at the core of an Asian influx that
has altered communities across the San Gabriel Valley. The Chinese own sixty percent of the land and the businesses in town, and they make up more than half the elementary school population. Three Chinese-language newspapers with worldwide circulations are headquartered or have branch offices on a single street in town. The city supports 60 Chinese restaurants and several Chinese-run night clubs in a 7.7-square mile area. There is a Chinese-language movie theater. Up and down Garvey Avenue and Atlantic Boulevard, the city's two main thoroughfares, blocks of uninterpreted Chinese-language signs proclaim a new commercial identity. The commercial strips are lined with Asian businesses -- Chinese, Vietnamese, and Japanese restaurants by the dozen, ginseng shops, Chinese bakeries, Chinese video stores, and a two-story pagoda-roofed Chinese shopping center that stands as the dominant architectural structure in town, and has taken over the buildings where Safeway and Alpha Beta used to be. To see a non-English-speaking, first-generation immigrant community in a prosperous suburb instead of a poor city neighborhood is a new, and initially jarring, experience.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE NATIVE RESIDENTS AND IMMIGRANTS

Stoked by a constant flow of investment dollars from the Far East, Monterey Park exudes the aura of an
international boom town. A dozen Chinese-run banks with combined deposits of more than $500 million have opened since 1979.

The presence of Chinese newcomers, who are spread throughout the city, is magnified each day by countless other Asians who live outside Monterey Park but crowd its streets to shop, bank and entertain friends.

When I worked graveyard in this city from 1960 to 1968, we'd call them "cannonball nights," said Jon Elder, the city's police chief. "You could shoot a cannon off at Atlantic and Garvey, and it could fly though the air and roll to a stop without hitting a soul. Those days are long gone. The other night I was out at 3:30 in the morning, and I counted 34 cars stopped at a red light at Atlantic and Garvey. It looked like rush hour (Arax 1987:3).

The changes have come so quickly that longtime residents express their disaffection with feelings of being locked out of their community.

Most of the native residents complain that the newcomers have simply transplanted their culture and way of life to the suburbs of Los Angeles. They say the Chinese community has grown to the point that newly arrived immigrants no longer feel compelled to join the larger community. Instead, they are content to retreat into their own insular world.

Paul and his wife had moved to Monterey Park from Philadelphia in 1956. He complained to me about the traffic, about the Chinese drivers who do not signal at
turns. He said most of his old neighbors had moved out. He does not know any of his new Chinese neighbors. He says "Hi" to his Chinese neighbors if he runs into them on the sidewalk, but "they just nod and avoid me. They are afraid that I will start a conversation because they cannot speak English." Paul, like most other longtime residents, feels frustrated when he goes to a Chinese store. First of all, it's hard to tell what is in the store. Secondly, "the pretty sales girl just nods and smiles at me. She cannot speak English." Another thing that Paul has observed is the jealousy of the white residents, "The Chinese children are doing better than their (white) children....and their parents pick them up in a Mercedes."

When we moved to Monterey Park, we had a little bit of everybody; whites, blacks, Latinos, some Chinese and some Japanese. But we lost that mix. In my neighborhood alone, it went from 25 Latino families to three. When I sold my home, it had nothing to do with money. I am a great believer in shopping in my own community. But I got the feeling that my business wasn't welcomed anymore. Some of that I attribute to the language gap, but some of it was just a feeling I got from the Chinese shopkeepers. A lot of young men like me, the future leaders of the city, have fled. I'll always love Monterey Park. I watched that community grow. I was part of that community. But there just wasn't anything left for us (Arax 1987:53).

The feelings of resentment have accumulated. In April 1986, a most decisive election was held. Four thousand longtime residents protested against the Chinese-language business signs, traffic congestion and ten years of condominium and apartments construction. Newspaper cartoons
depicted the council's only Chinese member, Lily Chen, and
two other incumbents stuffed into the hip pockets of
voracious Chinese developers. A measure to designate
English as the city's official language failed to get on the
ballot, but only after a court fight and considerable
acrimony. The campaign became a referendum on a decade of
change wrought by Chinese newcomers. The verdict was
decisive. Chen and the two incumbents were swept out of
office by three challengers supporting a policy of no
growth. Twelve weeks after the demonstration, the City
Council voted 3 to 2 to rescind the English-language and
immigration resolution.

Aware of resentment in the white community, former
mayor Lily Chen has lobbied business owners to post signs in
both languages. In 1985, she sponsored a proposed ordinance
that would have required bilingual signs for all businesses
(Viglucci 1985:20A). But a Chinese-language newspaper, in a
town where Chinese papers are engaged in all-out competition
for readers and revenue, made a battle cry of Chen's
proposal. The newspaper rallied defenders of the Chinese
language and heritage to oppose the ordinance.

The Chinese people did not realize the problem until
this time. Many Chinese civic and business leaders see an
anti-Chinese bias in several City Council decisions,
including an extension of portions of the building
moratorium until October, 1987, and the firing of a Planning
Commission that had approved many Chinese commercial projects (Arax 1987:20). A Chinese informant told me that although his architectural business is located in Monterey Park, he is not taking any work from Monterey Park simply because the numerous restrictions by the city council.

Developer Gregory Tse explained why Chinese concerns are not reflected in the City Council. The Chinese are fifty percent of the population of Monterey Park, but many are not citizens, so they cannot vote. The council knows this and feels they can get away with what they are doing.

Councilwoman Judy Chu showed me a letter written to the presidential candidate Dukakis by a councilman, Hatch. In the letter, Hatch proposed that the City police assist the Immigration & Naturalization Service to "get rid of the illegal aliens in Monterey Park." Hatch has been noted for his anti-Chinese campaigns.

As the current mayor of Monterey Park, Hatch refused to sign a certificate of gratification to the Lion's Club who sponsored a donation of ten thousand volumes of Chinese books and magazines, worth 200,000 dollars, to the City Library of Monterey Park (Hu, 1989a:25). His reason is that since English is the language of the United States, Chinese books should not be encouraged in the library. The certificate was signed by assistant mayor Resinburger. Later, Mayor Hatch sued the Lion's Club of the Republic of China (Taiwan) because they did not get the consent of the
Lion's Club of Monterey Park before starting the book donation. After the investigation of the International Lion's Club, it was announced that the book donation between the two countries was "legal" (Hu, 1989b:25). Those Chinese books arrived in Monterey Park on February 6th, 1989, and were received by the assistant mayor Riesinburger and councilwoman Judy Chu. For the Chinese in Monterey Park, these books are their "spiritual food", but also they know they have a mayor who is anti-Chinese.

According to my observations, two-thirds of the people who were using the library were Chinese. One third of the Chinese users are school children who do their homework in the library while waiting for their parents to pick them up after work. Another third of the Chinese users are retired people who go there daily to read the Chinese newspapers and magazines. In the international room which houses contemporary and classic literature from other countries, Chinese books dominate over the Spanish and the Japanese. In the video cassette music section, Chinese films and cassettes comprise two thirds of the selections.

The conflicts between ethnic groups in Monterey Park grows with the increasing crime rate. Many of my informants feel that it is not safe to live next to Hispanic neighbors and that Chinese are usually the target of robbery or burglary. Some criticize the newspapers that reveal that
the Chinese people like to keep cash and gold at home, which attracts the criminals.

I myself experienced a case of "distrust" by Americans in my first fieldwork. I was walking toward the parking lot of the "Deer Lodge Shopping Center" when I saw a young American man, about eighteen years old, trying to stop a Volvo. Inside the car was a middle-aged Chinese man. The Chinese man drove slowly and ignored the American man. I started to pay attention to what was going on. The American man might need a witness for a car accident, I thought to myself. The American man gave up on the Volvo man and tried the Mercedes right behind it, both were looking for a parking space. Inside the Mercedes were apparently a mother and two children. I saw the American man starting to beg the woman with his hands, but the Chinese woman just ignored his presence and kept looking for parking space.

Finally, the American man walked towards me as soon as I got into my car. He made gestures to have me roll down the window of my car. I was curious enough about what was going on, so I did. He apparently was in a foul mood. He showed me his driver's license, indicating his name and where he lives. He said that he ran out of gas on his way to Pasadena from Hacienda Heights. He found that he did not have any money with him and the gas station people would not let him fill his car with gas even if he left his driver's license there. Anyway, he needed some money for the
emergency. He said he had tried to ask for help in the nearby shopping center, which is an all-Chinese shopping center, but nobody paid attention to him. Suddenly he became upset.

He looked like he was telling the truth and I sympathized with him and gave him three dollars. Then I got out of my car and ran into the supermarket. There I found the Chinese woman with her two daughters. I spoke Chinese with her while she was selecting vegetables. I mentioned to her about what had just happened in the parking lot. "Strange, scary!" she commented. I then asked her why she totally ignored the American man. "What if it's a robbery? I don't trust Americans. You are a girl by yourself, you should be careful. Don't trust strangers easily." Then I asked her whether she would have opened the window if he were a Chinese or spoke the same language. She paused for a while and replied, "Probably. Depends on what kind of circumstance." Then I briefly told her what I did. She said, "You shouldn't trust these people. These Americans are lazy. They don't work and only ask for money. What a shame. You be careful alone."
A RECEPTION CITY

I proposed that Monterey Park functions as a reception city for the new Chinese immigrants before they become familiar with American society. Monterey Park has replaced Los Angeles' Chinatown as a metropolis for the Chinese in southern California.

To investigate the function of Monterey Park for the new Chinese immigrants, one should pay attention to the "moving rate" of new immigrants. Of the 143 respondents to questionnaires, only 11.19 percent said they remained in the same city in which they had lived when they first arrived. This indicates that the majority of the new immigrants move to other cities after they have stayed in the United States for a period of time.

Of the cities of arrival, 60.14 percent are located in California. The five most frequently chosen cities are Monterey Park, Los Angeles, Arcadia, Rosemead, and Alhambra. Thirty-four percent of the respondents came to Monterey Park when they arrived in the United States.

Of the 49 people who arrived in Monterey Park, 73.47 percent moved to another city within six months to two
years. In other words, only thirteen people (26.53 percent) remained in Monterey Park. Among respondents, 42 (29.37 percent) were currently residing in Monterey Park. Thirteen (30.95 percent) of them had been living in Monterey Park since arrival, while twenty-nine (69.05 percent) moved in to Monterey Park from other cities.

Residents of Monterey Park were asked to rank the six main reasons for living in Monterey Park on a six-point scale showing the degree of importance (6 being very important and 0 being not important at all). The five main reasons given are: 1) fang-pien (convenience), 2) friends/relatives live near by, 3) already bought real estate, 4) no need to speak English and 5) school districts for children. Figure 3 shows that "fang-pien" (convenience) is ranked first.

_Fang-pien_ (convenience) implies convenience in shopping, services, communication (no need to speak English), recruiting businesses etc. It is an important concept of living in Monterey Park. The Chinese have tried to convert pu-fang-pien (inconvenience) to fang-pien (convenience) for the pleasure of living. For example, most Chinese people are accustomed to cooking or stir-frying on high temperature, so most of the houses or condominiums that are built for the Chinese immigrants are adapted to install a gas stove instead of an electric stove.
Figure 3 Main reasons to live in Monterey Park.

Reasons: 
A. (Convenience) Fang-pien
B. Friends and relatives live near by
C. Already bought real estate
D. No need to speak English
E. School District
A publisher's wife thought living in America was pu-fang-pien (inconvenient). She said she had to learn how to take care of the carpet, which she did not have when she was living in Taipei. Like most Chinese housewives, she thought a dishwasher was pu-fang-pien (inconvenient) and she used it to store clean dishes. The oven was another kitchen appliance that I observed most Chinese immigrant housewives used for a different purpose. Since baking is not a part of Chinese cooking, the Chinese are not familiar with the use of an oven, it is usually used to store clean pots and pans instead of baking.

I also observed a similar reaction of new Chinese immigrants to the garbage disposal. My landlord "sealed" the drain of the disposal by putting a rack on top of it, and putting a tape on the switch so none of the tenants would turn it on. My second landlady told me not to use the disposal because "it would cause a lot of trouble if anything got stuck in there, especially sticky rice. It will ruin the machine." She used the disposal sink as a place to dry dishes.

An informant told me that most Chinese immigrants have developed "fear" for the appliances or furnishings that they are not familiar with, such as a disposal, carpet, dishwasher etc., and they avoid using them. Most Chinese families intend to sell their houses when the price is "right" and to move to a better area; therefore, they want
to keep the equipment intact so the house may be maintained as new as possible.

While waiting to interview the owner of a realty company, I overheard a telephone conversation between a real estate broker and his client. He kept bringing up chîn-yi-tien (a little bit close) and yuan-yi-tien (a little bit farther) in the conversation. Later, I asked him what he meant by the two terms. He said when he sells a house, he has to analyze the advantages and disadvantages of the geographical environment of each property to his client. Usually, the advantage is chîn (close to), which implies "convenience", while the disadvantage is yuan (far from), which implies "inconvenience". Monterey Park is a central point to determine the distance because it provides a great deal of convenience in daily life for the new immigrants (Figure 1).

When the respondents were asked the main reasons they go to Monterey Park, they were asked to rank five reasons generated from the first fieldwork: a) shopping; b) visiting friends/relatives; c) dining/entertainment; d) attending church; and e) work. The respondents were also to use the same ranking method as previously (6 being very important, and 0 not important at all).

Figure 4 shows "work" is the main reason that bring people to Monterey Park on a daily basis. More than three thousand Chinese businesses (Hu 1989b:23) provide enormous
job opportunities and a great deal of fang-pien for the Chinese.

The fact that Monterey Park provides jobs is significant as a transition place for the newly-arrived immigrants. From 1965 though 1980, an average of 19,000 Chinese professionals immigrated to the United States (Wong M. 1980:511-524). A high percent of the newly-arrived immigrants take lower-ranked jobs when they first come to this country. This is due to: 1) language difficulty; 2) unfamiliarity with American society; and 3) they need immediate income to support the family. Many professionals choose to switch to, or learn the new skills of, another profession because their skills or educational degrees of the home country are not recognized in the United States (Wong B. 1980:511-524).

Usually, newly-arrived immigrants, if not bringing tremendous investment money to the United States, have to take whatever jobs they are offered as a matter of survival. Then, after they are more familiar with the American legal system, and their social network has expanded, they usually start to look for a more suitable job. It is common that the new jobs take them away from the reception city.

Figure 4 and 5 show an interesting correlation of "work". It is the highest ranked reason for going to Monterey Park, and in Figure 3, "new job" is the most highly ranked reason for moving out of Monterey Park. Monterey
Figure 4 Main reasons to Visit Monterey Park.

Reasons: A. Shopping and services
       B. Visiting friends and relatives
       C. Dining and entertaining
       D. Attending Church
       E. Work
Figure 5 Main reasons to Move Out of Monterey Park.

A. Unfriendly American neighborhood
B. Increasing crime rates
C. High property values/rents
D. New jobs
E. Too many Chinese residents, it is hard to learn about American society
F. Other
Park offers the newly-arrived immigrants jobs while they are in the process of adjustment, but later, when they have better job offers, they move out. The presence of these two factors show that Monterey Park is a place of transition for the newly-arrived immigrants.

New metropolis for the Chinese

How has Monterey Park replaced Los Angeles' Chinatown? Due to the unavailability of space, parking space is hard to find and is costly, which is pu-fang-pien (inconvenient), many people have stopped going to Chinatown.

Another reason is related to the new residents in Chinatown. The United States has taken in Vietnamese refugees, including Vietnamese of Chinese ancestry, since 1973. It is well known that, because of ethnic territoriality and business competition in Vietnam, the Vietnamese-Chinese did not get along well with the Vietnamese. Now these two groups of people seldom interact with one another in the United States.

Since part of their ancestry is Chinese, the Vietnamese-Chinese tend to identify themselves with the Chinese. However, because these Vietnamese-Chinese are third- or fourth-generation decedents of overseas Chinese with diverse cultural and geographic backgrounds in China, they are not usually recognized as "genuine" Chinese by the
immigrants from Hong Kong or Taiwan. They are usually referred to by the new Chinese immigrants as "Vietnamese".

Los Angeles' Chinatown lost population since the 1960s as the old Chinese immigrants died and their children moved out of the Chinatown. A steady stream of Vietnamese-Chinese began to move into Los Angeles' Chinatown in the early 1970s. As a result, the Chinatown population increased from 5,000 in 1970 to 11,000 in 1980 (So 1984:77). Most of these Vietnamese-Chinese are engaged in gift shop, grocery or the supermarket business. By 1989, the Vietnamese-Chinese have become the dominant population in Chinatown and have gradually taken over the businesses. Most of the new Chinese immigrants do not recognize these Chinese from Southeastern Asia, culturally, and seldom integrate with them. From my emic point of view, I would not doubt the possibility of Greater Han Chauvinism in which the Chinese believe that they are the Central Kingdom and those peoples living outside China are "uncultivated barbarians".

Historically, the peoples in southeast Asia paid tributes to the Chinese Empire; they were not thought of as equal to the Chinese people. Even now, I have observed such biased feelings among new Chinese immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Three situations can demonstrate the new Chinese immigrants' unwillingness to integrate with the Vietnamese-Chinese. In 1986, my aunt's daughter and her two girl
friends took me to a Chinese night club. One of my hostesses had a male friend who was bringing four other men to join us. The men suggested that we go to another club, to which the girls had not been before. The four of us rode in one car, following the men who rode in another car. My girl friends were discussing what to do with the Vietnamese whom we had just met. One said, "This is an awkward situation. Even though they are driving a BMW, it's no use." The other said,

I don't think we're going to have fun tonight. They are so shy and boring. I know it is because they feel inferior to us. In their [social] circle, they feel superior to the Vietnamese because they are considered quite well-to-do. But compared to us, they know they are no match. They'll never be able to catch up with us. They look so strange, like refugees who have never been fed enough. I feel sorry for them. In their circle, they are good marriageable men, girls line up for them. But they don't like their [Vietnamese-Chinese] girls. They try to jump up to our circle. It's impossible.

Eventually, the girls decided to ignore the men at the night club. Later I found out that the girl whom I quoted above was dating a Japanese man. Her mother approved of her dating the Japanese, but not her dating a Vietnamese-Chinese man.

One day, I came home and forgot to shut the garage door. My landlady came to my room and said nervously, "You forgot to shut the garage, you must be careful next time. There are some Vietnamese (Chinese) in here. They steal." I apologized immediately, and asked her if she had heard of
Any burglary in the neighborhood. She said she was not sure, but "we must be careful. [I] Don't trust the Vietnamese."

Another time, I went to dinner with a friend in a Chinese shopping mall. At one wing of that mall, there were seven Chinese restaurants connected one to the other, with Shanghai, Peking, Taiwanese, Szechuan, and Cantonese cuisines. But the restaurant occupying the central position was a Vietnamese-Chinese restaurant, with a sign in Vietnamese and Chinese. When we arrived at the mall, all the other six restaurants were full, with people waiting in line outside. But the Vietnamese-Chinese restaurant was empty. I saw only two waiters inside. While dozens of diners were still waiting in line, nobody seemed to be interested in going to the Vietnamese-Chinese restaurant.

My friend said to me, "It is very expensive to rent a place in this mall. They [the Vietnamese-Chinese] are losing money for sure if their business is like this. I feel sorry for them. They should know better than to open a restaurant like that in Chinese territory."

**Moving out of Monterey Park**

Data show that two-thirds of the immigrants moved out of Monterey Park because: 1) the immigrants are offered new jobs that take them to another city; 2) the increasing crime
rate in Monterey Park has made living in the city unsafe; and 3) some Chinese immigrants are bothered by the anti-Chinese sentiments in Monterey Park; 4) the changing perception of Monterey Park among the Chinese immigrants; 5) emerging concept of a "good neighborhood" and "high-status area".

Chinese businesses have grown so rapidly that Monterey Park has lost its charm as a "high-status residence". Very few of my informants agree that Monterey Park is a "Chinese Beverly Hills" any more. Since the 1970s, the Chinese population increased from 14 percent to 40 percent, while the Caucasian population has shrunk from 56 percent to 22 percent, and the Hispanic population has increased by from 30 percent to 37 percent (Arax 1987:4). Many Chinese people consider it "unpleasant" to have Hispanic neighbors because the Hispanics have a reputation for robbery in Monterey Park (Chinese Daily News February 2, 3, 4, 1989). Many status-seeking immigrants gradually moved out to neighboring cities as more ta-kung (working-class, blue-collar workers) Chinese and Vietnamese-Chinese moved into Monterey Park. It seems that the Chinese who are seeking high status do not consider Monterey Park as the right place to live.

As time passed, the people perceived Monterey Park differently. I interviewed an insurance agent from Taiwan several times and we became good friends. Later, she was
interested in having me work part-time for her. I told her that I lived in Monterey Park and it would not be convenient for me to drive the twenty miles each day to work for only two hours, and the cost of parking was prohibitive. Immediately, she asked me with concern, "Why do you still "wo" (hide) in Monterey Park? Your English is good enough, and you are a courageous girl. You should move out and develop your career." This lady used an interesting verb, "wo", to describe the situation of living in Monterey Park. "Wo" in Chinese means: 1) noun: a cave, a den, a joint, a hide-out; 2) verb: to hide, to harbor. In the context of her conversation, she was saying, Monterey Park is a place (hide-out) for those who are unlikely to survive the American way of life. If one is capable of speaking English, he should move out of Monterey Park.

High-status residence

Rosenthal (1960:276) suggested that, at a given time, racial and ethnic groups are not randomly scattered but are concentrated in neighborhoods and, that movement of an ethnic group from one neighborhood to another follows a pattern. Usually the movement is directed away from older neighborhoods near the center of the city toward the newer and more desirable residential areas, at or near the periphery, where both the physical condition of housing and
social conditions are better than those in the area left behind.

Rosenthal's study of Chicago's Jewish community (1960:275-288) revealed that, whenever a family moved to a "better" location, it did so in the hope of improving its social status, getting "rid of the handicap of foreignness at one clip." He concluded that residence in a high-status area indicates the voluntary nature of the settlement of Jews as well as other ethnic groups and, in particular, lifts the burden of alienation from the younger generation.

What constitutes a "high-status area" for the new Chinese immigrants? The value and age of the houses are important. But the determining factor in selecting a "high-status neighborhood" is the presence of hao-hsueh-chu'i (good school district) for the children. The property value is directly influenced by the quality of school district. A house that is located within that district sells at a higher price than the house located in the next block but belonging to a different school district.

Chinese parents "crazily move to where they can send their children to "hao-hsueh-chu'i" (good school district) or a famous school" (Chao 1989:22). It is a strong belief of Chinese parents that early education, beginning with elementary school, determines the future of the children. Figure 3 indicates that the school districts in Monterey Park are not desired by most Chinese parents, which makes it
a good reason for the family to move to a "better neighborhood".

Since President Bush proposed a "White House Workshop on Choice in Education" in January 1989, many Chinese parents are excited about possible changes in school districting. If the school attendance is no longer determined by residence, and parents can freely choose the schools for their children, "it is certainly going to cause chaos in the Chinese community" (Chao 1989:22). Many realtors predict that the realty market in southern California will also be affected, the difference in property values will be reduced if school districts are eliminated. This new educational choice will also reduce the moving rate of the Chinese immigrant family.

In closing the discussion of the role of Monterey Park as a reception city, I conclude with the following:

1) The hypothesis of reception city is confirmed. Monterey Park is the most frequently chosen city to live by newly-arrived Chinese immigrants before they become familiar with American society.

2) Monterey Park has replaced Los Angeles' Chinatown as a metropolis for Chinese immigrants in southern California.

3) New jobs and high-status seeking are the main reasons that the Chinese immigrants move out of Monterey Park.
I proposed that the lui-hsueh-sheng (students-become-immigrants) are the informal gatekeepers of the community. But these gatekeepers do not necessarily assume the roles as patrons to the clients.

It is necessary to first examine the pattern of participation in association of new Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park, then seek to discuss the relationship with the pattern of brokerage. Figure 6 shows: 1) one third of the respondents do not belong to any organization; and 2) none of the respondents belong to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. It indicates that the concept and actual participation of "association" for the new immigrants is totally different from that of the old immigrants. There is no overall political organization that represents the new Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park.

When asked how they perceived the CCBA, many informants expressed "Don't know anything about it" or "Have never thought about it". The most common response was that the CCBA was for "labor immigrants" who were not well-educated. The new immigrants are well-educated and more westernized and do not need protection of such an organization.

The participation in the Chinese Chamber of Commerce is comparatively low; according to a report, it includes only 20 percent of the Chinese business owners. The main reason
Figure 6 Participation Structure of Organizations among New Immigrants.

A. Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association
B. Alumni Association
C. Chinese Chamber of Commerce
D. Church
E. T'ung-hsiang-hui (same county association)
F. Other
G. None
for such low participation is "lack of interest, lack of concept, lack of time, or do not believe it will bring benefits to the business (Chao 1989:25)."

The nature of "t’ung-hsiang-hui" (same county association) is similar to that of a "speech association" or a "tong" of the CCBA. The low participation (3.50 percent) in such an association indicates that it is not recognized by the majority of the new Chinese immigrants.

One factor which became evident and which came as quite a surprise to the investigator is the importance of church membership (Figure 6). Weiss suggests that Chinese Christian churches should be viewed as institutional aspects of Chinese life in America. They are a reflection and a consequence of the effects of Chinese acculturation in America (Weiss 1974:228). The purpose of these Christian churches is to engage their congregation in a Christian life and to provide for their spiritual and social needs.

One important function of a Christian church in a Chinese community is to unite diverse community groups across the categories of age, sex, occupation, generation and locality of origin. Although the churches do not represent the Chinese community, they have the potential for integrating a heterogeneous Chinese population within the community structure (Weiss 1974:229).

In the three major Chinese daily newspapers, there is a list of Chinese Christian churches in the Greater Los
Angeles area. These Christian churches formed the "Chinese Fellowship Worker Union in the Greater Los Angeles Area". There are currently fifty-four of them; in actuality, there are more churches than this figure, which indicates that churches are the most active and most frequently attended organizations in the new Chinese community.

A Chinese church in Monterey Park provides a sermon in Chinese, Bible study, and a day care center. It also gives summer classes for school children to learn Chinese, Chinese calligraphy, Chinese traditional dances, flower arranging, cooking, sewing and other lessons. Most of the classes are inexpensive or free of charge. The ministers of the church, most of them sent from Taiwan or Hong Kong, spend a great deal of time with each church member, visiting them at home and praying with the family. There are also elders and deacons who assist the minister in organizing events. Many churches promote evangelical tours in the Chinese community. One young fellow, who had participated in the movement, told me that they had covered "almost every Chinese family in Monterey Park" and had led eight hundred people to God one summer. It seemed to me that churches are the most active organizations that promote membership in the Chinese community.

Some members were already Christians before they came to the United States. Many of the churches that they attended had sister churches in America or belong to the
same alliance church organization. Many immigrants found out about these allied churches in the United States, or asked their ministers for references. Therefore, there is a steady influx of new comers from churches in Taiwan and Hong Kong to those in Monterey Park.

Some of these churches retained close ties to other Christian churches (headquarters or branches) in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Their allied churches remain supportive. Periodically, members of the churches go back to Asia to attend conferences or workshops. Or sometimes, a well-known minister comes to Los Angeles to visit allied churches and to give special workshops or to preach.

Many people go to church because church is one of the few organizations with which they are familiar. It does not require a certain occupation or status to become a member; therefore, for some new immigrants who decide to join an organization, church seems to be a priority choice.

Migration process

Since new immigrants do not have organized agents, such as kiu-ling (overseas leaders) of Chinatowns, to greet them upon arrival, their source of help varies. A study shows that kinship networks are most important in the migration process (Choldin 1973). The kinship networks in the migration process include close relatives, distant relatives
and in-laws. Other receiving agents are friends, clergyman and others. The receiving parties offer three kinds of help to the migrants: 1) material assistance; 2) intermediary activities; and 3) making new social connections. Family help is most important, the second source of help comes from neighbors and co-workers. Two important factors evident from data indicate: 1) only 11 percent of the migrants the moved outside their own ethnic groups for help; and 2) church is only organization participating in the migration process.

Li (1977) suggested that after the Immigration Act of 1965, certain kinship linkages were formed to facilitate the sponsorship of other relatives in satisfying the immigration laws. This kinship linkage reflects the help pattern for the newly-arrived.

Figure 7 shows that after the immigrants have settled down for a period of time and established their social connections, the importance of relatives decreases slightly, while the importance of friends and co-workers increases. It indicates that the social network of a newly-arrived immigrant changes through time. Friends and acquaintances from work become as important as kinship for the new Chinese immigrants.
Figure 7 A comparison of Help Pattern at Two Different Time periods.

When just arrived

After while
Informal leadership

Cultural brokerage among new immigrants varies, depending on each individual's access to immigration. Data show that Monterey Park does not have an overall political organization that represents the Chinese in southern California. Therefore, investigation on leadership will focus on "informal leadership". The reason I distinguished "formal" from "informal" leadership is a consideration of the function of that leadership. In the City Council of Monterey Park, there have been two Chinese representatives, Lily Chen and Judy Chu, since 1981. Their functions were to speak for the Chinese residents in Monterey Park and to involve them in the decision-making of the city council. First of all, they do not represent the Chinese living outside Monterey Park. Secondly, according to my informants, Lily Chen failed to be recognized by the majority of the Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park. She was criticized for working only for her own political career, and not working for the common benefits of the Chinese immigrants. As a consequence, she lost the election in 1985.

The next Chinese councilwoman, Chu, is an American-born Chinese. She cannot speak Chinese and is not familiar with the Chinese society, particularly the mentality of immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan. This conclusion was
derived from my interview with her in August 1988. Her role as a councilwoman is only to deal with the city of Monterey Park, and not much with the internal connections of the Chinese immigrants.

Due to the above reasons, the "formal political leader" of the Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park will not be included. I shall focus on "informal leadership" in Monterey Park's Chinese community.

Realtors and the Chinese Beverly Hills

Monterey Park is a young community for the new Chinese immigrants. The organization of this new Chinese community was not established until 1976. The pioneer work was closely related to the realty company. Frederic Hsieh and his associates started the development "boom" of the Chinese Beverly Hills in the early 1970s. The real estate business has continued expanding and has remained one of the most popular businesses in Monterey Park. According to a survey, Taiwanese investment in American real estate is rated second, next to that of the Japanese (Chinese Daily News February 28, 1989). Real estate is rated the third most frequently practiced profession by the Chinese in America, next to finances and insurance (King 1980:15-42).

Realty is not only a profitable business, but also an important channel for the formation of a new Chinese
neighborhood. Unlike the old Chinese immigrants who saved money to send home and wished to retire to China in old age, the new Chinese immigrants come to the United States to stay and make their homes (Sung 1967: 272). When an immigrant is buying a home, the first person to contact is a realtor.

A Chinese realtor must have the knowledge not only of the housing markets, investment trends or the "hardware" knowledge of the real estate business, such as geographic environment, he must also be up-to-date with the "software" knowledge, such as the new trends of the community, or how to get social connections. A realtor not only offers professional services to his clients, including showing the property, analysis of the potential profit of the investment, and filling out legal papers, but in order to obtain the deal, he is more likely to offer help or information of "what to do" and "how to do" to his clients. A realtor told me that he usually becomes good friends with his clients, and even their families. This kind of relationship is a part of his business connections.

One subtle thing that realtors do is to help the new immigrants decide where they should buy a house and settle down permanently. Realtors have to do housing market research, including the potential of rising property value, the quality of the school district, neighborhood composition, traffic, shopping, and other factors. They are the people who define where it is good to move or in what it
is good to invest. Their services and information help new immigrants become familiar with the Chinese community, and decide where to move to.

Realtors are one group of those who offer professional services and social connections in the Chinese community. There are many other professionals who provide newly-arrived immigrants with information concerning life in America, such as: how to get a green card, where to pay a parking ticket, where to buy furniture, or where to get reliable plumbing services. These service-people, such as insurance agents, car sales representatives, and other numerous services, are informal mediators between the newly-arrived immigrants and the realities of American life. Their payoff could be professional gains (commission on the deal), good business credits, social connections and friendships. The contact between informal gatekeepers and clients tends to be casual, and no obligation is involved.

According to my observation and survey, these service agents possess the following characteristics: 1) they are first generation immigrants; 2) they speak several Chinese dialects but not necessarily good English; 3) they are between thirty and forty-five years old; and 4) they were educated in Hong Kong or Taiwan.

This group of professional service agents is now active as informal gatekeepers in the Chinese community. Before them, there was a group of professionals who established the
<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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business foundation of the new Chinese community. These pioneers are liu-hsueh-sheng (immigrants that came to the United States as students).

The "Who's Who In Southern California" of The Chinese Community Yellow Pages & Business Guide lists prominent and successful businessmen and professionals in the Chinese community. The occupations include doctor, professor, insurance agent, beauty advisor, architect, hotel tycoon, restaurant and supermarket owners, CPA, lawyer, realtor, banker, newspaper publisher etc. In the edition of 1988 and 1989 of The Chinese Community Yellow Pages & Business Guide, more than half the listed professionals have a college degree from an American university. In other words, half the prominent businessmen of the Chinese community are liu-hsueh-sheng.

Liu-hsueh-sheng were educated in the American universities and are familiar with the American system. Their knowledge and skills are geared to American society. Most of the liu-hsueh-sheng remained in the United States and were employed by American firms and granted citizenship or a green card. Based on their own experiences, they provided the newly-arrived immigrants with help in adjusting to American society and establishing new businesses in Monterey Park. Liu-hsueh-sheng are now the chung-chien-kukang (backbone; central core) of the Chinese community. The life story of Mr. Chen, a hotel tycoon, is an example of
how liu-hsueh-sheng became successful in the United States (Appendix III).

Mr. Chen is a modest gentleman. After he agreed to be interviewed, he asked me my particular interests. When we met in his office, he was all prepared for the subject and apparently, he had done some study on the Chinese immigrants to answer my questions.

Mr. Chen suggested the contributions of liu-hsueh-sheng were: 1) they contributed their professional knowledge to the American society; and 2) they brought the second wave of immigrants, i.e. their relatives (Keely 1980; Kennedy 1966; Hong 1965), with investment in the United States.

The second wave of new immigrants

The second wave of immigrants are financially strong but do not have the "know-how" for living in the United States. They do not need to contact American society directly; they relied on the foundation established by the liu-hsueh-sheng pioneers to establish their businesses in the United States. I propose that liu-hsueh-sheng were and still are the mediators for the second wave immigrants.

Although the liu-hsueh-sheng immigrants and the second wave immigrants share similar cultural backgrounds, come from the same localities, and speak the same languages, their ideology is different. Educational background is the
main factor separating the two groups. I noticed that people of this group identify themselves as liu-hsueh-sheng rather than "immigrants" to highlight their intellectual status.

Liu-hsueh-sheng are recognized as leaders in business or professions, but their influences are on a small-scale in the community. They neither provide "protection" for other immigrants nor choose values for "clients" to follow. Thus, I will not consider them "patrons" to the other immigrants.

Cultural brokerage in the new Chinese community in southern California, should be viewed in two ways: internal (within the Chinese community) and external (connecting to American society). Based on the above model, I have made the following generalizations:

1) The traditional social structure in Chinatown is not found among the new immigrants. Participation in associations is different from that of the old immigrants. The Christian churches are the most frequently attended organization among the new Chinese immigrants.

2) Upon arrival in the United States, the majority of new Chinese immigrants are received by relatives. However, after they have settled down for a period of time, the importance of kinship decreases, while the importance of friends and co-workers increases.

3) The hypothesis of gatekeeper has been confirmed. Liu-
hsueh-sheng immigrants were the pioneers of the new Chinese community. They contributed their experiences and knowledge to its establishments and have led the business trends of the Chinese community. They are informal gatekeepers for second wave immigrants to form a bridge to American society (externally).

5) Internally, various service agents serve the newly-arrived immigrants as informal gatekeepers to help them adjust to the new life in America. Realtors, insurance agents, and travel agents are the three major sources of informal and internal culture brokerage within the Chinese community.
Although the economic pattern among the new Chinese immigrants is different from the old immigrants, I proposed that kan-ch'ing (patron-client relationship) plays an important role in regulating relationships between employers and employees in the community.

Among the working new immigrants, there is a self-perceived model divided into: 1) lao-pan (owner, boss); 2) chuan-man-jen-tsaı (professional); and 3) ta-kung (blue-collar worker). In this social stratification, the ta-lao-pan (big owner) and professionals are ranked simultaneously on the top level; the hsiao-lao-pan (small owner) are in the middle; and the ta-kung (worker) are at the bottom (Wong 1976:43-44). In this section of analysis, two groups of respondents: employers (lao-pan) and employees (ta-kung) were investigated.

Reference to Figure 8 shows that responses of employees and employers are similar, with the largest proportion falling into the category of relatives and friends. This shows that the social networks of friends and kinship are the major sources of contact for employment, for both employers and employees.
Figure 8  Means to Find Jobs/Employees

A. Through relatives and friends
B. Newspaper advertisements
C. Employment agencies
D. Other

Employee  Employer

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Among the category of "other" in Figure 8, several respondents specified "family-owned". This group of respondents is characterized by their role in the help pattern of family-run businesses. The people working in family-owned stores usually said they were pang-mang (helping) with the family business. They usually did not get paid and did not consider themselves "employees". They felt it a natural obligation to help the family or relatives run the business.

Many store-keepers made investments in the United States so they could qualify for permanent residence in the United States. According to the Mayor (1988) of Monterey Park, some of the Chinese businesses in Monterey Park changed ownership several times within a year. It was reported that many small businesses were seldom open. Some of the businesses were used for the purpose of "investment immigration" to qualify people in Hong Kong and Taiwan to immigrate to the United States; profit is not the main object of business.

A store owner told me that her salesgirl was sick, so she had to come and kang-tien (watch the store) herself. She began to talk a lot about herself after I showed interest in her life.

Ah-ya, hsiao-mei-mei (little sister; term to address junior female friend), don't you know that I hsiang-fu-te (enjoyed happiness and luck) in Taipei? I wore the best and most fashionable clothes in Taipei. Haven't you heard of xxxx companies? They belonged to my husband. I used
to sleep in till one o’clock in the afternoon. I had two servants, and I never did the house chores. Now is so different. If not for my son, we would have not given up our wealth in Taipei and come here. Don’t you know we lost at least a million when we left [Taiwan] in a hurry? [She had told me earlier that they came to the States soon after Taiwan withdrew from the United Nations in 1973. Most people thought it was safer to come to the United States]. It is not easy to make money in America, [because] it is hard to hire someone that is trustworthy. So I have to check [the store] every once in a while.

The above quote contains two messages: 1) she was running a boutique just as a hobby, not for a living; and 2) she distinguished her lao-pan (employer) status from that of ta-kung (employee).

Data show that 65.45 percent of the employers only hire Chinese workers. Given six reasons for them to rate, employers chose "language" as the most important reason to hire Chinese rather than other nationalities (Figure 9). When language and locality are compared (Figure 10), more employers and employees speak the same language than come from the same locality. Both data support the importance of language.

To study kan-ch'ing (patron-client relationship) between employee and lao-pan, I asked both groups to rate the frequency of their social interactions on a 0-4 scale (4 meaning always, 3 often, 2 sometimes, 1 seldom, and 0 never). Figure 11 shows that the model frequency of social interaction is "seldom". In other words, the majority of the employee respondents "seldom" socialize with their
Figure 9 Main Reasons to Hire Chinese employees.

A. Language
B. Similar cultural background
C. Chinese should help one another
D. Lower wages
E. Do not trust other nationalities
Figure 10 Comparison of Importance of Language and Locality.
Percent shows those who:
1) speak the same language and,
2) come from the same region

Employee

Employer
Figure 11: Responses of Employees on Social Interactions

- Do you socialize with your employer outside work?
- Does your employee help you adjust to American life?
- If you had disputes with someone else outside work, would your employer help you solve the problem?

4 = Always  3 = Often  2 = Sometimes  1 = Seldom  0 = Never
Figure 12 Responses of Employers on Social interactions

- Do you socialize with your employees outside work?
- Do you (feel obligated) to help your employees adjust to American life?
- If your employees had disputes with someone outside work, would you (feel obligated) to help solve the problem?

4-Always 3-Often 2-Sometimes 1-Seldom 0-Never
employers outside of work, and seldom receive help in adjustment to American life.

Compared to Figure 11, Figure 12 shows an irregular distribution. To an employer, the mode differs depending on the question. When asked how often they socialize with employees, the mode is "seldom". For the answer to whether they feel obligated to help newly-arrived employees adjust to American life, the mode is "sometimes". When asked if they help employees solve problems outside work, the mode is "never".

To generalize, the frequency of the interactions between employer and employee is "seldom". Their interactions are more likely for business, and there is a lesser degree of warmth to develop good kan-ch'ing.

One of the most significant factors to determine presence or degree of kan-ch'ing between employers and employees is to investigate their reactions to times of bad business. In Figure 13, approximately one-fifth of the employee respondents are positive about helping the employer through hard times, but none of the employers answered "yes" to the same questions. Many employer interviewees considered this an "unlucky omen", and answered "never happened before!" or "It won't happen!"

One of the most remarkable responses I got was from a store owner, who did not seem too pleased when I brought up "bad business" in her store. She stared at me for a moment...
and said, "(I) Don't know, don't know! Wild question!" I did not give up at once, and continued to ask her to imagine a similar situation. She replied,

My store will never be closed. We have a million dollar cash to back us up! That's my imagination. Go! Go! You are disturbing my business."

Because of the taboo of "talking unlucky" in Chinese society, the employers' responses to this question are not reliable. Therefore, the analysis will rely heavily on the employees' responses.

To compare the percentage of response A (yes) and B (no) in Figure 13, the employees who are willing to help their employers through business difficulties are four times more frequent than those who will not. Of those who answered to category A, 8.77 percent specified a time limit, three to six months, for example. In general, of the respondents who would consider the possibility of help (response A and C), 55 percent got their jobs through relatives and friends.

Using the same method, I investigated the relationship of those who answered to the category of "always" and "often". It shows that 76.92 percent of this group of employees found their jobs through relatives or friends, while 75.61 percent of the employers found their employees through the same means.

It seems to me that if an employee gets his job through someone he knows, he is more likely to trust his employers
Figure 13 Responses to Business Difficulties.

(for employee), Will you help your employer through business difficulties by delaying to receive pay?
(for employer), Will you ask your employee to help through business difficulties by delaying in giving salary?

Response:
A-Yes  B-No  C-Dependence on our kan-ch'ing  D-Do not know

Employee

Employer
Figure 14 Cross-check of Kan-ching
Responses of those who found their employment partners through relatives and friends. Percent shows their response to:

A. Frequent social interaction
B. Will write recommendation letter
C. Will help through business difficulties

Employee  [ ]  Employer  [ ]
and to socialize with his employer more frequently. If an employer hires employees through friends or relatives, he is more likely to feel obligated to take care of his employees. These two groups of people are more likely to develop kan-ch'ing with each other. Since this kind of kan-ch'ing is not spontaneous, as is that in the landlord-tenant or lao-pan-clerk relationship in China, I propose to call it a "mediated kan-ch'ing" or "secondary kan-ch'ing", in which relationships of employees and employers are regulated among the new Chinese immigrants.

To support the "mediated kan-ch'ing", I cross-checked the respondents that answered to the category of "friends and relatives" (Figure 8). Figure 14 shows that more than 73 percent of the respondents had positive responses to: a) social interaction; b) recommendation letters; and c) business difficulties. The only exception is employer's response to asking employees to help through business difficulties by delaying salaries (Figure 14).

The high percentage of positive responses indicate that the employers and employees have a "better" relationship if they have common friends to mediate the employment.

To close the discussion about kan-ch'ing between employer and employee, I conclude:
1) The majority (nearly 50 percent) immigrants found their jobs or employees through relatives and friends;
2) In running a business in Monterey Park, Chinese employees
are preferred, language being the most important factor;

3) The pattern of help in family-run businesses shows dependence on kin among the new Chinese immigrants (Yuan 1969).

4) Traditional structured kan-ch'ing is not found among new Chinese immigrants. However, a mediated kan-ch'ing regulates the relationship between employers and employees who are connected through relatives or friends, in which the employers and employees feel more obligated to help each other.

5) If the employees are hired through other means, such as agencies, newspaper advertisements, walk-ins etc., the relationship tends toward a balanced reciprocity.

INFORMAL AND TEMPORARY ASSOCIATION

Although traditional associations are not found among the new Chinese immigrants, I hypothesize that a temporary and informal association based on common speech develops when the Chinese go to Monterey Park.

The majority of Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park come from Taiwan and Hong Kong. Each locality has a different dominant language. In Hong Kong, the dominant language is Cantonese, with a secondary importance of English (due to its colonial status) and Mandarin (the
Figure 15 Social Formation Principles

A. Locality
B. Language
C. Business/Work
D. Education
E. Religion
F. Criteria absent
official language in China). Some immigrants from Hong Kong speak both Cantonese and Mandarin. In Taiwan, the official language is Mandarin while the most frequently spoken dialect is Fukienese. Therefore, Chinese speech groups in the Chinese community of Monterey Park include Cantonese, Mandarin, and Fukienese. Hakka (a dialect spoken by a minority group in Taiwan) is not included because very few Chinese immigrants speak it in Monterey Park.

Figure 15 shows that "language" is the most frequently chosen factor in the formation of their social network. It indicates that even though one does not belong to a speech association, the language (or dialect) one speaks is reflected in one's social networks. Figure 10 supports that the importance of locality of origin has lessened, but importance of language has increased.

"Criterion absent" in Figure 15 is ranked the third principle of social network formation. This factor implies a new identity of "Chineseness" of the Chinese in southern California. As a reception city for new Chinese immigrants, Monterey Park is important to the Chinese self-image. It represents a new plateau in the experience of Chinese in America (Arax 1987:20). When the Chinese go to Monterey Park, they share a common recognition of "being Chinese", a person's exact place of origin is not as important.

The best example of informal gatherings based on the speech group is found in Chinese restaurants. I have
observed that, although many customers are bilingual, they usually order food in their mother tongues. Many restaurants hire bilingual waiters (Mandarin and Cantonese) to meet the needs of customers. However, I noticed that those who dine or work in a Taiwanese restaurant speak only Mandarin or Taiwanese, but those who work or dine in a Cantonese restaurant may speak Cantonese or Mandarin. The reason is that Taiwanese food is regional, mostly favored by people from Taiwan. Although Cantonese cuisine is regional, it covers a wider geographic range, is favored by a larger Chinese population, and has a longer history in America (Wong B. 1982:38-39). Therefore, most of the servers are bilingual or speak several dialects to meet the customers' needs.

**Bilingual ability** in Chinese dialects is important in running the businesses in Monterey Park. Clear evidence can be found in advertisements in the Chinese newspapers and The Chinese Community Yellow Pages & Business Guide. The majority of these advertisements are for the service businesses, such as travel, insurance, automobile, clinic, law, realty etc. One prominent feature of these advertisements is that mention is made of the dialects spoken by business associates, such as: "Fluent in kuo (Mandarin), tai (Fukienese), yueh (Cantonese), yin (English) etc." Some of the businesses have multiple phone numbers; each number (or line) is assigned to a particular dialect.
speaker.

In conclusion:

1) The hypothesis is confirmed: although there is no formal association in the new Chinese community to represent the new immigrants, an informal and temporary association based on speech group develops when the Chinese go to Monterey Park.

2) Bilingual capability for several dialects is essential in the service businesses in Monterey Park.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION PROBLEM

To explain the phenomenon of the anti-assimilation tendency of the new Chinese immigrants, I hypothesized a new version of the "Greater Han Chauvinism" as the main block to assimilation to the communities they live in.

The new Chinese immigration to the United States has only been a phenomenon of the last fifteen years. This time period is too short to study generational difference (Kitano 1976) or cultural change (Weiss 1974). Therefore, I will select two topics to discuss: 1) the voluntary segregation and anti-Chinese sentiments, and 2) the relationship of residence and the rate of acculturation.

How the Chinese immigrants perceive themselves in an ethnically integrated city like Monterey Park gives a clue of how they view the host society. "Economically better-
Figure 16 Self-perception of New Immigrants in Monterey Park.

A. Very influential
B. Rejected, prejudiced
C. The Chinese have their own social circle, it is not necessary to integrate with local residents
D. Greater Han Chauvinism
E. Economically better off than the local residents
off" is the most frequently chosen description of themselves by the respondents (Figure 16). According to a survey by the Los Angeles Times, the Asian immigrants were the ethnic group most discriminated against in southern California, next to the blacks. Eighty-nine percent of respondents think that Asians have "good status", but 41 percent of the Asians experienced "some degree of racial and ethnic discrimination" (Roderick 1989). The main reason for the discrimination is caused by the Asians' "excellent achievements in economy", which resulted in "jealousy and even hatred" (Tiao 1989). For the same reasons, the Asians were accused of "stealing American jobs" (Viviano 1983).

Contrasted to the economic strength in Figure 16, the "Greater Han Chauvinism" was not recognized by majority of the respondents. I suggest that the denial of the Greater Han Chauvinism is a case of ideal culture. In real culture, in order to highlight their pure Chinese ethnicity, the Chinese immigrants do not recognize the Chinese ethnicity of the Vietnamese-Chinese. Data and interviews did not support my hypothesis.

**Voluntary segregation**

Yuan suggested the development of a segregated Chinese community is a result of voluntary segregation involving involuntary factors (Yuan 1963). The voluntary segregation
included language difficulties, mutual help, cultural preservation, Buddhist religion, and economic reasons. The involuntary factors were derived from the economic competition with other ethnic groups and racial discrimination. Therefore, as a strategy for survival, the Chinese immigrants chose to withdraw from the host society.

However, this involuntary segregation can not be applied to the new immigrants in Monterey Park. One third of the respondents felt "the Chinese have their own social circle, and it is not necessary to integrate with local residents" (Figure 16). New immigrants voluntarily segregate themselves from the host society by strengthening an in-group identity. The distinction between "we" (Chinese) and "they" (Americans) marks the boundary of two cultural identities.

I had a casual conversation with the owner of a boutique in Monterey Park as a customer. I saw a sign in both Chinese and English in front of the register. In English, it said "No Exchange, No Refund." In Chinese, the sign said in eight characters, "Once the merchandise leaves the store, it can not be returned." I asked the owner about the policy and told her about the refund and exchange policies at most American stores. She said to me in a high-pitched voice, "They have their way of handling sales, we have our own."

Often, I heard similar statements such as: "We are all
Chinese, we should help one another." I had a similar experience on my first visit to Los Angeles in 1986. An American friend took me to La Jolla. I was interested in a tea set in a Chinese gift store. At that time, I did not have any credit cards and did not bring enough cash with me; I only had a Montana check book with me. My American friend told me to give up the idea of buying because out-of-state checks were not accepted in that kind of place. I went to the counter and talked to the owner. I learned he was from Hong Kong and did not speak Mandarin, I cannot speak Cantonese so we communicated in English. I explained to him the situation, and he gladly accepted my check for $68.00 dollars. He said, "I trust you. We are all Chinese." My American friend told me how lucky I was. He said even out-of-town checks were not accepted in La Jolla, the owner accepted my check only because I am Chinese.

In a computer store, a saleswoman and I were discussing the price of a personal computer. She offered to give me a twenty percent discount because "you are a Chinese and you are a girl". Whether she really gave a discount, I did not know; but the concept of "we are all Chinese and we should help one another" was there.

Various factors segregate the Chinese immigrants from the host society. There is a group of people who are not totally isolated from the host society - those living in white neighborhoods, and working with Americans.
Residence and acculturation rate

As discussed in Chapter V, a large portion of new Chinese immigrants move out of the reception city to high-status residential areas to demonstrate their new social and economic status (Sung 1965:325). These immigrants are described as:

...to take a middle-of-the-road position in dealing with the larger society. Culturally, they want to be both Chinese and American, straddling two cultures. They want their children to go to both Chinese and American schools so that they may learn Chinese and English, Chinese humanism and American technology and, at the same time, retain the Chinese ways of dealing with one another. They want to be American in that they desire to share the affluent life style and the education of the United States (Wong 1976:48).

Lee stressed the importance of residence in acculturation:

The degree of assimilation and acculturation attained by a given ethnic group can be measured by the distance between the original quarter and their present residence (Lee 1960:56).

Ianni's study of Italo-Americans (1957) suggests that residential mobility is an index of the acculturation of an ethnic group. While the immigrant generations cluster in less desirable neighborhoods, the native-born children of immigrants, the first generation, and particularly the native-born children of native-born parents, the second generation, establish residence in more desirable neighborhoods outside the colony. Acculturation becomes a necessity although not always a sufficient preliminary to
acceptance in such neighborhoods. Residence is clearly a measure of the rate of acculturation (Ianni 1957:72).

Lieberson (1961) has also concluded that differential residential segregation of ethnic groups in American cities is a significant dimension of behavioral assimilation. The magnitude of a group's separation appears to influence other aspects of its assimilation, such as citizenship, intermarriage, ability to speak English, education, and occupation. Residential dispersion is a basic prerequisite for ethnic assimilation and an important factor in interpreting and predicting differences in social behavior (Lieberson 1961:57)

An informant compared the children of new immigrants, those living in Monterey Park, and those living outside Monterey Park. She said that the immigrant parents in Monterey Park worry that their children will not speak good English because they are around people who speak Chinese; but those who live outside of Monterey Park have to send their children to Chinese Language School to learn Chinese.

In order to study the interaction between Chinese immigrants and Americans, I visited Chinese families living in Glendale, Lancaster, Santa Monica, Palos Verdes, Thousand Oaks, San Marinos and Irvine. These cities are 30-90 miles from Monterey Park. Some are the "hottest" residential areas in the housing market for the new immigrants.

Most of the first-generation Chinese immigrants in
these cities work for American firms. At work, they speak English, have lunch with colleagues; but after work, they seldom socialize with Americans. The American colleagues are seldom considered as "friends" by most of my informants; whenever they referred to their American acquaintances, they were usually called "t'ung-shih" (colleagues) or "neighbors".

One informant, who is the director of an American chemical company told me about his social life. He lives in an all-Anglo neighborhood in Lancaster (eighty-eight miles north of Los Angeles). He deals with Americans at work (he has worked for the same company for twenty-five years), but his social life is still limited to the few Chinese families in town. He and his wife make a trip to Monterey Park or Chinatown once a month, visiting friends and shopping.

He gave a party in his house and invited American colleagues and their families and Chinese friends and relatives. The Chinese guests were all professionals and spoke English. After he finished introducing them to one another, he found that the Chinese got together at one corner of the house playing ma-jong and the American guests were in the TV room watching football. The two groups of guests rarely integrated with each other at the party. He said that language might be one reason (that one feels less comfortable speaking a foreign language), but the main reason was the lack of "closeness" with "foreigners"
They have two children, who only speak English. When I asked them if they considered themselves Chinese, they said their parents are Chinese but they are Americans. This answer contrasted to the one I got in Monterey Park. I asked the same question of children of new Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park. They answered decidedly that they were Chinese.

The interviews show that the Chinese who do not live in Monterey Park still maintain their social network within their primary group (Gordon 1967). For instance, they go to Chinese restaurants, celebrate Chinese festivals, go to Chinese movies, read Chinese magazines etc. But their children, who go to American schools, integrate with American children, and tend to think and act in the "American way". It seems that the further away residence is from Monterey Park, the higher the acculturation rate of the immigrant children.

In studying the assimilation process of immigrants in the United States, Gordon (1967:243-44) suggested that: 1) the immigrant may adopt extrinsic cultural traits and engage in secondary social relationships, but he will retain his primary-group communal life, and 2) American-born children of immigrants are on their way to virtually complete acculturation. There will be a tendency for native-born children to become alienated from their parents and the
culture they represent (Gordon 1967:244-245).

In conclusion:
1) The hypothesis of Greater Han Chauvinism is not supported by data. They deny Greater Han Chauvinism, but this is a case of ideal culture, not being what they really feel in their heart of hearts. High economic status is an important factor in the self-perceived image of the social stratification of the new Chinese immigrant society.
2) The anti-assimilation tendency of the new Chinese immigrants is related to voluntary segregation, involving the "we-feeling", mutual help, and Chinese ethnicity among the immigrants.
3) Residence away from Monterey Park is related to the acculturation of the immigrants' children. It is reflected in their ethnicity and language. But the Chinese immigrants still maintain their primary group with their Chinese friends, and they tend to preserve their culture and customs.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS

This study illustrates the social and economic differences between the new Chinese immigrants of Monterey Park and the old Chinese immigrants of Los Angeles' Chinatown. The immigrants' socioeconomic backgrounds influence the development of their social organizations in the United States. The social organizations in the Chinatowns which were derived from the rural areas and small towns of China in the late 19th century do not now meet the needs of new immigrants who came from urban (or westernized) Hong Kong and Taiwan after 1965. New Chinese immigrants, with stronger economic powers and higher educational backgrounds, form an ethnic niche that is structurally different from that of the Chinatowns. The new immigrants do not have as high demands for mutual aid as the old immigrants. Due to different social organizations, the help patterns of the Chinatowns do not function for the new immigrants in suburban areas.

Under the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) of Chinatowns all over the United States, the pattern of mutual aid is fixed by the highly structured organization, to which each old immigrant is strongly attached.

Their social and residential mobility is confined to the boundary of the Chinatowns. In part, mutual aid for
the old immigrants is based on the original locality in
China from whence they come and on common surnames. Kiu-
ing, leaders of the CCBA, play the role of patron and
broker for members of the CCBA. They represent all the
immigrants in the Chinatowns; and they are recognized as
political leaders of the Chinatowns by American society.
They help members of the CCBA find jobs, settle disputes in
the community, provide protection from American society,
lodging for the unemployed and retired, etc. In return,
kiu-ling gain prestige and connections for their own
enterprises.

Data show that the CCBA is not recognized by new
immigrants. The Christian churches are the most frequently
attended organizations. Contrary to the CCBA, the church is
apolitical, and it does not require any specific status,
locality of origin or occupation to become a member.
Membership in a Christian church is flexible and voluntary.
Language may influence one's choice of church, but is not
crucial.

To some extent, a Christian church offers an informal
type of mutual aid for the new immigrants when they need it.
But new immigrants do not entirely depend on the churches
for help. There is not an interdependent relationship
between a church and its members. Information on adaptation
to American life can be obtained from professional service
agents, such as realtors, lawyers, insurance agents etc., or
in casual social gatherings. The payoff to these informal gatekeepers is their gain in social and business connections.

Cultural brokerage among new immigrants is unstructured and tends to be informal. The other group of informal gatekeepers include those who contributed their knowledge of American society to the pioneer establishments of the Chinese community in Monterey Park. **Liu-hsueh-sheng**, those who came to the United States as students, are recognized as business leaders in Monterey Park. They made their contributions out of good will and the commonly shared idea among Chinese in America that "Overseas Chinese should help each other". Their payoff is prestige and good reputation in the Chinese community. However, these Chinese intellectuals do not patronize other new immigrants. The help pattern is at the individual level and restricted to business developments in Monterey Park.

Monterey Park serves as a **reception city** for the new immigrants. The social and residential mobility of the new immigrants is flexible, depending on the economic status of each individual. Their attachment to the reception city varies depending on the degree of their reliance on speaking Chinese or **fang-pien** (convenience) of daily life. **Speech groups** are the most important factor in informal and temporary social gathering. Those speaking the same dialect tend to interact more; locality of origin in Hong Kong or
Taiwan is less important than language.

Monterey Park has lost its charm as the "Chinese Beverly Hills", due to rapidly growing businesses and increasing crime rate; it has become a place for those having difficulty in adapting to American society. More than eighty percent of the immigrants move out of the reception city after they become familiar with American society. For those who have experienced economic success in America, they move to "high-status residential areas" to demonstrate their new social or economic status.

One of the determining factors for a high-status residential area is related to the presence of good school districts. Chinese parents strongly believe in sending their children to "good schools" early in their childhood, which they believe will influence the future of the children. The high-status residential areas are usually white neighborhoods, centered around Monterey Park, which now is the new metropolis for the Chinese in Southern California.

Although moving away from the reception city, new immigrants still center their social life around the Chinese community. They tend to maintain their daily life on a fang-pien (convenient) level. Fang-pien is measured by how closely they keep their life style to their home society, such as eating Chinese food, reading Chinese newspapers etc. They rarely interact with Americans outside work, because it
is not "necessary". New immigrants maintain their primary groups with other Chinese immigrants.

The anti-assimilation tendency of the new immigrants is related to voluntary segregation, which includes the "we-feeling", mutual aid, and Chinese ethnicity among the immigrants. The hypothesis that a sense of Greater Han Chauvinism contributes as an important factor is not supported by data. High economic status is important to the self-perceived model of social stratification of the new Chinese immigrants.

In this loosely structured community, patron-broker-client relationship (structured kan-ch'ing) can not fully regularize relationships with few kinship ties as a comparison of the employer-employee relationships between old immigrants and new immigrants will demonstrate.

Until the 1970s, Chinatown's major business owners relied heavily on cheap Chinese laborers, especially in the garment factories and restaurants (Wong B. 1982:43-53). One of the major sources of labor came from illegal immigrants and from those having difficulty with English. As a survival strategy, the interdependency between employers and employees was strong. The employers needed cheap labor to keep business costs down, while illegally-staying employees had to take whatever jobs were available in the Chinatowns to survive in the United States. The employers provided lodging and transportation for the employees. They were the
employees' patrons, protecting them from the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The relationship of the employer and employee in the Chinatowns was similar to that described in Morton Fried's ethnography in 1950's urban China; that is, structured *kan-ch'ing* regulated the relationship between the employers and employees (Fried 1953; Wong B. 1982).

After the 1965 Immigration Law, new immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and China increased in number. These well-educated immigrants are granted permanent residency (green card) or citizenship in the United States. Chinese employers have a larger labor pool to choose from, they tend to employ persons with a green card or work permit from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, trying to avoid "problems".

New immigrants are better educated, have legal status in the United States, and have more job opportunities to choose from. They do not need to depend on employers for survival. Thus the interdependency between employers and employees is not as strong as that of the Chinatowns.

I propose a *medicated kan-ch'ing* as a common principle for regularizing relationships between Chinese employers and employees, who are connected through common acquaintance. They feel more obligated to help each other outside of work relations. But if employers and employees do not have a mediating party, their relationship is maintained on the business level, which is a case of *balanced reciprocity*.
This thesis provides an anthropological view of social structures of new Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park. There are still other phenomena that need to be investigated, such as:

1) An influx of immigrants from Mainland China is increasing in the suburban Chinese communities. Because of their different economic structures from those of Taiwan and Hong Kong, very few of these Chinese are engaged in business investments in the United States. Instead, they work for Taiwanese firms or restaurants. How are these interactions (such as intermarriage, employment, neighborhood) going to affect the Chinese immigrants' cultural and political identity? Will they develop their own ethnic or economic niche? Will they follow similar socioeconomic patterns and associational structures as the Taiwanese/Hong Kong immigrants? Do they have a similar system of cultural brokerage in America as the Taiwanese?

2) A segmentary structure of family organization is common among the new Chinese immigrants. In the past ten years, "flying mother/father" (parents who fly back and forth between America and Asia once or several times a year) have been emerging in many immigrant families. How has the family organization changed because of the "split household"? How has the woman's role changed because of "single parent" (the other parent lives in Taiwan/Hong Kong) and a higher divorce rate?
3) The "marginal youths", hsiao-liu-hsueh-sheng (little overseas students, who go to school in America, from the 1st grade on to senior high) are seen as outcasts by the new immigrants. Separated from parents, they lack the concept of and participation in "family". Described as "chien-tai-tuo" (too much money) and "mei-jen-kuan" (undersupervised), they are commonly recognized as a segmented group of Chinese who are lost in America. How do they develop a cultural identity and personality? Who will be responsible for these youths, American social workers or Chinese language teachers?

SUMMARY

Monterey Park marks a new era for the Chinese in America. On the east coast, Flushing, New York is developing into a new community for immigrants from Taiwan. In Vancouver, British Columbia, immigrants from Hong Kong, with a combined investment of 600 billion Canadian dollars in 1988, have caused conflicts with the old immigrants in Vancouver's Chinatown, as well as protests from the native residents (Chinese Daily News May 5 & 8, 1989). A comparative study of these three suburban Chinese communities will illustrate a developmental history of the social structures of the new Chinese immigrants in North America.
APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE I

Age ________ Sex ________

1. How long have you been in America?
   ____ Under 1 year ____ 2-5 yrs ____ 6-15 yrs ____ over 15 yrs

2. Do you have a green card? ____ Yes ____ No

3. The first city that you lived in when you first arrived in America was ____________
   How long did you live there? ____ under 1 year ____ 1-2 years ____ over 2 years

   Do you ____ own or ____ rent: ____ house ____ condo or apartment?

* If you live in Monterey Park, please skip to No. 7, otherwise please continue.

5. How often do you go to Monterey Park?
   ____ every day ____ once a week ____ several times a month
   ____ once several month ____ never

* Please rank the next four questions from 6 to 0: 6 means very important, 0 means not important at all; the more point is the more important.

6. The main reasons you go to Monterey Park are:
   ____ shopping ____ visit friends/relatives ____ attend church
   ____ work ____ dining/entertainment
   ____ other; please specify _________________________________________

7. If you once lived in Monterey Park, but later moved away, what were the main reasons?
   ____ unfriendly local neighborhood ____ increasing crime rates
   ____ high property value/rent ____ new jobs
   ____ too many Chinese residents, it's hard to learn about American society
   ____ other; please specify _________________________________________

8. The main reasons you choose to live in Monterey Park are:
   (If you do not live in Monterey Park please skip)
   ____ convenience ____ friends/relatives live near by
   ____ already bought estate ____ no need to speak English
   ____ school districts for children
   ____ other; please specify __________________________________________

9. The difficulties in adjusting to American life are:
   ____ traffic ____ language ____ laws ____ shopping
   ____ other; please specify __________________________ ____ no difficulty
* Please rank the next two questions with 0-4;

4 3 2 1 0
very helpful...............................no help at all

10. Who helped you settle down when you just arrived in American?
   ___ relatives ___ friends ___ lawyers ___ newspaper ad
   ___ tung-hsueh (school mates) ___ other; specify ____________

11. If you run into serious problem in America, whom do you go to for advice or help?
   ___ relatives ___ friends ___ lawyers ___ tung-hsueh
   ___ other; please specify ____________

12. Do you belong to any of the following organizations?
   a) CCBNA b) alumni association
   c) Chinese Chamber of Commerce d) church
   e) tung-hsiung-hui (locality association)
   f) other; please specify ____________
   g) none

* Please scale the next two questions:
4-always; 3-often; 2-sometimes; 1-seldom; 0-never

13. Do you socialize/contact with Americans? _______

14. Do you read American newspapers or watch American TV programs? _______

   *If you choose 0-1, why? a) English is not good enough
   b) Chinese media provides sufficient information, there's no need to add English ones.
   c) I don't care what's happening in this country or in the community
   d) other; specify ____________

15. How would you describe the ti-wei (position) of the Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park?
   a) influential b) rejected; unwelcomed
   c) the Chinese have their own social circle, there's no need to integrate with local people
   d) the Han Chauvanism e) have more money than the local people
   f) other; please specify ____________

16. Your social network is formed on
   a) locality (Taiwan, Hong Kong etc.)
   b) language (Mandarin, Cantonese etc.)
   c) work, business relationship
   d) degree of education
   e) criteria absent
   f) other; please specify ____________
QUESTIONNAIRE II
(For the Employee)

Age _____  Sex _____  Occupation __________________________

1. How did you find this job?
   a) Through relatives or friends  b) Newspaper ads
   c) Employment agency  d) Other: ______________________

2. How long have you been on this job?
   a) Under 6 months  b) 6 months to 2 years
   c) 2 to 5 years  d) Over 5 years

3. How long did it take you to find the first job in the United States?
   a) Within one month  b) 2 to 6 months
   c) 6 months to 1 year  d) Over a year

4. Did you sign a contract with your employer?  Yes ____  No ____
   If yes, the main content is __________________________

5. Do you speak the same language as your employer?  Yes ____  No ____

6. Do you come from the same country/region as your employer?  Yes ____  No ____

*Please rank question 7 to 10 with 0-4;
   4-always;  3-often;  2-sometimes;  1-seldom;  0-never

7. Do you socialize with your employer outside work?  ____

8. Does your employer help you adjust to American life?  ____

9. If you had disputes with someone else outside work, would your employer help you solve the problem?  ____

10. At traditional Chinese festivals or Christmas, does your employer give you a bonus or a gift?  ____

11. If you are going to change another job, would your employer give you recommendation or a reference letter?  Yes ____  No ____

12. If the business is not good, and your employer is unable to make the pay, would you help him through the hard time?
   a) Depends on our kan-ch'ing.
   b) No.
   d) Yes.
   e) other; please specify ____________________________

131
QUESTIONNAIRE III
(For the Employer)

Age _______  Sex _____  Occupation ____________________________

1. How long has your business been established? ________
   Located in ____________________________

2. How many employees do you have?
   Less than 5 ___  More than 5 ___  More than 20 ___

3. Generally, the nationality of your employees is
   a) Chinese  b) Chinese and other Asians
   c) Americans and Mexicans  d) Mixture of all above

* If you choose a), what are the main reasons?
   a) Speak the same language, communication is easier
   b) Have similar cultural backgrounds
   c) Overseas Chinese should help one another
   d) Chinese employees have lower wages
   e) Do not trust other nationalities
   f) Other; please specify ____________________________

4. Did you sign a contract with your employee? Yes ___  No ___
   If yes, the main content is ____________________________

5. Do you speak the same language as your employee(s)?
   Yes ___  No ___

6. Do you come from the same country/region as your employee(s)?
   Yes ___  No ___

*Please rank question 7 to 10 with 0-4;
  4-always; 3-often; 2-sometimes; 1-seldom; 0-never

7. Do you socialize with your employees outside work? ______

8. Do you (feel obligated to) help your employees adjust to
   American life? ______

9. If your employees had disputes with someone else outside of
   work, would you (feel obligated to) help solve the problem?
   ______

10. At traditional Chinese festivals or Christmas, do you
    give your employee(s) a bonus or a gift? ______
11. If your employees are going to change another job, would you give them recommendation or reference letter? Yes ___ No ___

12. If the business is not good, and you are unable to make the pay, would you ask your employer(s) to help through the hard time by delaying the pay check for a month?  
a) Depends on our kan-ch'ing  
b) No.  
d) Yes.  
e) other; please specify ____________________________
APPENDIX II

SUCCESS OF FREDERIC HSIEH

Frederic Hsieh has become a legend in both the white and Chinese community of Monterey Park. Not only has he brought Chinese business and Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan, he has changed the city's business identity, population makeup and ethnic conflicts. The Los Angeles Times commended him as the representative of the successful Chinese entrepreneurs in the United States. At the same time, the Monterey Park Progress, a community newspaper, criticized him as being responsible for the rising property values and the over-crowded population of Monterey Park.

Frederic Hsieh was born in Guilin, China in 1945. His father was a senior civil engineer in one of China's pioneer engineering companies. Hsieh's father went to Hong Kong and started his own engineering business when the political situation in China became unstable in 1949. Hsieh and his mother and six brothers and sisters were left in Shanghai. Then the whole family joined his father in Hong Kong in 1956. In his teens, he was encouraged by his mother to be baptized as Christian. This established the foundation of his faith in Christianity. After he had
finished high school in Hong Kong, he went to the United States to attend college (Young 1982).

Hsieh, eighteen years old, arrived in Los Angeles in 1963, with two hundred U.S. dollars in his pocket. Instead of going to college right away, he found a job at a fried-chicken store at one dollar per hour, delivering pamphlets. Then he worked as a waiter in a Chinese restaurant in North Hollywood.

Finally, having saved enough money, Hsieh went to Hartnell College in Salina, northern California. He studied hard in the first year and worked part-time at a "foreign restaurant" as a janitor. He had water-boiled chicken necks and wings for daily meals. In the summer, he went to San Francisco and worked as a waiter in a Chinese restaurant. There he rented a small room on the second floor of a Chinese laundry, at fifteen dollars a month.

The second year in school, Hsieh became active in the Chinese Student Association and was elected its president. When he graduated from college, he was awarded the "Inspirational International Student Award", which gave him tremendous confidence in the future.

Then, with a full scholarship, he went to graduate school at Oregon State University, majoring in Water Research Engineering. There were two hundred students from Taiwan and Hong Kong. Being able to speak both Cantonese and Mandarin, Hsieh was easily elected the president of the
Chinese Student Association. As the president of the Chinese Student Association, he rented a four-bedroom house across from the campus and sublet it to eight new Chinese students. The profits went to the fund of the Association. The big living room in the house was for common use for all Chinese students, and later became the Chinese Student Center. This initial experience paved the way for his later interest and confidence in dealing with real estate. He was awarded his master’s degree in 1970. Three days after his graduation, he was offered a job by Los Angeles City Hall. He accepted the job right away and left his pregnant wife in Portland to complete her studies.

He lived in Los Angeles’ Chinatown and walked to work every day. Two months later, his wife joined him in Los Angeles. Having gotten tired of renting from “ungracious” landlords, Hsieh decided to buy an apartment in Echo Park. Later, he bought another apartment near by. After some repair work, he rented it out and earned considerable profits. Hsieh started to realize how profitable a business real estate could be. He studied for and received his license as a realtor. This was the beginning of his adventure in business.

Hsieh was promoted to civil engineer in 1971. At the same time, he worked for an American realtor. He now hired people to manage his property and started to buy supermarkets and commercial buildings with bank loans.
The turning point was when he, as a part-time realtor, showed his client around a house in Monterey Park. He found that Monterey Park, a bedroom community east of Los Angles, had great potential to become a "Chinese Beverly Hills" for the high class business and residential areas.

First, Hsieh analyzed the political instability in the Far East. In 1968, Hong Kong experienced internal conflicts. Taiwan withdrew from the United Nations in 1971. Under such circumstances, many rich merchants and important political figures would want to move their wealth out of the country. Los Angles, which offered the most convenient geographic position and nice weather, could attract these rich immigrants.

Secondly, he studied the geographic situation of Los Angeles' Chinatown. There are railroads on the south edge and hills on the north side of the community. The geographic boundaries limited the community development. Los Angeles' Chinatown was centered on family-run businesses within three blocks. The land was expensive and parking has always been a problem for shoppers and residents. All these difficulties could not meet the residential requirements of the new immigrants.

The potentials for Monterey Park to develop into a new community for the new immigrants are:

1) Perfect city boundary and convenient traffic: Monterey Park sits where three freeways meet. On the west, there is
north south bound Long Beach Freeway (I-5). On the north crosses the east-west running San Bernardino Freeway (I-10) and 60 Pomona Freeway. The city boundaries are clear cut. It is only a short distance to Los Angeles and the vicinity.

2) Close to Chinatown: It is only five miles from the business center of Chinatown.

3) Natural environment and inexpensive land: Monterey Park has hills that are suitable for high-class residential areas, and plains that are suitable for commercial use. The land value was only one tenth of that in Chinatown.

4) Convenient shopping and low crime rate - Monterey Park is small but has everything necessary for comfortable living. Nation-wide chain supermarkets, department stores, and banking business were all provided. The ethnic mixture was simple. The city hall was friendly to Asians.

5) Good school districts - The Brightwood Elementary School and Alhambra High were considered good schools. East Los Angeles Community College and East California College were either near by or in the city. This is an important condition for the Chinese immigrants who place much value in education.

Hsieh and his family moved to Monterey Park and gradually transferred his business in Los Angeles to Monterey Park. By 1973, Hsieh had become active in real estate business in Monterey Park. He got his broker's license in 1974 and right away he opened his realty company,
the Mandarin Realty Co., Inc. He hired fifteen part-time
salesmen and soon they were handling half of the realty
business of the Chinese population in the Los Angeles area.

Then, the big opportunity came! The land owners of the
main business section along Atlantic Boulevard, Saul Shapiro
died in 1974 and Houston Berog died in 1976. Their children
wanted to sell the land. Hsieh was enthusiastic in getting
the capital from friends and clients to invest in this piece
of gold land.

Eventually, the most active business section on
Atlantic Boulevard today was in the hands of Chinese
businessmen. This section was the foundation of the new
Chinatown in Monterey Park.

Hsieh resigned his job at the Los Angeles City Hall in
1976, so he could fully concentrate on his realty business.
He expanded the Mandarin Realty Co., Inc. into the Escrow
Department, the Property Management Department, the Rent
Department, The Development and Investment Department, and
the Appraisal Department. It is now the largest real estate
comp any in Monterey Park with eighty employees.

As his business grew, Hsieh became active in the
community. He was involved in fund-raising for various
community organizations, such as the "Golden Age Village"
for retired Chinese immigrants; the Chinese Chamber of
Commerce; Director of the Boy Scouts of America Good Scout.
He founded the Christian Businessmen Committee in 1982.
The most remarkable achievement was the establishment of the Omni Bank in 1980, a bank that is run by the Chinese community. When it first opened, with a capital of three million dollars and twelve employees, it was thought by the residents to be another "small" bank in Monterey Park. Six months later, the total deposits had risen to 14 million dollars. At the end of that year, the total deposits had grown rapidly to 29 million dollars with an expansion to 40 employees. In 1982, it was rated number 20 on the 100 outstanding minority banks in the United States (Young 1982:411).


At the age of thirty-seven, Hsieh was a billionaire. He had the whole world going for him; but, money and business successes couldn't satisfy his needs. The teaching of the Bible during his teenage years came back to him; his outlook on life and philosophy of life changed. He became a born-again Christian and dedicated his life to God.

"Monterey Park has become the new metropolis for the Chinese in Southern California", Mr. Hsieh told me in his
office. His dream of a new Chinatown has come true. But accompanied with the economic successes for the Chinese immigrants are the conflicts and resentments of the native residents in Monterey Park.
SUCCESS OF MR. CHEN

(Life history of a liu-hsueh-sheng)

Mr. Chen came to the United States in 1964. He was granted a full scholarship by the University of Texas. Taiwan's economy in the 1960s was still in the developing stage. Most of the Taiwanese liu-hsueh-sheng did not have financial support from their families. Like Frederic Hsieh, Mr. Chen had to work in a Chinese restaurant to save money before starting school. He lived on white bread and water for weeks when he first came to the United States.

As soon as he arrived in Los Angeles, he found a job in a Chinese restaurant as a dishwasher at low wages. After a week, he went to New York City, the best place for liu-hsueh-sheng to earn money.

Through an employment agency, Chen had got work as a grave yard shift janitor in a Jewish restaurant and as a packing worker. These two jobs only lasted for four weeks because he could not handle the heavy labor.

The third job he got was related to his profession -- architecture. He was hired by a chief Chinese architect as a draftsman for a large architectural company. Chen thinks he was hired because the architect wanted to help him out.
To this day, he is grateful to that Chinese architect.

Finally, after saving enough money, Chen headed for Houston, and started graduate school. He got his master's degree in architecture in 1966, and married his fiancee, who had come from Taiwan to join him.

Chen said when he was looking for a job after he graduated, he only considered big cities like New York, Chicago, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles. The main reason was to fulfill his needs in professional development and availability of Chinese food.

Mr. Chen had gotten his first job from an architectural company in Chicago. After a year, he was hired by the Boeing Company in Seattle. At this time their second child was expected and Chen's salary would not be enough to take care of the whole family. They thought of some way to make extra money.

Chen borrowed 1,000 dollars from his credit card banks in order to make the down payment on a house. Chen used his architectural skills to repair and remodel the house, and then resold the house at a price three times higher than the original price. Chen had created his philosophy of business, that is, to "create" something out of nothing, then make profits out of the improved "creation". He has followed this philosophy and eventually the broke liu-hsueh-sheng become a hotel tycoon.

As he had wished, Chen and his family moved to Los
Angeles in 1968 for his third job. With the profit made from the house in Seattle, Chen bought an apartment in North Hollywood. He and his family lived in that apartment and sublet the rest to other tenants. Within the next four years, following the same principle, Chen bought seven more apartment buildings and one house.

In 1973, Chen sold all his properties and bought a 56-unit motel in Gardena. This had become big news in the Chinese community. This was the first motel that was owned by a Taiwanese. His success story is similar to that told by many other Chinese immigrants in Southern California and has encouraged other Chinese to follow the model.

Chen was promoted to chief architect in 1974 and was assigned to a design team of Los Angeles’ Security Pacific National Bank Building. However, after careful consideration, Chen decided to resign and concentrate on his own motel business. The following year, he bought a 200-unit hotel in downtown Los Angeles.

In following years, he bought national-chain hotels in Pueblo, Colorado and Chicago. He has his computer-controlled management in the headquarters office in Monterey Park. He is known as a "hotel doctor" in the Chinese community.

(Young 1982:231-250)
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