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Enclaves and Enterprises: Chinese Communities in the United States

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ENCLAVES AND ENTERPRISES: CHINESE COMMUNITIES
IN THE UNITED STATES

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

By

Xiaoyi Huang

1992

APPROVAL SHEET

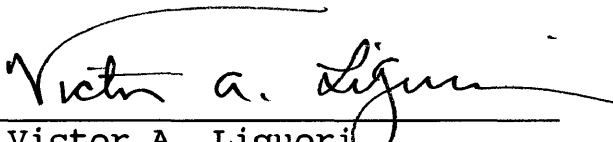
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Approved, July 1992


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ABSTRACT

Chinatowns have existed in the United States for more than a century. They have been viewed by casual observers as well as scholars as representations of their homeland, as uniquely Chinese. This study suggests that these communities are not that "unique" in that they do not exist in isolation from the American society. Instead, changes that have been taking place within these communities' social structures parallel changes of the larger social system. The early Chinatowns remained bachelor's societies for many years as only male laborers came to America then and few women accompanied their husbands. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act also prevented further Chinese immigration. The repeal of the Exclusion Act in 1943 and the elimination of the national origin quota system in 1965 have produced a significant shift. The positive changes in economic and political conditions in the United States and U.S. immigration policy are the important factors contributing to the transformation of Chinatowns from the originally male-dominated communities into the more sexually balanced enclaves and from the functionally defensive communities into the economic enclaves. The size and number of Chinese-American communities are positively associated with the state of Chinese immigration, which reflects the policy of U.S. immigration legislation.

Economic opportunity, both historical and current, continues to affect the settlement patterns of the Chinese immigrants. By focusing the business activities of Chinese-American communities, the study tries to show that the interaction between the American economic context and the Chinese ethnic resources has played an important role in the survival and expansion of Chinese communities in the United States.

This study of Chinese enclaves in America is approached through historical analysis based mainly on secondary data sources.

**ENCLAVES AND ENTERPRISES: CHINESE COMMUNITIES
IN THE UNITED STATES**

INTRODUCTION

Chinese-Americans comprise the largest Asian immigrant group in the United States. By 1990, there were 1,645,472 people of Chinese ancestry in this country. Chinese are widely dispersed in America in the sense that there are Chinese-Americans in all of the 50 United States, but they are otherwise highly concentrated. Most of them live on the West and East Coasts and more than 90 percent of them live in large urban centers. According to the U.S. 1990 census, over 50 percent of Chinese-Americans now live in the West, 27 percent in the Northeast, 12.4 percent in the South, and 8.1 percent in the Northwest. However, in comparison with many groups of other ancestries, Chinese-Americans are still one of the smallest minorities, constituting only 0.7 percent of the total American population (U.S. Department of Commerce News June 12, 1991).

Chinese who emigrate often establish Chinese communities abroad. In the United States, there are dozens of Chinese communities. In most of the big cities, if there is a Chinese population, there can be found a Chinese community called "Chinatown". Old Chinatowns in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York, have increased dramatically in population since mid-1960s. New Chinatowns have been built in Miami, Houston, and

San Diego (Kwong 1987, Xu and Liu 1992). Many Americans know Chinatowns in big cities. They are fascinated by what they see when they visit these places. Yet, few of them go away with an understanding of how Chinatowns came about. Nor do they learn much about the people of these communities. Thus, one purpose of this study is to shed light on Chinese ethnic communities in the United States so as to make them understood by more people.

Conventional research on ethnic and racial communities usually takes the form of focusing on a particular ethnic community in a particular place. Different aspects of an ethnic community, such as its history, politics, economy, education, and religion are often explored in a single case study. Attention has also been given to such issues as race relations and the role of residential segregation in the assimilation process. This study is different from those researches in that it does not describe or discuss a particular Chinese-American community in detail. Nor is it a special analysis of the degree of acculturation and assimilation of the Chinese who live in ethnic enclaves. Rather, it seeks to examine Chinese communities in the United States as a whole and attempts to show that the demands of the American social and economic context have played an important role in shaping these communities. It is believed that in order to understand the nature of a phenomenon, it is also necessary to look beyond the phenomenon itself and find out in what circumstances such a phenomenon is most likely to occur.

The purpose of this study is to enrich understanding rather than to make a complete account of the Chinese-American communities.

Chapter I is a brief review of the existing sociological and anthropological literature on Chinese communities in the United States and Canada. Different theoretical approaches concerning the Chinese communities in North America are introduced.

Chapter II outlines the theoretical framework and research method of this study, which is mainly based on a structural approach and document study.

Chapter III traces the development of Chinese communities in the United States from their origin in the 19th century to the present. It attempts to show how structural changes in the larger social system have contributed to the changes in the demographic and organizational structure of Chinese-American communities.

Chapter IV describes the business activities of Chinese-American communities, attempting to tie some of the factors contributing to the emergence, growth, or decline of Chinese-American communities to the economic bases of the larger social system, thus demonstrating how Chinese-American communities have historically fit into the economic framework of the American society. How ethnicity serves as resource is also described.

Chapter V, the final chapter, highlights the major conclusions drawn from the analysis of Chapter III and Chapter

IV, suggesting that Chinese-American communities do not exist in isolation from the American society. In fact, the interaction between the American economic context and the Chinese ethnic resources has played an important role in the survival and expansion of Chinese communities in the United States.

Chapter I

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on Chinese communities in North America over the past few decades tend to be based on different theoretical approaches and answer different questions. Generally speaking, these studies have tried to answer three types of questions: 1). Why do the Chinese who emigrate tend to stay in an ethnic enclave in an alien country? 2). What is the social structure of a particular Chinese community? 3). What is the relationship between a Chinese community and the larger social system? Among the different theories in this field, two major theoretical approaches have played dominant roles, namely conflict approach and cultural approach.

Within the paradigm of conflict theory, D.Y. Yuan's voluntary segregation model, Stacey G.H. Yap's internal colonial model, and Richard Thompson's social class model respectively have been developed to answer the above three questions.

D.Y. Yuan's voluntary segregation theory tries to explain why the Chinese tend to concentrate in a segregated community within a large city. His analysis (1967) suggested that the segregated Chinese community in New York City was a kind of "voluntary segregation involving involuntary factors"

(Yuan 1967:274). One of Yuan's major generalizations was that the prejudice or discrimination of a majority group towards a racial minority often emerged because of the conflicting values between them. His analysis also supported the proposition that in order to avoid racial discrimination against it, a minority group would engage in voluntary segregation.

Stacey G.H. Yap (1989) views a Chinese community in America as an internal colonial enclave. She extends the concept of colonialism to refer to enclaves within a developed region in which an ethnic community is subjected to the domination of the larger society. According to Yap (1989:23), a Chinatown is an internal colony because the community's productive system is dependent and controlled nationally. "Their capital-goods or service-good production sectors are not strong enough to develop independently of outside influence".

In his book entitled Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organization of An Ethnic Community, Richard H. Thompson (1989) presented a social class model which he believes can not only explain the social structure of Toronto Chinatown, but is also applicable to other major Chinese communities in North America. Thompson based his model on the Marxian conception of social class. He divided the Chinese in Toronto's Chinatown into three classes--the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, and the petty bourgeoisie--based on their relationship to the means of production. The bourgeoisie are

owners of capital and the means of production who employ large numbers of workers on a wage basis. The proletariat is the working class in Chinatown which is distinguished from the other classes by their positions in lower level, wage-labor sectors of the ethnic economy. The petty bourgeoisie and the new middle class are the owners of small businesses and those who occupy intermediate positions such as professors, lawyers, students, policemen, or bureaucrats. The various classes, in Thompson's view, are related to one another by their different positions in the ethnic economy. He argues that only a social class model could highlight a highly complex Chinese community's internal stratification (Thompson 1989:259-333).

However, other researchers on Chinese communities classify the community members through cultural and social psychological approaches rather than a social class approach. Melford S. Weiss (1974), for example, proposes a "tripartite" model that divided the Valley City Chinese community into three different groups: traditionalists, modernists, and activists. Traditionalists tended to be older immigrant Chinese who adhered to the values, attitudes, and lifestyles most reminiscent of traditional Chinese society. Modernists, in contrast, tended to be the first generation American-born Chinese who were middle class involved in the major business and professional activities in the area. They were mostly assimilated and consciously pursue an American lifestyle. The values they adhered to were American rather than Chinese. On the other hand, however, they wished to maintain both a

Chinese and an American identity and were aware of their minority status in the United States. Activists, the product of the Asian American Movement that swept America in the late 1960s and early 1970s, were generally those young American-born Chinese who were college students or social service workers. Unlike traditionalists and modernists, these young people sought social action to change their position as an American minority group (Weiss 1974:120-132). Robert Seto Quan (1982) also classifies the Chinese in the Mississippi Delta into five different categories - the old people, the businessmen, the professionals, the college students, and the young people. He emphasizes the differences among people of different generations and different status as well as cultural, psychological, and behavioral determinants of group identity.

Instead of seeing Chinese-American communities as merely a result of conflict and exploitation between different races and classes, cultural theories emphasize the importance of certain Chinese cultural patterns or certain characteristics of Chinese immigrants that inhibit Chinese assimilation. For example, Stanford M. Lyman views the Chinese settlements abroad as cultural islands by stressing the following characteristics of the overseas Chinese:

[T]he immigrant Chinese and their descendants are remarkable for their collective independence, preservation of homeland customs, and maintenance of traditional social organization in a variety of alien environment. Accused of refusing to assimilate, the overseas Chinese in fact give vivid testimony to the resilience and adaptability of their old world

institutions. In America as elsewhere, the Chinese attest to the validity of pluralism (Lyman, 1982:ix).

Unlike many other researchers of Chinese-American history whose attention was usually focused on the racism and anti-Chinese movement of late nineteenth century, Lyman (1977) thought that these analyses were a perfectly correct but one-sided image of victimization. Lyman suggested that we should also not ignore the characteristics of the special organizational structure of a Chinese community that has acted as a barrier to assimilation. According to Lyman, the organizational structure of the early Chinese community in San Francisco was characterized by three types of organizations--clans, hui kuan, and secret societies. Clan identity was established by surname because individuals with the same surname viewed themselves as the descendants of the same patrilineal ancestor and therefore they considered one another to have blood relationship. Clan associations served as aid societies that provided immigrants with food, employment, shelter, and advice. Hui Kuan were organizations that enrolled members according to dialect and district. Since people who spoke the same dialect were usually from the same village or town in China, a common dialect gave them a sense of common origin. Hui Kuan offered similar help to Chinese immigrants as clan did. Another major type of organization in Chinatown was secret society, whose membership was based upon common interests rather than kin, dialect, or district ties. From Lyman's point of view, conflicting interests and

competition among different clans, hui kuan, and secret societies strengthened Chinese group solidarity and placed cross-pressures on many individuals who had to be loyal to several associations. Thus, the inter-community conflict and cooperation acted together as a barrier that prevented contacts with the larger society and isolated the Chinese from the larger social system (Lyman 1977:103-118).

When explaining why some ethnic groups, including Jews, Japanese, and Chinese, have occupied an intermediate position in the social structure of some societies, such as trade and commerce, Bonacich argues that this "middleman" phenomenon could only be fully understood by looking at their background and their motivation to emigrate. Thus, Bonacich (1973:584) presents an empirical generalization about all the middleman groups she has examined:

They begin as sojourners in the territories to which they move. They are immigrants who do not plan to settle permanently.

In Bonacich's view, sojourning is a necessary condition of the middleman form although it is not a sufficient one. There are two characteristics that lead sojourners to become middleman minorities. First, unlike other groups who do not aim to live elsewhere, sojourners have an orientation toward homeland. This orientation brings them a tendency toward less consumption and longer hours of work in order to save money to return home soon. It is this future-time orientation that enable them to accumulate capital. Second, since sojourners do

not need to develop long lasting relationships with members of the surrounding society, they also tend to choose such occupations that do not tie them to the territory for a long time. These minorities, according to Bonacich (1973:586), are characterized by the following traits:

a resistance to out-marriage, residential self-segregation, the establishment of language and cultural schools for their children, the maintenance of distinctive cultural traits (including, often, a distinctive religion), and a tendency to avoid involvement in local politics except in affairs that directly affect their group.

To summarize the theoretical literature mentioned above, we see that conflict theory emphasizes racial discrimination or class exploitation as preconditions for ethnic residential segregation and the persistence of ethnicity. In contrast, the cultural perspective emphasizes the importance of certain Chinese cultural patterns or certain characteristics of Chinese immigrants that inhibit Chinese assimilation. The community members are interpreted in terms of cultural and social psychological factors rather than social class dynamics. The following chapter introduces the theoretical framework of this research, which differs from the approaches that have been presented in this chapter.

Chapter II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

The number of independent variables that affect the formation of ethnic communities has reached such an extent that a complete review in a single study is practically impossible. Thus, this study on Chinese communities will mainly take a structural approach for two reasons. First, since many studies on Chinese-American communities have already provided explanations based on either prejudice theories or cultural theories, or the combination of the two, there is no need to repeat the old explanation, although both discrimination and culture have played important roles in creating ethnic enclaves in an alien environment. Second, while prejudice/ discrimination approach could help explain the origin of the Chinese communities in America, it is inadequate in explaining why these communities can survive for so many years in spite of the great changes of the American policies and public attitudes towards Chinese. Also, while cultural theory could help explain the characteristics of Chinese-American communities, it could not explain why changes in these communities have been taking place along with the changes in the surrounding society. Therefore, it is my contention that structural and economic forces have played an

important role as well in retention or dissolution of Chinese-American communities.

What needs to be made clear in particular is that since this study is not an all-major-factors research, some questions of obvious importance will not be addressed at all. The major focus will be on the economic factors to explain the development of Chinese American communities. It does not imply that other factors are of no importance. Since a lot of work has been done on Chinese-American communities and even more studies have been carried out on ethnic enterprises, this study is an attempt to focus on the relationship between ethnic communities and ethnic businesses. After all, economic interest is one of the very important factors that affect ethnic solidarity.

From the structural perspective, a social phenomenon is to be understood by social forces and patterns that exist outside of and exert an important influence on people. Both social relations and environmental conditions have the effect of limiting or extending individuals' choices and shaping individuals' behaviors (Light, Keller, and Cathoun 1989). Individuals are seen to coalesce into particular social groups, such as ethnic groups, by virtue of sharing common individual interests which derive from their common positions in the social structure (Hechter 1978).

The key concepts employed in this study are as follows:

(1) Chinese-American community--A collectivity of people of Chinese ancestry who are residentially concentrated in a

geographical area within U.S. territory and are together engaged in social and economic activities, and who are experiencing feelings of belonging to one another.

(2) Economic opportunities--The economic circumstances in which a certain business activity may result in business success.

(3) Ethnicity as resource--Such resource may include kinship assistance, cheap labor provided by family members or immigrants, rotating credit associations, ethnic consumer market, and long cultural legacies. What appears to be "cultural" or "ethnic" factors might in fact be used as some kind of "resource" for realizing economic goals.

(4) In-migration of Chinese immigrants--Geographical movement of Chinese immigrants into a new residential community.

Based upon the above concepts, following propositions are suggested:

First, the forces that perpetuate the existence of Chinese-American communities are not only cultural but also structural in that the communities are preserved in contextual patterns and their functions, changes, growth, or decline are directly affected by the conditions of the social context.

Second, the maintenance of Chinese-American communities has been based on the establishment of mutual-benefit economic ties with the larger American settings. Therefore, Chinese communities are more likely to survive or emerge in the places where there are economic opportunities that can be seized by

the Chinese through making use of their ethnic resources. In contrast, a Chinese community will be in decline when such economic opportunities diminish.

Third, the permanence and expansion of Chinatowns in America are positively related to in-migration of Chinese immigrants rather than residential stability.

The analysis of Chinese-American communities in this study will be approached through historical analysis and case studies. Chinese-American communities in different areas will be described and compared to serve as illustration of the propositions mentioned above. The economic activities of Chinese immigrants will also be compared with that of other ethnic groups. The comparison is considered to be useful because few studies have been conducted which compare Chinese-American communities in different places or compare American Chinese with other ethnic groups. What is more important, if we are to understand and distinguish between "cultural" and "structural" factors in the explanation of Chinese-American communities or the characteristics of Chinese immigrants, we need to examine such communities that are composed of people with the same cultural background but are located in different social and economic environments. We also need to find out whether there are such attributes that are considered "ethnic" but are shared by people with different cultural backgrounds.

Although many studies on ethnic communities relied heavily on participant observation or sample survey, this research will be mainly based on document analysis. By

"document", I mean any available public written materials that contain information relevant to the phenomena I wish to study. Document study have the following advantages. Firstly, unlike experiments, survey, and participant observation, document study is especially well-suited to study over a long period of time (Bailey 1982). Since my research will involve the examination of a relatively long-period process--the development of Chinese-American communities, document study becomes the only method capable of studying changes that happened in a long-time social process. Secondly, as it is impossible for me either to go to a Chinese-American community as a participant observer, which is time-consuming, or conduct a large-scale survey, which is expensive, the best method I can rely on is gathering documents in a particular location so that my research can be carried out at a relatively low cost. Last but not the least, although documents may vary greatly in quality, I may choose the more reliable documents as my major data resources, such as government publications, official and organizational reports, or existing literature written by skilled researchers. Therefore, these documents may have higher quality than poorly written responses to mailed questionnaires. The major disadvantage of document study is that "the researcher is limited to data that have been collected and compiled, and those data might not adequately represent the variables of interest"(Babbie 1990:32).

The data of this research have been gathered from three sources: 1), the U.S. Government publications that consist of

Annual Reports and Statistical Yearbooks published by Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice; Census of Population, Census of Population and Housing published by Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, including subject reports, final reports, and general population characteristics; 2), Newspapers and magazines published in both English and Chinese that carry reports on Chinese-Americans' experiences.; 3), Existing literature on Chinese communities that have been published in books and academic journals. Important works on Chinese-Americans and ethnic enterprises written by professionals, such as Rose Hum Lee (1949, 1960); Shien Woo Kung (1962); Betty Lee Sung (1967, 1976); S.M Lyman (1970); W.J. Loewen (1971); Ivan Light (1972); Jack Chen (1980); Shih-Shan Henry Tsai (1986); and Peter Kwong (1987), have been studied. Articles relevant to the subject in academic journals have been reviewed, including American Journal of Sociology; American Sociological Review; Sociological Perspectives; International Migration Review; Phylon; Social Issues; Social Casework; Social Forces; Ethnic and Racial Studies; Ethnic Groups; Journal of Ethnic Studies; and Human Organization.

Chapter III

DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGES OF CHINESE-AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

Chinese are said to be the first Asian immigrants to come to the United States. Their history in this country can be traced back to eighteenth century (Wong 1986). However, the coming of the Chinese to America in large numbers only began in the middle of the nineteenth century during the Gold Rush (see Table 1).

TABLE 1
Chinese Immigration to and Population in the United States
1820-1990

Year	Total Admitted	Year	Total population
1820 to 1830	3		
1831 to 1840	8		
1841 to 1850	35		
1851 to 1860	41,397	1860	34,933
1861 to 1870	64,301	1870	63,199
1871 to 1880	123,201	1880	105,465
1881 to 1890	61,711	1890	107,488
1891 to 1900	14,799	1900	89,863
1901 to 1910	20,605	1910	71,531
1911 to 1920	21,278	1920	61,639
1921 to 1930	29,907	1930	74,954
1931 to 1940	4,928	1940	77,504
1941 to 1950	16,709	1950	150,005
1951 to 1960	9,675	1960	237,292
1961 to 1970	34,764	1970	435,062
1971 to 1980	124,326	1980	806,040
Total 161 Years		1990	1,645,472
1820 to 1980	567,629		

- Source: 1. Statistical Yearbook, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, 1980, Table 2.
 2. Jack Chen: The Chinese of America 1980. p268.
 3. U.S. Census, 1980, 1990.

Between 1850 and 1882, more than one hundred thousand Chinese, who were mainly from southern China, came to the United States, laboring in mines and on the railroads. At first, Chinese workers were welcomed because of the shortage of labor. But when the recession came in the late 1870s after the surface gold mines were exhausted and the trans-continental railroad was finished, the unemployment rate began to rise and Chinese workers were held responsible for the surplus of labor. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 halted further immigration of the Chinese into the United States. Those who were already in this country began to move into larger cities in order to make a living.

The Emergence of Chinese-American Communities

Before the Chinese Exclusion Act was enforced in 1882, ninety-nine percent of the Chinese in the United States were to be found in the West (Colman 1946). Between the 1850s and 1870s, many small Chinese communities emerged in the Pacific states. In San Francisco, most of the Chinese resided in several blocks of that city. They built temples and public halls, opened stores and restaurants, and retained their habits in food and their native customs. During this period, the Chinese also spread from California to Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado, where new Chinatowns were gradually established, such as in Portland (1851) or Seattle (1860) (Chen 1980:190). By 1940, there were at least 12

American cities in the West with Chinatowns in existence (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

Chinese Population in American Cities with Established Chinatowns in 1940 (the Western and Rocky Mountain Areas)

City	Chinese Population
San Francisco, Ca.	17,782
Los Angeles, Ca	4,736
Oakland, Ca	3,201
Seattle, Wash.	1,781
Portland, Ore.	1,569
Sacramento, Ca	1,508
Stockton, Ca.	1,052
Fresno, Ca	790
Phoenix, Ariz.	431
San Jose, Ca.	176
Denver, Colo.	110
Butte, Mont.	88

Source: Rose Hum Lee. 1949. "The Decline of Chinatowns in the United States." American Journal of Sociology. p423.

San Francisco Chinatown is the oldest Chinese community in the United States. It had also been the largest until the 1980s when New York Chinatown replaced that of San Francisco as the largest Chinese-American community. In the early 1850s, nearly all the Chinese in San Francisco lived within two crowded blocks of the city. By 1906 the area extended to fifteen blocks (Kung 1962). Now the core area of San Francisco Chinatown has increased to twenty-four blocks bounded by the streets of Columbus, Montgomery, California, Powell, and Broadway (Chen 1980:250). Since the lifting of the restrictive covenant after World War II, San Francisco Chinatown has grown beyond its old borders and extended its

northern borders into the old Italian community of North Beach. The newly expanded Chinatown consists of the core, residential, and expanded areas. The core area, which has the highest population density, is the center of economic, social, political, and cultural life for San Francisco Chinese. The area is crowded with various stores, restaurants, import-export houses, and garment shops (Nee 1972). By 1980, the core area of San Francisco Chinatown contained about 7,000 Chinese, which was 92 percent of the total core population. Residential Chinatown contained more than 15,000 Chinese, 62 percent of the total population of that area, and expanded Chinatown had nearly 9,000 Chinese who made up 39 percent of that area's total population (Loo 1986:112).

The building of Los Angeles Chinatown was first started in 1909. But the old Chinatown was destroyed in the early 1930s when its site was needed for the construction of a new union station. However, the Chinese did not give up hope and soon built another three Chinatowns in the city. One was called "The China City" and was situated at the corner of Main and Macy Streets. The "City", which was opened on June 6, 1938, formed an Oriental oasis in the heart of downtown districts. Another new Chinatown, situated on Broadway at College Street, was opened on June 25, 1938. While reserving the Oriental features, this Chinatown was also characterized by broad streets and on nights brilliant with flashing neon lights. A third Chinese community was established along North Spring Street, between Ord and Macy Streets (Kung 1962). More

recently, according to Sung (1976:45), Los Angeles' Chinatown has reconsolidated into a major Chinese-American community along North Broadway. The Chinese-American population in Los Angeles has grown rapidly as the city has developed into a metropolitan giant. In 1930, the city had about 3,000 Chinese. By 1980, it had 44,709 (U.S. Census 1980).

Oakland managed to support a small Chinatown by 1880, when Chinese laundries, retail stores, and community service agencies emerged to serve the growing Chinese population of this region (Chow 1977:46). But Oakland's present-day Chinatown, which is in the southwest of Lake Merritt and spread across the Oakland hill, was developed after the 1906 earthquake. By 1970, this Chinatown had a Chinese population of 11,335. Seattle Chinatown was said to be established in 1860s. In 1868, a young man opened a general goods store by the waterfront, which was the beginning of Seattle Chinatown. As in many other Chinatowns in America, the Chinese in Seattle Chinatown followed their usual occupations as laundrymen, restaurant keepers, and small store owners. During the recession time in 1870s, many Chinese were driven out of Seattle. But Chinatown managed to survived. The community had a population of 7,500 in 1970s (Chen 1980).

In the East, by the end of 1870s, the Chinese immigrants not only reached New York, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, but also reached Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, D.C., where new Chinese-American communities were established (Ibid).

New York Chinatown, the largest Chinese-American community at present, is situated on the east side of lower Manhattan and was established between 1872 and 1882 (Kung 1962:203). According to Julia I. Hsuan Chen (1941), the first Chinese mercantile shop opened its business on Mott Street in late 1870s. "Drawn by the same custom and same language, the newcomers gathered around this small center, and consequently, a Chinese community sprang up. From Mott Street the little 'colony' spread gradually into Doyers, Pell, Bayard and Canal Streets. Whence the name 'Chinatown' was attached to the settlement"(Chen 1941:5). Unlike the Chinatowns in Boston, Philadelphia, or Chicago, where there was not enough adjacent room for expansion, New York Chinatown was extended into other ethnic ghettos surrounding Chinatown such as Little Italy and the Jewish ghetto. The early Chinatown was traditionally bounded on the North by Canal Street, on the West by Mulberry Street and on the East and South by Bowery and Park Row. But between 1960 and 1975, New York Chinatown increased in size threefold (Sung 1976). By 1980s, there were estimated 70,000 residents lived in New York Chinatown, and another 30,000 non-residents worked in the community (Kwong 1987:24).

Boston Chinatown originated in mid 1870s. By 1890, about 200 Chinese in Boston lived in Chinatown. The number increased to 1,000 in 1920 and 1,600 in 1950 (Chen 1980). "The Chinese took over several blocks of homes formerly occupied by Arabs and turned them into restaurants, grocery stores, trading associations, and art stores, as well as family dwellings"

(Tsai 1986:106). The repeal of the Exclusion Act in 1943 and the elimination of the national origin quota system (Chinese quota was 105) in 1965 increased the population of Boston Chinatown. But while the Chinese population increased, the geographical area of Boston Chinatown decreased. From the early 1960s to the early 1970s, the Chinatown area reduced to about six square blocks, a 50 percent decrease as a result of highway and urban renewal land takings (Murphy 1971:31).

Philadelphia Chinatown is also more than 100 years old. The first Chinese laundry shop was established at Ninth and Race Streets in 1870 and the first restaurant in 1880, which was followed by a set of grocery stores selling ethnic foods. Unlike New York and San Francisco Chinatowns which are relatively large in population and size, Philadelphia Chinatown is small and encompasses only a small number of blocks, just like many other small Chinatowns throughout the United States. In 1972, among the 4,562 Chinese living in the Greater Philadelphia area, only 578 Chinese lived in the Chinatown community (Jung 1976:149-150).

In the Midwest, the first Chinese arrived in Detroit in the 1870s (Chen 1980:263). By 1940, there were about 583 Chinese living in the city with an established Chinatown (Lee 1949:423). Today, the Chinese in Detroit live dispersed among the other ethnic groups. Chinese reached Illinois in 1860s. By the 1880s, about 200 Chinese, most of whom came from Taoshan in Kwangtung, lived in Chicago. They congregated in a one-block Chinatown south of the downtown area and their major

occupations were laundries, restaurants, and grocery stores (Chen 1980:261-263). During the 1970s, about 3000 Chinese lived in Chicago's Chinatown area (Johnson 1971:27).

In the South, thirty persons born in China could be found in New Orleans in 1860. Some of these Chinese had entered New Orleans via New York or Philadelphia. These people worked as cigar makers, cotton pickers, kite makers, and other occupations (Cohen 1984). By 1940, there were already 230 Chinese in New Orleans with an established Chinatown (Lee 1949). The Chinese arrived in Mississippi in 1869, when Mississippi cotton planters were recruiting laborers. Most of the Chinese in Mississippi came to the Delta area during the 1866-1876 period of Reconstruction in Mississippi, responding to the demand for agricultural labor. A century later, the Chinese in Mississippi are still mainly concentrated in the Delta area but their major occupation has changed from the cotton workers in the fields to the merchants in the grocery stores. There were about 183 Chinese in the Mississippi Delta in 1900 and 1145 in 1960 (Loewen 1971). In 1990, the Chinese in the State of Mississippi numbered 2,518 (U.S. Census 1990). The Chinese community of the Mississippi Delta was unique. It was not territorially compact and most of the Chinese lived in the Delta towns of Greenville, Cleveland, Clarksdale, and Greenwood. No Chinatown or secret societies, clan and district associations could be found in this area. The Mississippi Chinese had constructed their community around family and the family-centered grocery store. One of the major community

activities that brought the Delta Chinese together was to attend the Baptist Churches. The Chinese Baptist Church of Cleveland served Chinese in other small towns within an area of approximately forty miles. Every Sunday afternoon, many Chinese came together to worship God as they believed that in order to be accepted by the whites in the Delta, becoming Christian was necessary (Quan 1982).

Changing Patterns of Chinese-American Communities

Since their establishments, the demographic and organizational compositions of Chinese-American communities as well as their geographical locations have been changing along with the changes in the surrounding society.

One of the important factors responsible for demographic changes in Chinese-American communities is the U.S. immigration policies concerning the Chinese, which reflect the domestic needs, racial ideologies, and the changing attitudes.

During the high growth period of frontier economy on the West Coast between 1850 and late 1870s, tens of thousands of Chinese males were brought to the United States because of the shortage of labor. So in the early years, Chinese communities in America were not like the immigrant ghettos of Italians, Jews, or Poles in the sense that there were almost no families.

Chinatown is a man's town. Social life in the normal sense of the term is non-existent (Yun

1936:182).

Since only male laborers were drawn to America from China at early stage and few Chinese women accompanied their husbands, the male to female ratio of Chinese immigrants was greatly imbalanced. After the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, women laborers or the wives of those already in the United States were excluded as well. As a result, there were only 3,868 recorded Chinese females in this country in 1890, compared to 103,620 Chinese males. The number of Chinese males was more than twenty-six times greater than that of females in 1890. In 1910, there were 1,430.1 Chinese males to every 100 Chinese females in this country, and in 1920, 695.5 (see Table 3).

TABLE 3
Sex and Sex Ratio of the Chinese in the United States
1860-1930

Year	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
1860	33,149	1,784	1858.1
1870	58,633	4,566	1284.1
1880	100,686	4,799	2106.8
1890	103,620	3,868	2678.9
1900	85,341	4,522	1887.2
1910	66,856	4,675	1430.1
1920	53,891	7,748	695.5
1930	59,802	15,152	394.7

Source: Judy Yung, 1986, Chinese Women of America. p118.

With the changes of U.S. immigration policy toward China during and after World War II, the demographic composition of Chinese-American communities has also changed significantly. In 1943, under the impact of war conditions, the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed. The wives and dependent children

of Chinese men in America were permitted to immigrate to this country. Consequently, the number of Chinese women and families in the United States increased considerably. In 1948 alone, 3,317 Chinese women immigrated to this country, compared to an average of only 60 during the 1930s (Yung 1986:80). Sung (1976:3) showed that during the 1948-1952 five-year period, 9588 Chinese immigrated to the United States, among whom only 853 were males. In other words, during this period, more than 90 percent of Chinese immigrants to the United States were females. By 1980, among the 514,389 foreign-born Chinese-Americans, 257,681 were females (U.S. Census 1980).

TABLE 4
Sex Ratio of the Chinese in the United States
1940-1980

Year	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Male-Female Ratio	285.3	189.6	133.2	110.7	102.3

Source: Judy Yung, 1986, Chinese Women of America. p118.

As a result of the arrival of a large number of female immigrants from China after World War II, for the first time since Chinatowns were established, women became present in significant numbers in these communities. In New York Chinatown, for example, the male-female ratio in 1950 was 4:1 (Marden and Meyer 1968). In 1960, it was 2:1, and in 1980, it became nearly equal (Wong 1987: 245). The arrival of female Chinese into Chinatowns has changed these communities into more sexually balanced communities (see Table 5).

TABLE 5

The Male/Female Ratio of the Chinese-Americans in Major U.S. Metropolitan Areas Where Major Chinatowns Exist 1960, 1970, and 1980

Names	Male-Female Ratio		
	1960	1970	1980
San Francisco - Oakland	128	106	99
New York	161	116	105
Los Angeles - Long Beach	128	111	101
Sacramento	121	103	97
Chicago	154	116	106
Boston	165	118	103
Seattle - Everett	140	110	98
Washington, D.C. & vicinity	151	99	102
Philadelphia & vicinity	150	115	

Source: Tsai, 1986, The Chinese Experience In America. p140-141. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: 1980 Census of Population, Subject Reports, Asian and Pacific Islander Population in The United States. Table. 18.

The increase in family migration has contributed not only to the decline of the single-person, male households in Chinatowns, but also to a increase of the population of younger age (Yuan 1974) as the immigrants' children were permitted to enter this country as well. In addition, the influx of the Chinese female immigrants also resulted in a "baby boom" between the late 1940s and the 1960s. Only 1,534 Chinese babies were born in this country in 1946. In 1950, there were 5,029 new births (Sung 1976:23). From 1960 to 1969, the percentage of people of 0-19 years old in New York Chinatown increased from 26.2 to 41.6 while the percentage over 60 years old decreased from 17.3 to 12.3 (Yuan 1974:158).

Moreover, the post-1965 Chinese immigrants represent a

wider cross section of Chinese society than the older immigrants. While nearly all the early Chinese immigrants to the United States were from the Pearl River Delta of Kwangtung Province in China (Edson 1974), the new Chinese immigrants who came after mid 1960s are more diverse in their places of origin. A large number of young people have emigrated from Hong Kong and Taiwan where they had already been exposed to Western culture before their arrival. Those who emigrated from mainland China were no longer just from the Kwangtung Province. They came from Shanghai, Tianjin, and other industrial cities of China. Instead of speaking Cantonese, these people spoke Shanghai, or Mandarin dialect. As Chen (1992:113) has reported on New York Chinatown:

Different "race" of Chinese are now on the scene: Although the primary dialect is still Cantonese, the composition of people is very complex. Those from mainland China come not just from the Kwangtung region, but also from Szechuan, Hunan, or Shanghai; besides these there are also Chinese from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Southeast Asia, and even Latin America.

Kwong (1987:40-41) has also observed that:

Once the expansion of Chinatown began, Mandarin-speaking people from Taiwan began to settle on the fringes, especially after 1976, when the Taiwanese government liberalized exit requirements. After 1979, Chinese from the People's Republic were allowed to emigrate directly to this country. They came from all parts of China and were unprepared to deal with the American capitalistic, competitive system; they, more than any other group, needed Chinatown.

New York's Chinatown has become the gathering place for Chinese from all parts of the world. They bring their specialized trades and distinctive tastes with them. Groups with different dialects, who cannot understand one another, concentrate in separate sections of Chinatown: Fukienese on Division Street, Burmese Chinese on Henry Street, Chinese from Taiwan on Centre Street, Vietnamese on East Broadway.

The arrival of these new immigrants with diverse backgrounds has transformed Chinese-American communities from the traditionally more homogenous communities into the more heterogenous enclaves.

The organizational structure of Chinese-American communities has also changed a lot, especially after 1965 when a large number of new immigrants began to arrive.

The Chinese who first came to the United States were of the laboring class. As newcomers, they had few legal rights and protection from the local authorities. Accustomed to living in an orderly society, the Chinese transplanted similar social structure from rural China to American conditions. Thus, in every major Chinatown in the United States, immigrants with the same surname, from the same village or district, or who spoke the same dialect banded together into organizations known as family or district associations. Though these associations had different memberships, their major functions were similar, providing immigrants with food, employment, shelter, and advice. Such an organizational structure could be successfully transplanted to the United States because of the following characteristics of the old Chinese settlers and their relationships to the U.S. authorities.

First, the early Chinese immigrants in Chinatowns were almost entirely from certain areas in Kwangtung province, where people had the strongest clan and lineage ties among all Chinese. As a coastal region geographically far from the

Capital City of China, Kwangtung was often regarded as a neglected area and received few services from the central government (Kwong 1987). Therefore, people in Kwangtung developed their own organizational structure mainly based on kinship and clanship relations.

In the second place, the early Chinese immigrants to America received few services and little protection from the local authorities as well. "When Cantonese immigrants found their relationship to the U.S. authorities similar to what it had been under the Ch'ing government, they transplanted the traditional political institutions to Chinatown"(Kwong 1987:85).

Third, the early Chinese communities were characterized by a population which was overwhelmingly male, of peasant background, and with little education. They had little knowledge of English and of the country to which they moved. Thus, they had to rely on internal aid societies to meet their needs.

Last but not the least, between 1882 and 1943, Chinese in the United States were not eligible to apply for naturalization because of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Under such conditions, in order to survive and protect themselves, they had to live together and strengthened their ethnic solidarity because they had few alternatives.

In order to avoid conflicts among different associations in Chinatowns, an organization named the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), more generally known as the

Chinese Six Companies, was established. The CCBA, an umbrella organization that has existed in many American Chinatowns ever since last century, is composed of seven district associations and tens of family name and mutual aid societies. In local cities, CCBA was called the Chinese Benevolent Association (Lee 1960). Its primary functions were to regulate internal business and economy, mediate disputes between the lower level organizations, and act as spokesperson for the Chinese in their relationship with the authorities. Since early Chinese communities were in relative isolation with the larger society, the traditional associations, such as CCBA and clan and family associations, remained major social organizations of Chinatowns until the 1960s.

In 1965, with the abolition of the national origin quota system, some specific U.S.' discriminatory immigration policies were ended and since then, the Chinese have come to this country again in large numbers.

One major difference between new immigrants and old settlers is in the types of associations they form and use (Wong 1985:246).

Unlike the early immigrants, most of whom were illiterate, poor, and low-skilled laborers who were mainly from rural China, the new immigrants as a group are mainly urban in origin who differ from the exclusively male, sojourning Chinese in almost every respect, from sex ratio and educational level to occupational skills and economic resources. The increasing acceptance of the Chinese by the

host society and the resulting changes of Chinatowns' demographic composition have weakened the dominance of traditional power in Chinatowns. As Baureiss (1982:71) points out:

The change towards a less restrictive market system will make community control less effective because it permits ethnic members to choose from among the various ethnic and host society's institutions and formal organizations. In order to maintain their membership, ethnic communities and organizations are forced to enter into competition with other ethnic communities as well as with the larger society. In doing so, they adapt to the larger competitive market system by proposing alternatives and thereby opening community boundaries.

The traditional power structure operated effectively when Chinatowns were isolated communities. Today, the larger society is more and more permeating Chinatowns with its financial and business activities, its trade unions and cultural associations, and its religious groups. The early Chinese-American communities had long been known as self-closed communities that never asked for outside help. As Light and Wong (1975:1344) once mentioned that in the case of Chinese- and Japanese-Americans, "the reluctance of impoverished people to accept, much less to demand, public relief funds has been notorious for six decades or more." Tow (1923:99) has also noted that "it is the tradition of the Chinese people to govern themselves, no matter what station of life they may be in." Some experts on ethnicity, such as Nathan Glazer (1971:44), once argued that "It does seem that certain cultures resist dependency, as others accept it." But

with the changing social climate and the arrival of new immigrants as well as an intensified government effort against poverty during the 1960s and early 1970s, Chinese-Americans were encouraged to demand public welfare funds even though some traditional organizations of Chinatowns used to rebuffed the federal antipoverty program (Light and Wong 1975; Tsai 1986). Consequently, with the U.S. government agencies providing more and more services in Chinatowns, from senior-citizen centers to free English-language instruction, people in the communities depended less and less on traditional associations (Sung 1967; Chen 1980; Wong 1985).

Nowadays the *fongs*, the family and district associations, maintain headquarters in Chinatown not to provide shelter or given aid to their needy sons, nor to provide interpreting service or settle disputes, but merely to stand as a symbol of common origin. What influence or importance they still retain is only with the older or first-generation Chinese. With the native-born, the student group, or more educated newcomers, these organizations mean nothing.

The native-born Chinese is familiar with the American setup. he has no language problem. He knows that if he is out of work he can collect unemployment insurance. If he is sick or injured, he can collect disability. If he should die, Social Security will help his widow and children. His personal and business relations are more apt to be with non-Chinese people and outside the sphere of any Chinatown organization (Sung 1967:118).

Although the old associations still exist and CCBA is still in the leading position in some major American Chinatowns, the traditional power could no longer control these changing communities completely. In Chicago Chinatown, for example, new modern social organizations, which have taken over and expanding the services once provided by the

traditional associations, sponsor several programs such as English and naturalization classes for new arrivals, day-care centers to help working mothers, and a senior citizens' program giving medicare, nutritional aid, and other help (Chen 1980). In Boston, an organization established in Chinatown in the mid 1960s was the Chinese American Civic Association (CACA). By 1970, this association already had 200 members, most of whom were second generation Chinese-Americans. During the first several years of its formation as the community's social service group, CACA started with such projects as voter registration drives and door-to-door polls pinpointing housing, health and employment needs (Murphy 1971). In San Francisco Chinatown, newly created federally funded agencies, such as the Economic Opportunity Council and Chinese Newcomers Service Center, "served the needs of Chinese immigrants with programs that helped them to learn English, acquire job skills, and cope with their new lives in America"(Yung 1986:96). Antipoverty agencies have been established with staffed social workers (Nee 1972). In New York, Chinatown is now coordinated by two kinds of organizations - traditional and modern organizations. The modern social organizations, such as the Chinatown Advisory Council; the Chinatown Health Clinic, and the federally funded Chinatown Planning Council, have provided immigrants with financial support, health care, housing and job information. In addition, the new settlers have formed their own associations whose memberships are based on common interests, professions, or educational background,

such as alumni groups or Organization of Chinese-Americans. By 1980, more than 200 such new associations have been established in New York Chinatown. Unlike the old immigrants who preferred to transmit traditional culture to Chinatowns, the newcomers are using ethnicity as a base for the formation of an interest group (Wong 1987:247-249). In short, as the contacts with dominant society widened, the impenetrable boundaries of American Chinatowns that tended to isolate their members from the non-Chinese community are being broken. Traditional social ties based on kinship and clanship are being replaced by social relationships among the different Chinese interest groups and between the Chinese and other racial groups.

New Immigrants and the Rebirth of Chinese Communities

The size and numbers of Chinese-American communities are positively associated with the in-migration of new Chinese immigrants. Until 27 years ago before the 1965 new immigration act was passed, most Chinatowns in America either declined or ceased to grow in population. Some "even disappeared all together" (Hong 1976:512). In 1940, there were twenty-eight Chinatowns in the United States (Lee 1949). By 1955, the number was reduced to sixteen and twelve Chinatowns disappeared (Chen 1980:264; Tsai 1986:126). As early as 1949, Dr. Rose Hum Lee suggested that the decline in numbers of American Chinatowns would continue and no evidence showed that

new Chinatowns would be created (Lee 1949:432). Dr. Kung (1962:200) also believed that:

With less prejudice and discrimination against the Chinese, and with more and more Chinese desirous of being assimilated into American society, those Chinatowns with fewer than 1,000 inhabitants will in the not too distant future go out of existence. As the Chinese gradually disperse among the white population, the usefulness of even the more important Chinatowns is doubtful.

Both Dr. Lee and Dr. Kung could not foresee the new changes in U.S. immigration law which rejected the principle of national origins as a basis for selecting immigrants. In 1965, United States abolished its national origin quota system, including the quota of 105 immigrants from China, making it possible for more than 20,000 Chinese a year to emigrate from their homeland to America.

TABLE 6

Average Annual Number of Legal Chinese (Including Taiwan and Hong Kong) Immigrants Admitted to the United States, 1961-1981

1961-65	1966-68	1969-73	1974-77	1978-81
5,000	20,000	20,000	26,000	29,000

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service: Annual Report, 1961 - 1977, Statistical Yearbook, 1980 - 1981.

TABLE 7

Percentage Increase of Chinese-American Population 1950-1990

1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90
58	83	85	104

Sources: Gill, Glazer, and Thernstrom: Our Changing Population. 1992, p339.
U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1990 Census of Population and Housing: Miscellaneous Racial-Ethnic Data. June 12, 1991.

While the native-born Chinese-American population

increased 103 percent between 1970 and 1980, the number of foreign-born Chinese-Americans increased 66 percent in that decade (Gill, Glazer, and Thernstrom 1992). From 1961 to 1980, nearly 348,000 Chinese, who were mainly from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China, came to the United States (Feagin 1989). An even larger number of Chinese immigrants came between 1981 and 1990. As a direct result of the U.S. new immigrant legislation, the Chinese communities in many parts of the United States have undergone a dramatic revival. For example, there were 10,604 Chinese residing in New York Chinatown in 1960. The number became 21,796 in 1970 for the same census tracts, not including the newly extended area of residential Chinatown (Sung 1976:49). By 1990, 33,443 Chinese lived within five census tracts of the old Chinatown's core area (U.S. Census 1990). The total population of New York "Chinatown has ballooned to 100,000, expanding the informal boundaries of the lower Manhattan enclave. Neighboring Little Italy and the formerly Jewish Lower East Side are now increasingly Chinese" (Hall 1990: 105). In San Francisco, the Chinese-American population grew rapidly during 1950s and 1980s. So did the population of San Francisco Chinatown. From 1965 to 1970, about 2,000 newcomers settled down in Chinatown's core area and 8,000 in the greater Chinatown area. In 1960, the foreign-born population in the core area of San Francisco Chinatown was 55 percent. The number increased to 60 percent in 1970 (Loo 1982:97). By 1990, a population of over 30,000 Chinese lived in both core and extended areas of San

Francisco Chinatown (U.S. Census, 1990). In Boston, the Chinese population increased from 5,564 in 1960 to 12,157 in 1970 (Tsai 1986:140-141). There were 1,600 Chinese living in Boston Chinatown in 1950. In the 1970s, the number increased to more than 6,000 and the community became the fourth largest Chinatown in the United States (Chen 1980:260). The Chinese population in Chicago area also increased over 100 percent during the 1960-1970 decade, from 5,866 to 11,995 (Tsai 1986). As a result, the population of Chicago Chinatown more than doubled in that decade (Sung 1976). In addition to the dramatic increase of the population in old Chinatowns, new Chinatowns and suburban Chinese communities have also emerged in Houston, Texas; San Diego, California; Miami, Florida; Queens, New York; and Monterey Park, Los Angeles (Kwong 1987).

That the rebirth of Chinatowns is closely related to the influx of new Chinese immigrants can also be measured by looking at the residential stability of these communities. Statistical information of how many immigrants move into Chinatowns each year and how many residents move out is practically unavailable. However, judging from the standpoint of residential desirability, most of the long-established Chinatowns are not ideal places to live in terms of the environmental conditions. Most old Chinatowns are overcrowded and the population densities are much higher than that of non-Chinatown areas. For example, "seventy-eight percent of the housing structures in Boston's Chinatown were classified as over crowded in 1970" (Light and Wong 1975:1350). According to

Kwong (1987:6), in New York, "Chinatown families live in run-down, roach-infested, three-room railroad flats, with usually three generations living together." In San Francisco, the population density of the core area of Chinatown in 1980 was 186 persons per acre, six times greater than that of San Francisco. The population densities of Chinatown's residential and expanded areas were both four times greater than that of the city (Loo 1986). Jung (1976:152) also mentioned that inadequate housing was one of the most pressing problems of Philadelphia Chinatown, where many small apartments had ten to fifteen occupants.

In 1979, a survey was carried out by Dr. Loo in order to find out the desired residential mobility among the residents of San Francisco Chinatown. Data for this study came from structured face-to-face interviews conducted by bilingual interviewers who talked with 108 Chinatown residents aged 18 and over. In this survey, Dr. Loo found that among the 108 Chinese-American adult residents who were randomly selected following sampling stratification by area, 12 percent of the respondents had lived in their current neighborhood for less than 3 years, 33 percent for 3-9 years, 18 percent for 10-19 years, and one third for 20 years or more. When asked if they ever want to move out of their neighborhood, 42 percent of the respondents said "Yes". Based on the findings of this survey, Dr. Loo concluded that the permanence of San Francisco Chinatown was not due to an immobile population but due to the influx of immigrants that has continually replaced the old

residents (Loo 1982:96-99). Although this type of survey has not been carried out in the other Chinese-American enclaves, it is not unreasonable to assume that what Dr. Loo has found about San Francisco Chinatown also has validity for other American Chinatowns. Other studies, directly or indirectly, suggest that Chinatowns' populations are not immobile ones. According to Lau (1976:120), one-fourth of the 1969 total population of New York Chinatown came between 1967 and 1968, and one-half arrived and settled between 1961 and 1969. By 1980, 80.4 percent of the population of New York Chinatown were foreign-born, and more than 20 percent had lived there for fewer than five years (Kwong 1987: 26; Chen 1992:117). Min Zhou (1989:1448-A) and Chen (1992:115) also suggest that Chinatown is the first stop in America for many Chinese and that New York Chinatown provides an alternative path for immigrants to incorporate into the American society because the immigrants in the enclave are able to move out of the community to settle in outer boroughs of the City.

Since the survival and growth of any ethnic community is dependent on either a continually renewed immigration or the recruitment of members from succeeding generations, occupational succession becomes another indicator for examining the residential stability of a community. In fact, most of the American-born Chinese do not prefer to follow their parents' footsteps by continuing their positions in small businesses in Chinatowns. As a native-born, better-educated generation, these people want to become highly paid

technicians, scientists, professors, doctors, and lawyers. Since the location of residence is often determined by the location of work place, those who have "made it" usually live in suburban areas or on university campuses rather than in Chinatowns (Murphy 1971, Yuan and Wong 1975, Chen 1980, Loo 1982, Kwong 1987).

Discussion

Explanations on ethnic communities have derived from various theoretical perspectives. A comparative review on Chinese communities all over the world may lead us to seek cultural explanations for the tendency of Chinese immigrants to display a pattern of high geographical concentration. Chinatowns or Chinese communities can be found not only in North America, but also in South America, Europe, Oceania, Africa, as well as in Southeast Asia and Japan. Moreover, the social organizations of overseas Chinese communities used to have similar segmentary structures that were based on common surnames, common dialects, or common localities. Thus, a number of researchers have emphasized the cultural exclusiveness of the Chinese communities' institutional structure. For example, Crissman (1967:27) suggests that "the social organization of the urban overseas Chinese did not originate abroad, but rather that it is derived from patterns indigenous to China itself and for this reason the overseas Chinese provide a basis for inference about the social

structure of traditional Chinese cities." Lyman (1977:150) also stresses that "the Chinese in Canada and the United States present an instance of unusually persistent social isolation and preservation of Old World values and institutions."

Admittedly, cultural endowments have contributed, in various ways, to the formation of ethnic communities in an alien country as cultural differences among different groups usually create barriers to communication among them. In addition to the difference in material culture, such as food, dress, and architecture, the non-material cultural traits that the Chinese immigrants brought with them were also often in direct contrast to that of the host population. Taking the case of China and the United States, the traditional Chinese value is family-, community-, and state-oriented which stresses collective norms. As Chen has observed:

Other cultural attributes that the Chinese brought with them were respect for the seniors, for the established authority, a high regard not so much for "law and order" but for stable tradition and social stability, and a concept of the individual primarily as a member of a collective with a supreme duty to the collective (Chen 1980:119).

While the Chinese culture is part of the Confucian tradition which stresses individual's obedience to authority, the American values derive partially from the post-Renaissance humanistic culture that stresses the rights and freedom of an individual. The beliefs in the individual's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness have long been ingrained in the minds of the

American people. The basic difference between Chinese and American cultures are likely to manifest in many ways. Thus, the initial period of settlement of the Chinese immigrants is often marked by the inevitable tension in adjusting to a new society with which many of them were unfamiliar. The experience of being physically and culturally different in an alien land usually offered the opportunity for group allegiance and ethnic solidarity (Patterson 1975).

On the other hand, however, that an ethnic community's permanence is due to a desire to retain cultural heritage and ethnic homogeneity implies only one choice of the enclave's people. Table 8 suggests that ethnic quality is not always the top preference for an ideal neighborhood, even in the views of Chinatown residents. The table reveals that only 15 percent of the respondents from San Francisco Chinatown mentioned "human qualities" as an important criterion for an ideal neighborhood. Thus, it is necessary for us to turn to a consideration of another explanation for the community's survival. That is, ethnic residential concentration is more than a mere transplanting of a cultural heritage and a desire to retain ethnic homogeneity. It is also determined by structural conditions such as employment opportunities, location convenience to work, proximity to older kin, and community services.

TABLE 8
An Ideal Neighborhood in View of San Francisco
Chinatown Residents

	Frequency of Mentions	Percent of Total Mentions
Environmental Qualities (Quiet, clean, uncrowded)	93	37%
Location Convenience (Close to shops/stores, entertainment, public transportation)	54	21%
Human Qualities (Friendly neighbors, Chinese-speaking, neighborhood homogeneity by class, goals, culture, race, age)	39	15%
Natural Environment (Fresh air, (Fresh air, scenic, good weather)	33	13%
Quality of Housing (New homes, lower buildings larger homes, backyard)	12	5%
Quality of Service (Lots of parking spaces, community services available)	11	4%
Other (Don't know, low/reasonable rent, don't care)	10	4%
Total	252	99%

Source: Chalsa Loo: Neighborhood Satisfaction And Safety: A Study of a Low-Income Ethnic Area. Environment and Behavior, January 1986. p116

Tables 9 and 10 indicate that people in Chinese enclaves are not only residentially concentrated, they also tend to be occupationally and linguistically segregated. Socioeconomic and nativity factors have also played an important role with respect to residential patterns among the Chinese. From Table

10 and Table 11, we see that in the Chinatown core areas in New York, Boston, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, the percentages of persons employed as service workers, operators, and laborers; of persons who were foreign born; and of persons who did not speak English well were higher than the numbers of their respective metropolitan areas while the median family incomes were lower in Chinatown core areas than that of the larger regions, particularly in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The tables support the suggestion that a person's social and economic status, such as education, occupation, income, place of birth, and English language ability could all affect his\her choice of residential location. Those Chinese-Americans who are more educated and better-English speaking tend to have higher status occupations and to live in less segregated areas.

Table 11 also reveals that the 1979 median family income of Chinese households in San Francisco-Oakland and Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSAs were much higher than that in New York SMSA, which might result from the educational and occupational differences. According Kwong (1987:40), professional Chinese immigrants prefer to live in California or Hawaii. Since the employment opportunities for immigrants in New York City are mainly concentrated in manual labor and low-level service sectors, the city's Chinatown tends to pre-select immigrants of working-class origin. As early as 1970, Dr. Sung (1976:72-73) found that New York had the lowest percentage of the Chinese in professions among the 10 selected

SMSAs. From table 11, we found that while the percentage of Chinese male high school graduates in New York SMSA was 55.4 percent in 1980, the percentage in Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSA was 69. The percent of employed Chinese-Americans 16 years and over in managerial, professional, technical, sale, and administrative work in Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSA was 67.5 in 1980, compared with 46.3 in New York statistical area.

TABLE 9
General Characteristics of the Chinese Householders (25
Years of Age and Older) in the New York Area: 1980

	Manhattan	Outer Boroughs	Outside NYC
Total	868	992	456
Mean Years of Education	10.6	13.5	17.8
Median Household Income 1979	11,000	16,000	27,000
Occupation			
Managerial & executive (%)	8.4	13.4	16.0
Professional & technical (%)	10.9	15.7	48.0
Sales & services (%)	49.8	50.6	24.1
Operators & laborers (%)	16.0	12.8	5.9
Without occupational (%)	14.9	7.5	6.0
Employment in Enclave (%) Industries	55.9	52.2	25.7
Foreign Born (%)	90.8	90.4	85.4
English ability (% Good)	44.5	65.6	89.3

Source: Min Zhou and John Logan: "In and Out of Chinatown: Residential Mobility and Segregation of New York City's Chinese". Social Forces, December 1991. p394

TABLE 10
Social and Economic Characteristics of Selected Census Tracts
In Urban Chinatown's Core Areas, 1980

(Census Tract:	New York 0016	San Francisco 0114	Los Angeles 2071	Boston 0702)
Total Population	8085	3084	4585	3552
Asian and Pacific Islander	6761	3025	3517	2712
Chinese	6688	2939	2929	2672
Percent of Chinese in Asians and Pacific Islanders	98.9	97.1	83.2	98.5
High School Graduates of Persons 25 Years and Over (%)	36.8	35.6	26.6	32.4
Median Age *	32.7	53.8	34.4	31.2
Persons Who Completed 4 or More Years of College (%) *	11.2	5.6	6.8	10.0
Occupations *				
Employed Persons 16 Years and Over	3409	1081	1368	1271
Employed Persons In Managerial, Professional, Technical, Sale, and Administrative Areas (%)	28.0	35.6	28.1	32.7
Employed Persons as Service Workers, Operators and Laborers (%)	67.4	54.8	63.1	61.4
Median Family Income in 1979 *	\$12152	\$11711	\$9242	\$10027
Foreign-Born (%) *	83.1	84.1	94.1	76.8
Persons 18 Years and Over Who Speak English Not Well or Not at All (%) *	63.6	68.5	66.7	60.2

Source: Composed from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts.

- * Asians and Pacific Islanders. As the number of Chinese is very close to that of the Asians and Pacific Islanders, the status of the Asians and Pacific Islanders should reflect the status of the Chinese.

TABLE 11
Social and Economic Characteristics of the Chinese in
Selected Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, 1980

	New York	San Francisco- Oakland	Los Angeles- Long Beach	Boston
Total	133074	143551	94521	21442
Median Age				
Total	30.9	31.3	29.6	29.0
Foreign-born	36.4	37.3	32.9	34.1
Occupations				
Employed Persons 16 Years and Over	67558	73684	45572	11038
Percentage in Managerial, Professional, Technical, Sale, and Administrative	46.3	61.3	67.5	56.2
Percentage in Service, Operator, and Laborers	48.8	30.5	25.5	40.7
High School Graduates (%) Male and Female)	M: 55.4 F: 50.7	M: 68.6 F: 62.0	M: 69.0 F: 75.1	M: 66.1 F: 60.1
Median Family Income in 1979	\$15538	\$24182	\$22625	\$18137
Foreign-Born (%)	75.0	60.9	70.2	68.7
Persons 18 Years and Over Who Speak English Not Well or Not at All (%)	45.7	35.2	33.2	36.4

Source: Composed from the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: 1980 Census of Population, Subject Reports, Asian and Pacific Islander Population in The United States. Table. 18, 19, 20, 21.

Michael Hechter (1984:25) has noted: "when one's chances are seen to be independent of membership in a particular group, the psychic significance of membership in that group

will tend to recede or to disappear altogether." From a structural and contextual point of view, there is always a possibility that a given ethnic attribute can change (Patterson 1975). The case of Chinese in Mississippi Delta may serve as a good illustration. Unlike most Chinese immigrants in urban centers, "they are isolated and have no access to Chinese schools, Buddhist temples, Chinese clan and lineage organizations, Chinese literature and media, Chinese stores, apothecaries, theaters, museums, or markets." (Quan 1982:3). They had to learn to speak English in order to survive. They also became Christians in order to be accepted by the local white community. Without the benefit of ethnic cultural reinforcement, these Chinese did not speak, dress, and think in the same ways as Chinatowners even though their culture origin was no different from their urban counterparts (Loewen 1971, Quan 1982, Lyman 1982).

As for the overseas Chinese community organizations, while Chinese culture has had considerable impact on the structure of Chinese ethnic organizations, when we look at a community vertically, that is, when we take into account time dimension and look at different historical periods, we may find that considerable changes have taken place within Chinatowns' institutional structure as a result of the changes of external conditions and internal demographic composition. Since the early Chinese communities were in relative isolation with the larger society, the traditional associations remained major social organizations of Chinatowns until 1960s. As the

contacts with dominant society widened, the dominance of tradition power in Chinatowns have been weakened. Traditional social ties based on kinship and clanship are being broken as a result of the increasing acceptance of the Chinese by the host society and the resulting changes of Chinatowns' demographic composition.

Chapter IV

CHINESE-AMERICAN COMMUNITIES IN BUSINESS

Although Chinese communities serve social, cultural, and political functions, one of their primary functions is economic. As Chen (1941:51) noted:

The Chinese are no different from any other race in the pursuit of life and happiness. Wealth, fine reputation, long life, comfortable living and kind deeds are the goals of life which the Chinatownians held dear. As money in the United States plays an important role, Chinatown's primary aim is economic, the making of a decent living.

Most of the Chinese who moved to the United States are motivated by economic or political reasons as well as the desire for family reunification. The Chinese settlers of the earlier migration were mainly farmers, laborers, and adventurers who had purely economic aims. They viewed the United States as a "mountain of gold" where they could make their fortune. Many of them hoped to make a quick gain in America and then return to China to lead comfortable lives. Recent Chinese immigrants, who intend to make United States their permanent home, have arrived to fulfill their "American dream". No matter how complex their motivations are, seeking economic betterment remains one of the primary reasons.

Economic Basis of Chinese-American Communities

The characteristics of Chinese communities' economic activities are determined, to a large extent, by structural conditions for the historical periods in the United States. Therefore, the economic lives of these enclaves should also be viewed in the context of the larger society. The Chinese-American communities' occupational composition vary in various environments. Most of the early Chinese immigrants came as laborers who worked on the railroads or in the mines. In 1870, among the 36,339 California mining laborers, 25 percent came from China (Tsai 1986). Railroad construction was another important occupation for the Chinese in the nineteenth century's frontier economy. Over 10,000 Chinese in California laid the foundations of the Central Pacific Railroad (Lee 1960). The Chinese also comprised the main labor force for the Southern Pacific and Northwest Pacific railways (Sung 1967). From California, the Chinese spread to Oregon and Washington. Between the 1850s and the 1870s, many small Chinese communities emerged in the Pacific states. During the 1870s, the Chinese in America also reached East and South where small Chinatowns were established.

Laundries, restaurants, and grocery stores were major businesses and services established by early Chinese immigrants. The service industry has been Chinatowns' major industry ever since last century. Before the 1960s, one of the predominant occupations of American Chinese was the laundry

business. In the census of 1870, there were 3,653 Chinese launderers and laundresses in this country. The number increased to 25,483 in 1900. In 1920, nearly 30 percent of the employed Chinese in America were engaged in laundry work, with 12,559 out of 45,614 in all occupations (Kung 1962:57). In Chicago in 1950, among the 669 business enterprises operated by the Chinese, 430 of them were laundries (Lee 1960:266). In New York, there were 2,646 Chinese laundries in 1960, compared with 505 Chinese restaurants and 144 other Chinese businesses (Sung 1967:188). Three reasons may explain why so many early Chinese in America became laundrymen. First, the anti-Chinese campaign in late nineteenth century made many employers reluctant to hire Chinese. Thus, the Chinese had to look for other means of livelihood. Since laundry was viewed as "woman's work" and few of white men wanted to do so, Chinese men found it a non-competitive business. Second, opening a laundry was a simple matter for the early Chinese immigrants who did not possess enough capital to establish businesses on a large scale. Third, most of the Chinese immigrants came from a small rural area in south China who were unskilled laborers and had little knowledge of English language. As a type of self-employment business, laundry work did not require much knowledge of English (Chen 1941; Lee 1960; Sung 1972). However, since the early 1960s, the hand-laundry industry has declined because of the development of washers and dryers. The introduction of new technology in the laundry industry, where Chinese had been employed for decades, undermined one of their

major occupations in America. Without sufficient business, many small laundries in Chinatowns had to be put up for sale. Those that remained were experiencing a hard time. It was under such circumstances that the garment industry, which needed a new source of inexpensive labor to compete with garment export from the Third World countries, began to grow quickly in Chinatowns (Kwong 1987). The garment industry has provided necessary job opportunities in Chinatowns for the non-English-speaking immigrant women. And the availability of a large number of Chinese women has increased the number of garment factories in Chinatowns. In San Francisco by the end of 1960s, there were already 120 sewing factories in Chinatown's core area (Sung 1976). "Seamstresses compose the largest labor force employed by any single industry in Chinatown. They produce close to half of the total volume of apparel manufactured in San Francisco each year" (Nee 1972 :289). There were only 8 garment factories in New York Chinatown in 1960. In 1974, there were 209, and in 1984, 500 (Kwong 1987). Moreover, the enterprises in Chinatowns owned by recent immigrants are more diverse than that of the early settlers. While both recent and early immigrants find business and employment opportunities in laundry, restaurant, and retail industries, the new settlers are also expending their businesses into the higher level service sector as well as the garment industry. Thus, modern hotels, elaborately decorated restaurants, and large-scale shopping centers are appearing one by one in Chinese enclaves. Chinese-American doctors,

lawyers, accountants, real estate agents, Bankers, investment counselors, book sellers, and travel agents have all appeared in increasing numbers in Chinatowns.

TABLE 12
Relationship Between Types of Chinese Businesses in
New York's Chinatown and Types of Chinese (1984)

Type of Chinese Business	Subtypes	Controlled by
Laundries	Washer plants, presser plants, collection and delivery stores Complete service hand laundry	Old settlers
	Laundromats	New immigrants
Restaurants	Chop suey restaurants	Both old and New immigrants
	Snack and coffee shops	
	Cantonese restaurants Shanghai, Peking, Hunan, Szechuan restaurants	New immigrants
Garment factories	Skirts, blouses, and sportswear	New immigrants
Travel agencies, law, accounting, and insurance firms		Mostly second- generation Chinese- Americans
Groceries		Both old and new immigrants
Gift stores		Both old and new immigrants
Bookstores		Mostly new immigrants

Sources: Bernard Wong, "The Chinese: New Immigrants in New York's Chinatown." In Nancy Foner Edt. New Immigrants in New York. Columbia University press. New York.1987, p256, Table 9.1.

More than forty years ago, Rose Hum Lee (1949:426-427) outlined the location patterns of the Chinese in the United States before 1940. At first (1850-1880), the Chinese were mainly concentrated in the West Coast states and Rocky

Mountain areas. Then (1880-1910), they dispersed to midwestern and eastern parts of the country. Finally (1910-1940), they were reconcentrated in larger urban centers in the East and West. Although not all the predictions concerning Chinatowns by Dr. Lee are accurate (i.e., she argued that a more equalized sex ratio would cause the disintegration of Chinatowns), her suggestion that the concentration, reconcentration, and dispersion of the Chinese were caused by the economic opportunities and their disappearance is still valid today.

Table 13 shows that as the large number of Chinese laborers were initially brought to this country to develop the West, the Chinese were mainly concentrated in the western part of the United States in 1880, such as California (75,132), Oregon (9,510), Washington (3,186), Idaho (3,379), and Nevada (5,416). These five states alone made up more than 90 percent of the total Chinese population in America in 1880, not to mention other western states. But as table 13 indicates, although the West coast still has the largest Chinese-American population today, the population percentages of the Western states have either declined or almost stopped growing between 1880 and 1990. On the other hand, the percentages of the Chinese-American population in nearly all the Northeastern states increased during the same period, with the fastest growing rate in New York State.

TABLE 13
Number and Percentage of Chinese by State, 1880, 1960, and 1990

State	population			Percent of U.S.Chinese Population		
	1880	1960	1990	1880	1960	1990
Alabama	4	288	3,929	0.00	0.12	0.24
Alaska	-	137	1,342	-	0.06	0.08
Arizona	1,630	2,936	14,136	1.55	1.24	0.86
Arkansas	133	676	1,726	0.13	0.29	0.11
California	75,132	95,600	704,850	71.25	40.42	42.84
Colorado	612	724	8,695	0.58	0.31	0.53
Connecticut	123	865	11,082	0.12	0.37	0.67
Delaware	1	191	2,301	0.00	0.08	0.14
D. C.	13	2,632	3,144	0.01	1.11	0.19
Florida	18	1,023	30,737	0.02	0.43	1.87
Georgia	17	686	12,657	0.02	0.29	0.77
Hawaii	-	38,197	68,804	-	6.15	4.18
Idaho	3,379	311	1,420	3.20	0.13	0.09
Illinois	209	7,047	49,936	0.20	2.98	3.04
Indiana	29	952	7,371	0.03	0.40	0.45
Iowa	33	423	4,442	0.03	0.18	0.27
Kansas	19	537	5,330	0.02	0.23	0.32
Kentucky	10	288	2,736	0.01	0.12	0.17
Louisiana	489	731	5,430	0.46	0.31	0.33
Maine	8	123	1,262	0.01	0.05	0.08
Maryland	5	2,188	30,868	0.01	0.93	1.88
Massachusetts	229	6,745	53,792	0.22	2.85	3.27
Michigan	27	3,234	19,145	0.03	1.37	1.16
Minnesota	24	720	8,980	0.02	0.30	0.55
Mississippi	51	1,011	2,518	0.05	0.43	0.15
Missouri	91	954	8,614	0.09	0.40	0.52
Montana	1,765	240	655	1.67	0.10	0.04
Nebraska	18	290	1,775	0.02	0.12	0.11
Nevada	5,416	572	6,618	5.14	0.24	0.40
New Hampshire	14	152	2,314	0.01	0.06	0.14
New Jersey	170	3,813	59,084	0.16	1.61	3.59
New Mexico	57	362	2,607	0.05	0.15	0.16
New York	909	37,573	284,144	0.86	15.89	17.27
North Carolina	-	404	8,859	-	0.17	0.54
North Dakota	-	100	557	-	0.04	0.03
Ohio	109	2,507	19,447	0.10	1.06	1.18
Oklahoma	-	398	5,193	-	0.17	0.32
Oregon	9,510	2,995	13,652	9.02	1.27	0.83
Pennsylvania	148	3,741	29,652	0.14	1.58	1.80
Rhode Island	27	574	3,170	0.03	0.24	0.19
South Carolina	9	158	3,039	0.01	0.07	0.19
South Dakota	238	89	385	0.23	0.04	0.02
Tennessee	25	487	5,653	0.02	0.21	0.34
Texas	136	4,172	63,232	0.13	1.76	3.84
Utah	501	629	5,322	0.48	0.27	0.32
Vermont	-	68	679	-	0.03	0.04

Virginia	6	1,135	21,238	0.01	0.48	1.29
Washington	3,186	5,491	33,962	3.02	2.32	2.06
West Virginia	5	138	1,170	0.01	0.06	0.07
Wisconsin	16	1,010	7,354	0.02	0.43	0.45
Wyoming	914	192	554	0.87	0.08	0.03
<u>Total</u>	<u>105,456</u>	<u>236,509</u>	<u>1,645,472</u>	<u>100.06</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.01</u>

Sources: Tsai, 1986, The Chinese Experience in America. p26.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Subject Reports. PC(2)1c 1960. United States

Department of Commerce News, June 12, 1991. Table 5A.

Table 13 also shows that between 1880 and 1960, the Rocky Mountain region showed a considerable decline in Chinese population. Nevada's Chinese population decreased from 5,416 in 1880 to 572 in 1960; Montana, from 1,765 to 240; Idaho, from 3,379 to 311, and Wyoming, from 914 to 192. In Colorado and Utah, although the net number of the Chinese increased by about 100 in each state during an eighty-year period, the percentage of the Chinese population in these two states actually decreased from 0.58 to 0.3 and 0.48 to 0.27 respectively. The loss of Chinese population in this region is directly related to the undergoing changes of the larger society's economic structure. The Rocky Mountain states are rich in minerals, such as gold, silver, and copper. "In the 1860s and 1870s, when silver and other minerals were discovered in the Rocky Mountain States of Utah, Nevada, Colorado, Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho, Chinese miners went there looking for jobs, and little Chinatowns were dotted over these mining areas"(Chen 1980:49). In 1870, about 8,000 Chinese miners worked in Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, and Oregon (Kung 1962). By 1880, the combined Chinese population in Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, and

Colorado reached 12,587. According to Lee (1949, 1960), when the Chinese were forbidden by law and trade union regulation to engage in mining during the 1880s, "they were symbiotically attached to the mining enterprises" by doing women's work, such as cooking and laundry, for a mainly foreign-born male population. For example, during late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Chinatown in Butte, Montana, which was noted for its mining industry, mainly served a floating male population composed of white miners, Japanese railroad workers, and Korean sugar-beet farmers as well as Chinese workers.

In a city with about 50,000 inhabitants, there were some 75 restaurants, mostly Chinese owned and operated, specializing in preparing miners' lunch pails, serving them breakfast and dinner, ... more laundries and tailor-shops existed than would be normal for a city with settled families (Lee 1960:59).

In this case, the need for such Chinese services usually diminished when local populations settled down and brought in their families. Further, in the case of Butte, Montana, when the city's economy suffered a serious decline, Chinatown's economy in turn underwent a drastic shrinkage. By 1940, only 88 Chinese still lived in the city. Moreover, when new mechanized mining was introduced, Chinese miners were no longer needed. In consequence, Chinatowns in Rocky Mountain states declined as frontier occupations were closed to the Chinese (Lee 1949, 1960). "Salt Lake City's Chinatown had virtually vanished; Boise, Idaho, had no Chinese in 1930; and the once sizable Chinatown in Rock Springs, Wyoming, had ceased to exist"(Tsai 1986:106). This indicates that the

growth or decline of Chinese communities is positively related to the growth or decline of the local economy. For instance, in the Gold Rush days of California, several Chinatowns could be found in California's Gold country. But when the gold-mining industry declined, depopulating the area, most of these Chinatowns gradually disappeared (Chen 1980). The Chinatowns in Rocky Mountain states have also declined and diminished as their industrial base has declined (Lee 1960, Lyman 1970)

The existence of a Chinese community is also possible when the economic structure has a vacuum for business activities. A good example in this case is the Chinese community in the Mississippi Delta. Like the majority of the early Chinese immigrants to America, the first Chinese immigrants to Mississippi came from a small rural area in Kwangtung province. They spoke Cantonese instead of Mandarin (Loewen 1971). Their cultural background had no difference from that of those who lived in urban Chinatowns. But their later American experience and the related social and economic activities were not the same as their urban counterpart because of the different social and economic context. The social structure of the Mississippi Delta was divided into two major racial groups--blacks and whites--and several social classes. The blacks were at the bottom of this structure. And the whites were composed of upper-class and working class. The first Chinese immigrants to Mississippi Delta were considered as "near black". They arrived in Mississippi in late 1860s when the Delta cotton planters were recruiting laborers. It

was not long before they found out that the plantation system did not allow them to succeed economically. Therefore, they got out from under their contracts as soon as they could and tried other occupations even though their alternatives were very limited in a region whose economy was based on agriculture. The Chinese were quick to recognize that an occupational vacuum, specifically retail trade, existed in the Delta as a result of the decline of the plantation furnish system and the existence of the biracial social system. On the one hand, "the requirements for increased agricultural production demanded that swamps be drained and land cleared. Labor engaged to do such work was often paid in cash, and enough money was circulating to make a grocery venture feasible"(Quan 1982:7). On the other hand, "As an ideology, segregation has not operated in any simple way to rationalize and facilitate the efficient exploitation of the oppressed Negroes by the white minority"(Loewen 1971:37). As few white businessmen wanted to operate any businesses in the black community, as few blacks were financially or socially able to enter the retail business, and as the Chinese, who came from outside the Mississippi system, were relatively impervious to the criticism on doing business with blacks, some Chinese seized the opportunity by establishing grocery stores mainly in black neighborhoods. The continued success of the Chinese in grocery sector attracted more and more Delta Chinese to this business. As Loewen recorded in his The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White (1971:36), 97 percent of the

Delta Chinese were engaged in or had retired from the operation of grocery stores. Their economic success made it possible for them to improve their social status. They utilized their Caucasian friends in order to persuade the local power structure to admit them to the white public institutions, such as schools and hospitals. They took an active part in church programs in order to be accepted by the whites. They finally gained respect and succeeded in changing their social status from "near black" to "almost white" (Loewen 1971). The Delta Chinese's success in the grocery field and their later social rise lies in a unique triangular relationship between Chinese, white, and black within the social and economic structure of Mississippi Delta. When changes take place within this structure, the position of the Chinese changes, too. As the competition from large chain stores are growing, as the status of blacks is changing, and as racial segregation is weakening, the economic foundation that once created for the Chinese community is disappearing. With the outmigration of the younger Chinese generation and with few Chinese newcomers coming in, the Delta Chinese community would eventually cease to exist (Quan 1982).

If a city has both diversified industries that offer various occupations, and a large population which offers consumer demands for the services of a Chinese community, the Chinese community will thrive (Lee 1949; Lyman 1970). Chinatowns in New York, Boston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco

are good illustrations. Here, we will mainly examine the social and economic context of New York City as the city has the largest and fastest growing Chinese community in the United States.

New York City is not only one of the largest and oldest cities in America, it also has a tradition of immigration. The city had more immigrants than any other city in the nation (Foner 1987). From the very beginning, New York has served as the historic port of entry for millions of new arrivals. From 1820 to 1920, about 34 million immigrants came to the United States, of whom two-thirds entered through the Port of New York. Although many of them moved on to other places, nearly half of the immigrants settled in New York City (Bogen 1987:11). At the turn of the century, nearly 40 percent of New Yorkers were foreign-born. Even in 1980, after decades of steady decline, 12 percent of the nation's foreign-born population lived in New York City, with one out of four New Yorkers being foreign-born (Foner 1987:6)

TABLE 14
Percentage of U.S. and New York City Foreign-Born
Population, 1900-1980

Year	United States	New York City	Percent of U.S. Foreign-Born in New York City
1980	6.2	23.6	11.9
1970	4.7	18.2	14.9
1960	5.4	20.0	16.0
1950	6.9	23.6	17.8
1940	8.8	28.7	18.3
1930	11.6	34.0	16.5
1920	13.2	36.1	14.5
1910	14.8	40.8	14.3
1900	13.7	37.0	12.2

Source: Kraly, 1987, "U.S. Immigration Policy and the

Immigrant Populations of New York", New Immigrants in New York. p54.

Traditionally, immigrants to New York City came mainly from Europe, first the Dutch, the English, the Irish, and the Germans from Western Europe, later the Italians, the Greeks, the Polish, the Hungarians, and the Russian from southern and eastern Europe. However, the changing social and economic conditions in Europe as well as the changes of the U.S. immigration law in 1965 which abandoned the quota system favoring Europeans produced a shift. Between 1965 and 1980, about three-quarters of the immigrants who arrived in New York were from the nations of the Latin America, Caribbean, and Asia. In 1980, eight of the top ten nations whose immigrants were arriving in New York were non-European nations. The first three nations on the list were Dominican Republic, Jamaica, and China (Bogen 1987:6). Immigrants' settlement in New York has made the city more ethnically diverse than other cities in the United States. This in turn provides a hospitable environment and is more appealing to new immigrants because newcomers do not stand out (Foner 1987). But perhaps the most important factor ushering in the increasing Chinese immigration to New York City is the availability of business and employment opportunities. The first problem facing new immigrants is how to survive in a new environment. Most newcomers are in urgent need of jobs to earn their living. The two important sectors of New York City's economy that shape the business and employment possibilities to many new Chinese

immigrants are the apparel industry and the service industry.

New York City is the nation's capital for apparel manufacturing and wholesaling. Although other big cities in the United States, such as Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia, also have sizable concentrations of apparel manufacturers, no cities could compete with New York City in the size and speed of growth in garment industry. By the mid 1980s, New York City had about 170,000 people employed in apparel manufacturing and wholesaling (Waldinger 1986:49-51). While overall manufacturing employment in New York has decreased drastically between the 1960s and 1980s, the demand for laborers in some certain manufacturing sectors - the garment industry, for example, increased during this period. New York has exclusive advantages in the clothing industry. As the nation's leading port, the city is the chief entrepot for sale and exchange of domestic and foreign textiles. As a cultural and tourist center, the city is sensitive to fashion change, which in turn made its garment industry specializing in fashionable and short-lived apparel (Waldinger 1986; Wong 1987). What is more important, the continued and regular inflow of immigrants have provided a massive labor force to support this relatively unprofitable and low-wage industry. As Pessar (1987:107) observed:

Almost from its inception, the New York garment industry has depended on immigrant labor. Irish, Swedes, and Germans comprised the first flow, and later, by the turn of the century, Jews and Italians made up the majority of the industry's labor force.

And since mid-1960s, immigrants from Latin America and

Asia have become the main labor forces in the city's garment industry. By 1970, 43 percent of the employed Chinese females in New York City were operatives, mostly seamstresses (Wong 1987). Between 1969 and 1982, the number of Chinese women working in garment factories in New York Chinatown increased from 8,000 to 20,000 (Kwong 1987). The city's service industry is another major source of employment for the Chinese and other ethnic groups. Thirty-six percent of the Chinese men in the New York labor force were service workers in 1970 (Wong 1987). New York is the undisputed leader among American urban centers in population, commerce, international trade, and entertainment. The city has the largest concentration of major U.S. and international corporate headquarters in America; the largest concentration of major commercial banks in America; the largest concentration of major law firms in America, and all the headquarters of major national networks (ABC, NBC, CBS) of America (McClelland and Magdovitz 1981; Peirce and Hagstrom 1983). As an economic, financial, cultural, and tourist center, the demand for a wider range of services, personal services in particular, has contributed to a major expansion in the service sector of New York's economy, with services supplying almost one job in three in the city in 1980 (Sassen-Koob 1985:303). It is the service sector, especially low-level service work, that produces jobs for most new immigrants (Foner 1987). Immigrant groups have long recognized the business and employment advantages in this extraordinary concentration of people, enterprises, and

culture establishments. They are not only influenced by the city's economic conditions, but also influence the city's economy in a way that their services have stimulated the New Yorkers' new demands. For instance, Chinese restaurants run by newcomers from the areas other than Kwangtung Province have exposed New Yorkers to new Chinese cuisines and foods, which in turn have stimulated their new interest in Chinese food beyond Cantonese to regional dishes from Peking, Shanghai, Hunan, and Szechuan (Wong 1987; Kwong 1987). Moreover, New York City is unrivaled in America as a cultural, entertainment, and tourist center, with more than 60 museums and more than 500 theaters (McClelland and Magdovitz 1981:127) as well as the Statue of Liberty as a symbol of freedom, Wall Street as a symbol of financial power, and United Nation as a symbol of international cooperation. Thus, ethnic services not only gain their substantial support from the native population, but also benefit greatly from the visitors from all parts of the country and many areas of the world. While New York as a commercial center is a city of opportunity for the Chinese immigrants, it is not surprising that more and more immigrants from China choose New York City for residence.

In the South, there is also a steady growth of the Chinese population between 1880 and 1990 (see table 14), both in numbers and in the population percentage distribution, particularly in Texas, Florida, and Georgia. This reflects the general movement of American corporations and population to the "sun belt area" to follow new economic opportunities. New

Chinatowns have been built in Miami and Houston (Xu and Liu 1992; Kwong 1987). Hundreds of Chinese restaurants are found in Atlanta. These cities are rapidly growing commercial capitals as well as regional centers of the American economy.

TABLE 15
Chinese Population and Population Percentage in the South
1880, 1960, and 1990

State	Population			Percentage in the South		
	1880	1960	1990	1880	1960	1990
Alabama	4	288	3,929	0.00	0.12	0.24
Arkansas	133	676	1,726	0.13	0.29	0.11
Florida	18	1,023	30,737	0.02	0.43	1.87
Georgia	17	686	12,657	0.02	0.29	0.77
Kentucky	10	288	2,736	0.01	0.12	0.17
Louisiana	489	731	5,430	0.46	0.31	0.33
Mississippi	51	1,011	2,518	0.05	0.43	0.15
North Carolina	-	404	8,859	-	0.17	0.54
Oklahoma	-	398	5,193	-	0.17	0.32
South Carolina	9	158	3,039	0.01	0.07	0.19
Tennessee	25	487	5,653	0.02	0.21	0.34
Texas	136	4,172	63,232	0.13	1.76	3.84
Virginia	6	1,135	21,238	0.01	0.48	1.29
West Virginia	5	138	1,170	0.01	0.06	0.07
Total	903	11,595	168,117	0.87	4.91	10.23

Sources: Tsai, 1986, The Chinese Experience in America. p26, p154
U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.
Subject Reports. PC(2)1c 1960. United States
Department of Commerce News, June 12, 1991. Table 5A.

Ethnicity as Resource

Economic opportunities are external conditions that are necessary for the emergence of a Chinese ethnic enclave. However, it is the interaction between ethnic resources and economic context along with other conditions that have laid the foundation for the survival and expansion of Chinatowns or

Chinese communities.

Ethnicity has been defined in varied terms in various studies. My concern here is more with how ethnicity, such as a sense of shared identity, a network of kinship and friendship, and a particular cultural product, which is transgenerationally transferred, is used as important assets for the entrepreneurial pursuits. This is important to our understanding about American Chinatowns because the primary aim of these communities is "the making of a decent living"(Chen 1941) rather than merely to preserve their cultural heritage. In fact, these communities have long been controlled not by powerful politicians, not by religious or cultural groups, not by knowledgeable scholars, but by wealthy merchants. In the absence of the gentry and the scholar class, it is the merchants and enterprise owners that have assumed the role of leaders in Chinatowns. As Victor Nee (1972:228) once said:

Since the founding of the district associations by wealthy traders, in the nineteenth century, merchants have dominated the institutional life of Chinatown.

The leadership of ethnic enterprise owners in community events helps preserve the ethnic basis of economic solidarity (Auster and Aldrich 1984). On the other hand, enterprises in Chinese communities have benefitted greatly from residential segregation and concentration. Normally, three factors are of great importance for the success of a business--capital, labor, and market. By relying on their ethnic resources, which

include ethnic assistance in finance, cheap ethnic labor force, and an ethnic consumer market, many Chinese enclave businesses have developed successfully.

Acquiring capital is the first necessary step to start a new business. Since it is difficult for a newcomer to obtain business loans from American banks, the Chinese immigrants have made use of their ethnic ties to serve this purpose. Sung (1967:141) mentioned that a Chinatown's family or district association sponsored a hui, which operated on the principle of pooling of individual funds together to provide capital for business. The hui actually served as a cooperative banking system for the members who were in urgent need of money for business or other reasons. "In American Chinatowns, the hui had evidently become more commercial and less fraternal" (Light 1972:26). In the Mississippi Delta, Loewen (1971:38) found a special way through which a Chinese immigrant set up a new grocery store:

After the initial entrance of Chinese in the late 1800's, a new Chinese immigrant usually would have been sent for by a relative already successfully operating a Delta grocery. Upon arrival, he would be taken in and put to work in the relative's store, thus accumulating a priceless legacy of business experience, a legacy unavailable to at least the negro sector of his potential competition. Then after he had learned sufficient rudiments of English and store operation, he would be set up in his own business by a combination of savings, a loan from his relatives, and credit from wholesalers, with whom he had become acquainted during his "training period". ... The extended family organization of the Chinese thus supplied two crucial needs of the new businessman: experience and capital.

In her description of New York Chinatown, Heyer (1953

60-61) also noted that persons of the same associations sometimes formed loan societies to meet the financial needs of fellow members who hoped to start businesses. A similar thing occurred also in San Francisco Chinatown. According to Cather (1932:60-61), in the early years in San Francisco:

If a responsible Chinaman needs an amount of money, he will organize an association, each member of which will promise to pay a certain amount on a specified day of each month for given length of time. For instance, if the organizer wants \$1,300 he may ask 12 others to join with him and each will promise to pay \$100 each month for 13 months. The organizer has the use of the \$1,300 the first month. When the date of the meeting comes around again, the members assemble and each pays his \$100, including the organizer. ... This continues for 13 months. Each man makes his payment each month but those who have already used the money cannot bid for it again. By the end of the 13-month period, each will have paid in \$1,300 and have had the use of the whole amount.

Although this method of financing business ventures was more frequently used in the past and less commonly relied on at present (Heyer 1953), the family, kinship, and ethnic networks for financing in the enclave businesses are still extensively used among the new Chinese immigrants. In present-day Chinese-American communities, the investment capital for a new business is usually obtained in two ways. One is by pooling the family resources together. The other way is to work hard for several years, accumulate enough savings, and then start a new business by oneself or via partnership (Bailey 1987; Wong 1987). Using family resources is the most common way for accumulating initial capital to open such small businesses as a garment factory or a restaurant. Some affluent

immigrant families have transferred their capital resources to America from Hong Kong and Taiwan (Wong 1987; Kwong 1987). The pooling of individual resources in partnerships is another important means for the Chinese immigrants to accumulate capital. When a person does not have enough money for investment, he or she will cooperate with kinsmen or other Chinese friends to start a new firm. The following case described by Bailey (1987:48) is a good example of how a Chinese immigrant may become a future restaurant owner:

The manager of a large Chinese restaurant in Chinatown arrived eleven years ago from Hong Kong when he was twenty years old. His parents were "regular working people." He wanted to study when he arrived, but did not have the money, so he looked for work in restaurants. His first job was in a Chinese restaurant in the Bronx where he received no pay. After one week he left and has since worked in many Chinese restaurants. He has now saved enough to look for partners to open a restaurant. He says that several partners are required because they need about \$50,000 to start.

According to Bailey, some Chinese restaurants in New York City were owned by 10 or 15 partners.

Capital is only one of the important requisites for opening a new enterprise. Since many businesses engaged by the Chinese are labor-intensive enterprises, the profits are mainly derived from labor. The emphasis on family reunification in recent U.S. immigration policy has made it possible for the Chinese to set up businesses with family members and relatives as employer and employees, which reduces the labor cost greatly. In some instances, a small business, such as a grocery store, a restaurant, or a garment factory,

is a family enterprise with everyone in the family handling different tasks. In the Chinese garment factories in New York Chinatown, "When business is slow, family members do everything themselves and thus cut down on outside help. In adverse situations, family members can simply stop their salaries from the factory or reduce the profit margin for every garment"(Wong 1987:124). When it is necessary for a firm to recruit beyond the owner's family network, the employment will remain mediated by friendship and ethnic ties. Whenever possible, the owners will hire people from their own home country. For instance, Bailey (1987:27) mentioned that in a Chinese restaurant in New York City, when there were openings for dishwashers and busboys, a Chinese dishwasher would act as a crew chief to search for the new workers among his friends. According to Wong (1987:124), the owners of Chinese garment factories usually rely on the following order in their employment:

- (1) Members of the immediate family.
- (2) Patrilineal kinsmen.
- (3) Matrilineal kinsmen.
- (4) Old friend.
- (5) New friend.
- (6) Friends's friend.
- (7) Chinese who migrated from the same region.
- (8) Chinese who speak the same dialect.
- (9) Other Chinese immigrants.

In fact, the abundant supply of cheap immigrant labor, along with the existing opportunity structure, has stimulated the business development in the Chinese enclaves. In Chinatowns in big cities, both garment factories and restaurants rely upon low costs to attract contractors or

diners, but these attractions depend in turn upon the employees' low wages and long hours of work. Restaurants in Chinatown were described by Holiday magazine (1969 4:72) as follows: "You can eat better for less money in Chinatown than anywhere else in New York". Victor Nee (1972:278) has also recorded the following account:

'Nearly everyone in the city goes down to Chinatown now and then for a cheap meal out,' one San Franciscan explained. He had observed that even tips were lower in Chinatown. 'You just look around. Downtown, for any meal, you'll tip fifteen percent. In Chinatown, you tip ten percent. Nobody thinks twice about it. The meal is lowpriced, so naturally the tip is lower, too.'

Residential concentration provides ethnic employers with a cheap, loyal, easily recruited, and stable labor force. The reason of why ethnic business owners can make profits out of their fellow countrymen can be explained from the status of the immigrants themselves. For a new immigrant, three criteria are important in affecting his/her decision to choose a job - the command of English, the transferability of his/her original skill, and the social network that introduces him/her into the labor market (Freedman 1983). Among these three criteria, the command of English is the essential factor that keeps the majority of immigrants away from language-intensive jobs. As Freedman (1983:97) points out:

While many well-educated people around the world know some English, we may assume that the majority of immigrants have only minimal command of the language. As time goes on, their English improves, but most do not reach a level that would put them into the pool of workers available for language-intensive jobs, even though they speak well enough for everyday purposes.

Thus, many monolingual Chinese-speaking persons have to take labor-intensive rather than language-intensive jobs and seek residence in Chinese communities. Previous researches have shown that many immigrants who chose to live and work in Chinatowns had English language problems (Yuan 1974; Homma-True 1976; Chen 1979; Loo 1985; Kwong 1987). A survey made by Homma-True (1976:158) found that a majority of Chinatown residents in Oakland had difficulty communicating in English. In San Francisco Chinatown, nearly 70 percent of the residents are Chinese-speaking or Chinese language-dominant while 30 percent are English-speaking or English-dominant (Loo 1985:498). Kwong (1987) has revealed that 54.8 percent of New York Chinatown's population did not speak English well, or at all. In Los Angeles, research on the city's Chinatown in 1969 found that many immigrants with degrees in engineering worked as waiters because of the language barrier (Yuan 1974). Thus, Chinatowns and Chinese businesses provide language security for those who can neither speak nor read English or for those whose English is poor. These Chinese immigrants thus formed a particular labor force for what Evans would call "a linguistically isolated labor pool" that could be exploited by ethnic employers. In Evans' view (1989:250), "Groups whose members are not fluent in the dominant language provide more favorable niches for immigrant entrepreneurs, because they provide a linguistically isolated labor pool whose skills can be more efficiently tapped by coethnic rather than majority

group entrepreneurs." The ethnic employers can rely on continuity in their labor force as immigrant adult workers usually could not improve their English in a very short period of time. In addition, ethnic owners may profit by paying their workers less than the normal market price (Evans 1990) because many ethnic employees have to rely on ethnic enterprises to survive. According to Wong (1987:255-262), there were about 50,000 Chinese in New York City working in Chinese garment factories and restaurants in 1985. Since employment priority is often given to family members, kinsmen, and friends in the Chinese community, such a labor force could provide the necessary flexibility that is especially important for some ethnic businesses, such as garment factories whose businesses are often seasonal.

In addition to the command of English, many college-educated newcomers also face an important problem that their training may not conform to U.S. standards for the occupation. Under these circumstances, the importance of educational level is replaced by the transferability of their training from their homeland to America. Only those whose credentials are accepted by the relevant U.S. accrediting and licensing bodies are able to find professional jobs in the mainstream economy (Freedman 1983). For example, Kim (1987:223) found that:

Despite the fact that so many Korean immigrants come to New York with high levels of education, professional experience, and an urban middle-class background, most are not able to obtain well-paid professional, white-collar work in the mainstream American occupational structure. Such work requires proficiency in English and a long period of training in

large-scale American organizations - insuperable barriers to most Korean immigrants.

The description given by a Chinese in San Francisco Chinatown is another example:

All the jobs I tried to apply for had no openings. Some employers said I was not educated in America and some gave me the answer that I was not an American citizen. Some said I did not have American experience. At least, no one said I was too old. I am a Chinese with a back-ground in chemistry and I do not like to be considered inferior (Victor Nee 1972:280).

A 1969 survey reported by Yuan (1974) showed that among those with college education who lived in New York Chinatown, the majority obtained their education in Hong Kong or in mainland China. The native-born and the foreign-born Chinese with American college degrees tended not to reside in Chinatowns.

Ethnic network is equally crucial in affecting immigrants to choose jobs. In many societies, the access to the relevant social networks that leads to information about where jobs are and how to get them often becomes a major determinant for an individual to choose his/her occupation. Ethnic occupational specialization is likely to be enhanced in given localities where ethnic groups make up friendship networks because information costs are usually lower among persons within such ethnic groups than between them (Hechter 1984). So it is the dependence of many new immigrants upon ethnic enterprises to survive that provides many of these enterprises with inexpensive laborers and thus makes the

operation of these businesses profitable.

The existence of ethnic consumer markets is another advantage for many Chinese-American businesses. Since the cultural gaps between United States and China is much wider than that between United States and Europe, the special demands of Chinese-American consumers have created a "protected market" for the Chinese-American businessmen. The existence of such a market is particularly obvious in the places where there are large Chinese populations that can create more ethnic demands. These special demands can only be met by the Chinese who know about the things their countrymen want. For instance, Chinese bookstores in this country are more likely to be run by the Chinese because they know better about Chinese language and Chinese culture. A more direct evidence of ethnic homogeneity in business sale is given by Light in his study on the retail liquor industry in Hollywood, California. Light (1980:50) found that in 1975, 70.4 percent of Hollywood's Chinese retail liquor sellers found Chinese buyers even though Chinese represented only 6.7 percent of all buyers.

Although many Chinese-American-owned businesses, such as laundries, garment factories, or restaurants received exclusive support from the non-Chinese-American population, sometimes, certain Chinese enterprises can still benefit from the secondary ethnic demands which are produced by the demands from the larger society. For example, although the Peking Restaurant in Williamsburg, Virginia mainly serves the non-

Chinese population, the restaurant itself is a stable customer of a Chinese-owned Sun Shine Trading Company in Norfolk. In other words, the more Chinese restaurants there are in this region, the wider the protected market the Sun Shine Trading Company enjoys. The case of businesses in Chinatown is similar. The demand of the U.S. garment industry has created a considerable number of Chinese garment factories in American Chinatowns. The growing number of Chinese garment factories have provided the basis for the development of related Chinese businesses. On the one hand, these factories become the customers of some Chinese sewing-machine and parts dealers. On the other hand, the concentration of Chinese garment workers in Chinatowns have boosted Chinese restaurants in the communities. As Kwong (1987:33) described:

Women working ten to twelve hours a day had little time for housework, child care, and cooking. Many Chinatown restaurants, sensing profits, hung barbecued ducks, chickens, ribs, and other cooked foods in their windows to attract the attention for seamstresses rushing home after work. To simplify their chores, the women would buy these ready-made dishes.

The prosperous Chinese restaurants in turn have provided chances for the development of the Chinese soybean and noodle factories, the Chinese wholesaling companies that sell Chinese vegetables, the Chinese firms that sell kitchen equipment, and the Chinese print shops that print menus in both English and Chinese. This phenomenon is indeed what economists would call "multiplier effect" (Kwong 1987). According to Chen (1992:115), the Chinese-American wholesalers supply the food used in New

York Chinatown from Chinese-own farms in New Jersey. Chinatown's decoration, signs, and internal fittings are manufactured and supplied all by Chinese-owned enterprises.

As the number of people coming into the Chinese communities multiplied, the demand for ethnic goods and services also grew markedly, especially when many of the residents have English language problem. While Chinatowns' garment and tourist industries draw consumer support mainly from the non-Chinese population, while Chinatown restaurant business is supported by both Chinese and non-Chinese groups, many businesses in Chinatowns are patronized exclusively by resident Chinese. These businesses thrive because "they are able to make the life of the immigrant easier"(Kwong 1987). Although the second- and third-generation Chinese who were born and educated in the United States are not particularly interested in returning to Chinatown to work, those who do return to Chinatown tend to run law firms, accounting offices, and insurance companies to cater to the Chinese residents. There were only twelve lawyers in New York Chinatown in 1973, but there were more than seventy in 1986. Chinatown is not only a gold mine for bilingual lawyers and accountants, but also a gold mine for the banking industry. Realizing the potential profit in Chinatown, some affluent Chinese from Hong Kong and Taiwan have also set up banks in the Chinese communities. Fourteen Chinese-owned banks opened in New York Chinatown between 1981 and 1986 (Wong 1987:257,266; Kwong 1987:36-37;46; Chen 1992:115-117). A specialized ethnic market

also includes "cultural products", such as movies, tapes, newspapers, magazines, and books, which can also form a profitable niche for ethnic business (Waldinger 1986). Thus, local Chinese newspapers, Chinese book stores, Chinese video rental shops, and Chinese movie theaters have all emerged in Chinatowns.

Finally, residential concentration makes it possible for the Chinese to fully capitalize their cultural heritage. The distinct and identifiable differences between China and the United States in food, religion, and architectures has provided the Chinese in America with an opportunity to establish tourist-restaurant industry in major American Chinatowns.

The restaurant business, a predominant occupation of Chinese immigrants in the United States, has been a major service of American Chinatowns for more than a century. In the Gold Rush days of 1880s, there were many eating places in the Pacific states that served Chinese food to the white workers as well as Chinese workers. In 1920, of the 45,614 Chinese persons in all occupations, 11,438 were restaurant keepers, cooks, and waiters. By early 1960s, there were already well over six thousand Chinese restaurants in this country. In New York Chinatown, there were fifty Chinese restaurants in 1960 (Kung 1962). By 1980s, this Chinatown alone had more than 400 restaurants owned by the Chinese (Kwong 1987; Wong 1987). Today, the Chinese restaurant has been the most conspicuous Chinese enterprise to American eyes. You can find it not only

in all the large urban centers in America, but also in many middle cities and small towns of this country. The number of Chinese restaurants has increased rapidly not only because of the influx of the new Chinese immigrants who provide the necessary labor force, but also because of an increasing demand for delicate Chinese cuisines in American society. Chinese cooking has thousands years of history and is considered one of the best in the world. As a result, Chinatown restaurants, whose variety is remarkable (Holiday 1969), are usually the primary places to attract tourists. A survey showed that when tourists were asked "Which three places in San Francisco did you enjoy the most?" Chinatown was rated third and most tourists checked "restaurants" as the primary attraction (Nee 1972). Tourist-restaurant industry includes not only restaurants, but also groceries, curio stores, gift shops, meat and fish markets. Directly or indirectly, these retail businesses are dependent upon the restaurants that attract tourists to Chinatown (Light and Wong 1975). There are innumerable curio stores and gift shops in Chinatowns, in which one can envisage a marvelous collection of big and small articles.

Sight-seeing is another attraction that draw tourists to Chinatowns as Americans are always pleased to experience the unusual. Tourism has the effect of reinforcing the culturally distinctive characteristics that make the tourist experience worthwhile (Esman 1985). Lee's description (1960:60) of Los Angeles Chinatown is a good illustration:

Los Angeles's Chinatown on Broadway' is a replica of what Hollywood and the visitors to that city imagine such a place to be. It has the properties and scenery used in the film *The Good Earth*. The entire layout of this newly-built Chinatown is adorned with Hollywood's conception of magnificent splendour. Although upon closer examination the glitter is not gold, nevertheless the illusion suffices.

Since the American public believes that all Chinese worship in temples- this is one of the major explanations for their strange and heathen ways - some building is designated as a temple.

In her book entitled Mountain of Gold, Sung (1967:132) gives a vivid description on Charles Dobie's experience in San Francisco Chinatown:

When Charles Dobie set out to collect information for his book, *San Francisco's Chinatown*, no one was more surprised than he to discover that the "temples" were for tourist purposes only. In his book, he described how he climbed a long flight of stairs to the Chinese joss house one bright and early morning all prepared to take notes on the long stream of worshipers that came to do homage to the pagan idols and heathen gods. Instead, a locked door barred his entrance and a sign over the door read: "Open 8-10 in the evenings, For Tourists Only."

Chen's tour in New York Chinatown is also recorded in his The Chinese Community in New York:

Through the unique post office we enter the Joss House, a place of worship for the early immigrants, but the practice has long been forsaken by the present Chinatown population. Buddha and other idols are on display, incense is burned and fortune sticks are furnished just like any temples in China. Nevertheless, devout Buddhists, if there are any, no longer worship in this place which is specially kept for tourist attractions nowadays (Chen 1941:8).

However, while Chinatowns have benefitted greatly from the tourist-restaurant industry, it would be inaccurate if we come to the conclusion that Chinatowns were built only for the

purpose of luring the tourists' money. This would oversimplify the entire picture of how American Chinatowns came into being.

Discussion

Particular attention has been paid to explain the patterns of ethnic enterprise on the basis of cultural traits. Unique group attributes that create a psychological propensity toward entrepreneurship have been emphasized. This argument started as early as the beginning of this century when Max Weber published his famous work The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. In this book, Weber argues that a particular value system is important for the development of economic activity. Similarly, many later scholars consider cultural attributes as major advantages for business development. For example, Sombart (1969) argued that the Jews' economic activity was influenced by the Jewish religion, which "show a singular similarity" with the fundamental ideas of capitalism. Wilson (1955:208) suggested that Presbyterians probably "endowed with more business acumen than Irish Catholics" in business life. In his explanation of Korean immigrants' business success in America, Illsoo Kim (1981:299) claims that "there is a value congruence between Confucianism and the Protestant ethic in the sense that both of them are directed toward self-control and self-abnegation."

It has been mentioned previously that Chinese value stresses collective rather than individualism. From a cultural and psychological perspective, this may be viewed as an unique

legacy for their business development as the growth of Chinese ethnic businesses usually depends upon collective activities and group resources. These enterprises sustain mainly through close cooperation among owners, money-lenders, and employees who are often composed of family members or friends. If a person wants to benefit from an ethnic social network, he or she must belong to the network in the first place. Ethnicity in this case is seen as an advantage to establish mutual reputation, trust, and friendships that is valuable for ethnic economy. For instance:

The Chinese garment factory owner may play the role of counselor and information disseminator. He gives advice on matters like schooling for children, getting driver's licenses, renting or buying houses. He gets information for his employees on the latest immigration rulings. He recommends lawyers, investment brokers, and tutors to teach English. In a word, he is a culture broker performing non-economic, non-factory related functions. His supervisors and other employees may then reciprocate by working harder and by staying with the firm even during slow seasons. There are also other typical Chinese ways of developing *Kan Chin*, such as inviting the nonfamily employees to celebrate the Chinese New Year, or giving *li shi* (good luck money) on certain occasions (Wong 1987:124).

The ethnic economy, because of its culturally familiar working arrangements, is suitable for newcomers who lack linguistic and other cultural skills. This is particularly so for those immigrants who have problems of adjustment to American life. The United States is a country composed of immigrants from all over the world. In this new land, individuals need to be positive and creative rather than passive and mechanical. But the traditional personality of the

Chinese people, moulded by thousands of years of feudalism, tends to be withdrawn. "Chinese courtesy puts a premium on reservedness and deference, ... Such a characteristic becomes a handicap in an open and competitive society in which an individual tends to gain by taking the initiative in personal relations and bold action to assert his rights"(Chen 1976:46). In San Francisco, according to Loo and Ong's survey (1987), the psychological profile among Chinatown women is the lack of an assertive attitude in handling difficulties. Many immigrant women lack of a sense of self-esteem and tend to be accommodative rather than assertive while in a difficult situation. Their survey showed that a majority of the Chinatown women (57%) said that they were not sure that life would work out the way they wanted it to. Such a low self-esteem could no doubt affect these women's behavior in changing their positions through competition. In such circumstances, selections of jobs and associations of workers often take on a heavily ethnic flavor. Ethnic enclave businesses provide job security for those who have difficulty to cope with the highly competitive job market of the dominant society. Moreover, a sense of ethnic similarity in the work setting tends to reinforce personal relations while experience is shared through the same cultural, psychological, and ethnic characteristics, such as the common language, the same beliefs, or the physical similarities. Being able to speak a language fluently could help reduce the communication cost and make business relations easier to manage. While the lack of

fluency in English may impose a cost on non-ethnic entrepreneur, who therefore do not prefer to hire language handicapped workers, such cost is much less or even does not exist for ethnic employers who can readily communicate with ethnic employees (Evans 1990). By recruiting employees through kinship and friendship ties, ethnic owners can benefit from a loyal and flexible work force. By working in an ethnic enterprise, ethnic employees could share a sense of familiarity and a similar way of thinking.

On the other hand, while cultural theory of entrepreneurship could help to explain how intergroup differences manifest themselves in economic behavior, it could not adequately explain why the same ethnic group's economic activity could be quite different in different contexts, and why different groups in the same economic situation often behave similarly. Sometimes, we need to take into account the situational factors that affect people's behavior. In the case of the American Chinese entrepreneurial development, I think that perhaps it is the "immigrant entrepreneurial ethic" rather than "ethnic entrepreneurial ethic" that has played a more important role. Such a judgment derives from two facts. One is that according to the cultural theory of entrepreneurship, those who share an entrepreneurial culture learned the values and attitudes of this culture during the previous process of socialization (Light and Bonacich 1988). But the traditional Chinese culture has never viewed the merchant as a very honorable occupation. In fact,

Confucianists regarded commerce as degrading. According to the Confucian social structure, in which education and knowledge was more important than wealth, businessmen were in the lowest rank. It was the scholars that were highest class, ranking above farmers, menial laborers, and merchants. Although many Chinese immigrants were not so steeped in this Confucian tradition, studies have shown that whenever chances exist, the Chinese tend to seek white collar jobs in the professional sector of American society. For example, when the job opportunities multiplied right after World War II as a result of the boom of the post-war American economy and the lack of manpower, many American-Chinese gained employment outside Chinatowns in various industries, corporations, academic institutions, and government agencies that had hitherto been closed to them (Lee 1960). Between 1940 and 1960, the proportion of the Chinese in professions like medicine, teaching, science, and engineering jumped from 3 percent to 18 percent (Sung 1972). The occupational status of American-born Chinese demonstrates the inability of the Chinese enclave economy to continuously recruit its own sons and daughters because most American-born Chinese regard the occupations of their parents or relatives as "unbefitting their higher educational status"(Lee 1960). Among those who lack the necessary educational background, many have developed business enterprises as an economic beachhead for their children's further education and advancement in American society.

Another fact is that Chinese immigrants are not the only immigrant group that has facilitated the small business ownership. "Almost all foreign-born groups are overrepresented among small business owners..."(Bailey 1987:7). For instance, at the turn of this century, Jewish immigrants chose small business as the means for pursuing the American dream (Kim 1987). Today, the tobacco shops and newsstands in New York City once owned by Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe are operated by Middle Eastern and Asian immigrants. Hispanic immigrants who came to New York City after 1965 were heavily concentrated in the miscellaneous manufacturing shops of the city (Bogen 1987). According to Lovell-Troy (1980:60), throughout the twentieth century, Greek immigrants to the United States have been consistently concentrated occupationally in small business, such as street peddlers, shoeshone parlors, and fruit and vegetable peddlers. Kim (1987) also reports that a high-proportion of post-1965 Korean immigrants have developed small businesses across the nation. In New York City, "Korean immigrants have succeeded Italian immigrants as the city's foremost greengrocers"(Bogen 1987:93). Even in the restaurant and garment industries, where Chinese immigrants in big cities are heavily concentrated, some other immigrant groups are overrepresented as well. The restaurant business, for example, has been the most important trade to Greek immigrants in the United States since the turn of this century. "Up to 80 percent of the Greek immigrant families in the Greek communities (in Connecticut) are

involved in self-employed small businesses, with as many as 76 percent of them in the pizza business" (Lovell-Troy 1980:61). In New York City, Dominican women very often take jobs in the garment factories owned by Dominicans (Pessar 1987). According to Light and Bonacich (1988:150), Koreans in Los Angeles have been overrepresented in the city's garment industry. And large numbers of both garment shops and restaurants are found in the Cuban enclave in Miami (Sanders Nee 1987).

The answer to immigrants' similarities in their approach to economic life lies in the push and pull factors of the sending and receiving countries. The lack of economic opportunities in their home countries prepares the newcomers to work long hours at low pay. Immigrants are often willing to accept poor conditions because wages are likely to be better than they are at their home country. Although many immigrants have experienced downward social mobility and ended up in lower-status occupations than the original jobs they had in their home countries, they can still afford more consumer goods in the United States than in the countries they came from. Therefore, immigrants constitute an exceptionally productive source of labor (Freedman 1983, Foner 1987, Bogen 1987, Light 1984, Pessar 1987). Their willingness for hard work and long hours has prepared them with the necessary capacity for small business.

Another reason of why new immigrants are often employed in small business is that small business usually involves labor-intensive activities which require less capital

investment and less knowledge of English. Their entrepreneurial mode of behavior lies in their exclusion from the normal lines of career advancement (Waldinger 1986), resulting, for example, from the immigrants' lack of marketable skills or from the discriminatory practice of the job market in the larger society. The reason for occupational concentration along ethnic lines is that in order to reduce survival risks and information cost, new immigrants often learn about and obtain jobs through relatives and friend. In this way, they often follow the occupational paths opened by the earlier immigrants of the same ethnic group (Marshall 1987). As long as the opportunity structure for such immigrant enterprises still exist and the new immigrant laborers still come in, the employment patterns along ethnic lines will continue to exist.

One may argue that the cultural attributes of Chinese immigrants, such as their future orientation, their hard-work ethic, or their family and kin ties, are crucial in affecting commercial success. What remains questionable is that these attributes may not be exclusively "Chinese". For instance, while I was in China, I often heard that hardworking is a value of the American people. While I am here in the United States, I sometimes come across readings which say that hardworking is a value of the Chinese people (Tow 1923, Loewen 1971, Chen 1980). When explaining why Korean-Americans are so successful in small businesses, Pyong Gap Min (1987:126) emphasizes the Korean immigrants' hardworking and frugal

attitudes as one of the major factors. And in describing Cajuns, a minority group in the United States, Esman (1985:29) mentioned that Cajuns considered themselves to be people who work hard and took great pride in their hard-working ethic. So, when a value becomes viewed as "popular", it loses its **unique** cultural significance although not the cultural significance. While I have no doubt that Chinese people are hardworking people and their hardworking attitude is an important asset for their business success in America, I also believe that this hardworking attitude is also one of the important factors for the success of the Korean retail business in Los Angeles, the Cuban furniture-making business in Miami, the Greek restaurant business in Connecticut, and the Dominican garment business in New York.

One of the important facts that we should not ignore is that the continued success of the Chinese in some particular areas of activities has encouraged their concentration in these fields. In other words, Chinese immigrants are more likely to make advances in some certain fields than in others because they meet with less competition from other groups. For instance, although Korean immigrants are no less industrious than Chinese immigrants, they will never become serious competitors with the Chinese in Oriental food business because Korean food is very spicy and is therefore not as well accepted by the American public as is Chinese food. According to Min (1988:46), most of the Korean restaurants in Atlanta serve American food rather than Korean food. By the mid 1980s,

of the nine Korean restaurants which specialized in Oriental food, "Only two of them specialize in Korean food and the others serve Chinese food." Also, the growing public interest in tourism has provided Chinese in the United States with an exceptional opportunity, which may not exist for many other ethnic groups, to capitalize on their historical and cultural heritage in Chinatowns. By utilizing their very ethnic resources, they can minimize their survival risks and maximize their economic status. This is not a purely unique characteristic of Chinese immigrants. In fact, most American ethnic groups have striven to acquire greater economic advance, using various tactics with varying degrees of success. Kinship and ethnic friendship ties, for example, have been used for business employment by different immigrant groups. Clark (1980:178) noted that when Irish-Americans invested their labor in specific areas of activity, they drew family members, associates, and clients with them. In his study on Greek immigrants in Connecticut, Lovell-Troy (1980:63) found that clan structure is one of the key elements that facilitate the entrance of the specific nuclear families into business. According to Bonacich and Modell (1980:47-48), an important factor in the rise of small business among the Japanese-Americans was their ability to make use of the family members or members within the ethnic group as cheap labor. Waldinger (1984:170) also reported that in an eighteen-person garment factory in New York owned by Dominicans, relatives and friends made up the entire work force.

In addition to the use of familial and ethnic ties in business employment, various ethnic groups have utilized their various ethnic resources for economic advancement. Korean-Americans, for example, make use of the media, churches, and businessmen's association "in their development of small business capitalism"(Kim 1987:240). West Indian immigrants rely upon rotating credit associations in the capitalization of their business enterprises (Bonnett 1980). As one of the oldest American minorities, the Cajuns of Henderson, Louisiana, have utilize their distinctive cultural assets by establishing tourist-restaurant business in their community. In order to attract tourists to their restaurant, the Cajuns established two types of restaurants-- tourist-oriented and locally-oriented. The food of those restaurants oriented toward tourists tends to be less spiced than that of the locally-oriented restaurants (Esman 1985). So a comparative study of various ethnic groups could not only tell us the intergroup differences, but also remind us of how similar these groups are in their approach to economic life under the same environment. Rational pursuit of profit has become one of the many characteristics of human beings, no matter Asians or Americans, blacks or whites, males or females.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

Though many events that took place in the Chinese-American communities have been or can be explained in terms of Chinese cultural values, the historical evolution of American Chinatowns or Chinese communities can not be fully understood until we look at their relationships with the larger social system. These communities do not exist in isolation from the American society in that the communities' demographic, organizational, and occupational compositions as well as their geographical locations have been changing along with the changes in the surrounding society. The changes that have taken place within these communities have largely resulted from the changing social policies of the U.S. government as well as the changing social and economic structures of the American society. The U.S. immigration policy has been one of the major reasons for the changes in the Chinese communities' demographic and organizational composition.

As a result of the arrival of large number of new immigrants since 1965, Chinese communities in America have increased both in size and in numbers. Today, Chinese enclaves can be found in many of the industrial and economic centers in the United States. No one can tell exactly how many

Chinatowns or Chinese communities exist in this country. But we do know that wherever there is a large Chinese-American population, there are Chinese enclaves. The existence of Chinatowns in certain areas is positively related to the population of Chinese ancestry within or around these places. For example, the states whose Chinese-American populations were among the top ten in 1990 were: California (704,850), New York (284,144), Hawaii (68,804), Texas (63,232), New Jersey (59,084), Massachusetts (53,792), Illinois (49,936), Maryland (30,868), Florida (30,737), and Pennsylvania (29,562) (U.S. Census 1990). Correspondingly, Chinese enclaves could be found in these states in San Francisco, New York City, Honolulu, Houston, Jersey City, Boston, Chicago, Baltimore, Miami, and Philadelphia. In addition, one may also see Chinatowns in the cities where there were Chinese settlements historically, such as Los Angeles and Oakland, California; Portland, Oregon; Seattle, Washington; and Washington, D.C. What is more important, Chinese communities appear in the places where new business opportunities exist. The emergence of Chinatowns in the newly-developed industrial centers, such as Atlanta and San Diego, are good illustrations.

The occupational composition of each Chinese community may not be exactly the same, although nearly all Chinatowns have restaurants and stores. Variation derives from factors such as geographical location, social and economic environment, and the population size of the local Chinese-Americans. The communities' economic activities are largely

affected by their location. In the industrial centers, Chinatowns not only have a service industry, but also have a manufacturing industry such as the garment industry. In the large coastal cities, Chinese communities have their own import and export companies because of the accessible transportation. The social and economic environment can also affect the occupational structure of Chinese-American communities. For instance, unlike the Chinese communities in urban areas where restaurant work is an important occupation for the Chinese, the Chinese in the Mississippi Delta had hardly been involved in restaurant business because many of the natives in this rural area neither had the same interest nor the same financial ability to go to restaurants regularly as many urbaners did. So, for more than half a century, the only major business engaged in by the Delta Chinese was grocery stores, which mainly served the black population (Loewen 1971; Quan 1982). The population size is another important factor. The larger the local Chinese-American population, the more ethnic demands there are for Chinese ethnic services, and the more Chinese immigrants will be engaged in the ethnic service economy. For example, for the past two and half decades, as a result of the rapid increase of the Chinese immigrant population as well as the economic advancement in the host society, the subeconomy of great North American Chinatowns in New York, San Francisco, Toronto, and Vancouver have been transformed from the traditional ethnic economy characterized by laundries, restaurants, groceries,

and gift shops into a modern capitalist economy that includes not only garment, restaurant, and retail trades, but also real estate agencies, law firms, banks, insurance companies, travel agencies, book stores, and movie theaters (Thompson 1989, Kwong 1987, Wong 1987). The maintenance of Chinese communities in America has been based on the establishment of mutual-benefit economic ties with the neighborhoods. A Chinese community is likely to be in decline when the economic opportunities or the demands for Chinese services diminish, such as the early Chinatowns in the Rocky Mountain area and the Chinese community in the Mississippi Delta. The occupational composition of American Chinese communities has been changing to conform to the requirements of the dominant society. The changes in economic base or the invention of new technology could also promote the changes in the economic life of Chinese enclaves.

The success of Chinese-American business is remarkable. According to a survey by the U.S. Commerce Department's Census Bureau (August 2, 1991), the number of firms owned by Chinese-Americans increased 83.7 percent between 1982 and 1987, from 48,827 to 89,717, while all U.S. firms increased 14 percent during the same period. The rapid development of Chinese-American enterprises is not merely a result of a Chinese cultural legacy of willingness to work hard. The culture or value itself does not form the sufficient condition for economic achievement. The success is also due to the structural features and economic framework of the American

society. After all, it is this country, with its wide-open, free-market economy, its long-established, democratic political system, and its rich natural and human resources, that has provided more business opportunities than any other country in the world. More and more affluent overseas Chinese are moving to the United States from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia, investing millions into the ethnic enterprises. This condition is very different from the previous Chinese immigration of the nineteenth century. The fundamental change in the U.S. immigration law in the mid 1960s has also guaranteed the availability of the necessary manpower.

The utilization of ethnic resources is no less important in the development of Chinese-American enterprises. Such resources include ethnic assistance in capital accumulation, inexpensive ethnic labor force, and ethnic consumer market as well as the sense of shared identities, social networks of kinship and friendship, and particular cultural products. What appears to be "cultural" or "ethnic" has also become an important asset that has been efficiently utilized for the entrepreneurial pursuits. But this is not a unique characteristic of the American Chinese. Most American ethnic groups have striven to acquire more economic advance, using similar resources. For example, tourist-restaurant industry is not unique to Chinese immigrants in Chinatowns, it is also the economic mainstay of the Cajun community in Henderson, Louisiana. Rotating credit associations were not only used by

Chinese- and Japanese-Americans, but also relied upon by Western Indian immigrants. Kinship and ethnic friendship ties have been utilized for business employment not only by the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese immigrants, but also by Greek-, Irish-, Cuban-, and Dominican-Americans. A comparative review of different ethnic groups has reminded us of how similar these groups are in their reaction to economic challenge under similar circumstances.

There seems to be a circular relationship between Chinese ethnic communities and ethnic enterprises. While Chinese enclaves provide great advantages to ethnic businesses, from labor force to consumer market, the success of ethnic enterprises also ensures the continued survival and expansion of ethnic communities. They are interrelated. For instance, without the success of the Chinese grocery business in the Mississippi Delta, it would be nearly impossible for a group of Chinese to continue to live in this region, not to mention the emergence of Chinese missions in the Delta area. In the case of urban Chinese communities, "Hong Kong investors are attracted to Chinatowns because they provide ample cheap labor." (Kwong 1987:6) Immigrants are attracted to Chinatowns not only because they have family members or relatives who live there, but also because these enclaves provide employment opportunities. New immigrants' primary aim is to make a living rather than to be "Chinese". Without the development of ethnic enterprises that offer job opportunities, fewer newcomers would join these communities.

Finally, we should not neglect an important fact that life in the Chinese ethnic communities is only part of the Chinese experience in the United States. Not every American Chinese or Chinese immigrant chooses to live within the invisible walls of Chinatowns. While many Chinese are working as manual and service workers in the Chinese enclaves, many of the Chinese Americans or post-war Chinese immigrants are also working as professionals outside Chinatowns. The student immigration from China since the 1950s has not only caused the "brain drain" of their native country, but also contributed to the improvement of the entire quality of the Chinese-American population and the American perception of the Chinese (Chen 1992, Tsai 1986). In fact, the general level of educational status among the American Chinese surpassed that of the general U.S. population according to the U.S. 1980 census, with 13.4 median years of school completed by Chinese-Americans and 12.5 years for the general population. The 1980 census also revealed that only 19 percent Chinese-Americans were concentrated in blue-collar jobs. The proportion of employed Chinese in professional, technical, and managerial jobs was 39 percent, compared with 26 percent for the U.S. population as a whole. The Chinese in the United States are now mainly composed of two distinct groups (Kitano and Daniels 1988; Kwong 1987). One represents the "model minority" who are better-educated, have earned a reputation in prestigious professions, and do not live in Chinese enclaves. The other constitutes the "disadvantaged minority" who are less

educated, speak little English, are confined to low-paying manual jobs, and tend to live in Chinatowns. As Kitano and Daniels (1988:50) has put it: "The more than a million Chinese Americans are a diverse community whose differences are probably increasing more than they are decreasing."

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