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**Chinatown no more: Changing patterns of Chinese organization
in Queens, New York City**

Chen, Hsiang-shui, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1990

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CHINATOWN NO MORE: CHANGING PATTERNS OF CHINESE
ORGANIZATION IN QUEENS, NEW YORK CITY.

by
HSIANG-SHUI CHEN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York.

1990

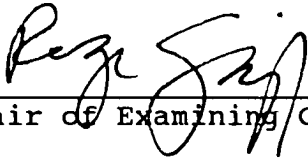
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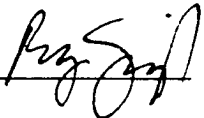
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January 24, 1990
Date


Chair of Examining Committee

Jan 25, 1990
Date


Executive Officer

Professor Roger Sanjek 

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The City University of New York

Abstract

CHINATOWN NO MORE: CHANGING PATTERNS OF CHINESE ORGANIZATION IN QUEENS, NEW YORK CITY.

by

Hsiang-shui Chen

Advisor: Professor Roger Sanjek

The earlier Chinese immigrants in the United States were male bachelors who lived inside Chinatown under the rule of a hierarchical social structure and were isolated from the American public.

However, the immigration bill passed in 1965 had important significance for those Chinese who were trying to immigrate to the United States. The numbers and the nature of Chinese immigration changed. While the numbers increased significantly, now the emphasis was on family reunion and supply of labor needed in the American market.

This work introduces a new type of community established mainly by Taiwan immigrants in Queens, New York City. The author divided this research into two levels: household and community. Data was collected from 100 households which were divided into three classes: working class, small business class, and professional class. At the community level, the author analyzed new types of

association and their activities. Two important differences between the associations of the new community and the old Chinatown hierarchical structure are that each new association is independent of the other; and many of these associations, unlike old Chinatown, are involved in non-Chinese community civic activities.

Preface

The term "overseas Chinese" has never been a strange term to me because I have heard it since I was in elementary school. I had classmates who were overseas Chinese during my university life. At that time, the general impression that people in Taiwan had was that the overseas Chinese were rich people, and many of them did not really study hard in Taiwan. But they had privileges that we did not have. The first time I saw a Chinatown was in 1975, when Professor Yih-yuan Li, the director of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, recommended that I study at the Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok. Therefore I had a chance to see the Chinatown in Bangkok, to talk with the "Tang-ren" (the overseas Chinese in Thailand call themselves "Tang-ren", or people of the Tang Dynasty, one of the most powerful dynasties in Chinese history), and to talk with Taiwanese who worked as technicians, and as staff of the United Nations.

In 1979 I came to the United States for advanced studies, sponsored by the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica and the National Science Council, Taiwan. In 1980 I arrived in New York city and enrolled at the City University of New York. I soon became acquainted with Manhattan's Chinatown. However, I did not go there often because it took me about an hour by subway. Besides, I could buy some Chinese foods in Flushing where I resided.

It seemed during the early 1980s that, all of sudden, many Chinese were migrating to Queens. I remember that before 1982, I could rarely hear Chinese spoken during the five minute walk from my home to the subway station in Flushing. After 1983, on the same trip to the subway station, I could hear many different Chinese languages, including Taishanese, Cantonese, Mandarin, Taiwanese, and Dar-chern, Shanghai, and Chaochou dialects, and more.

Since then even more Chinese immigrants, from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mainland China, Southeast Asia, and South America and the Caribbean, have arrived in Queens. In course, Chinese businesses and organizational life have also increased since then. One can often see a non-Chinese owner greeting customers in a store one day, and a new Chinese owner at the same store the next day. The more I came in contact with these new Chinese in Queens, the more I felt a desire to conduct research on this emerging overseas Chinese community.

In Spring 1983, I obtained a research assistantship to analyze 1980 Census data on Queens neighborhoods for Professor Roger Sanjek who was preparing to begin a research project on relations between immigrants and established residents.

When Professor Sanjek applied for City University of New York funding to begin fieldwork in 1984, he put my name in the proposal. The New Immigrants and Old American Project eventually received funds from the City University

of New York, the National Science Foundation, and the Ford Foundation, and our team members conducted research within the white and African American, Chinese, Latin American, Korean, and Indian populations. I also received a Wenner-Gren Foundation grant and financial support from the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica for my research. After completing my intensive fieldwork during 1984-87, I have since 1987 continued to follow the Chinese Queens community as Research Anthropologist at the Asian/American Center, Queens College City University of New York.

The New Immigrants and Old American Project selected Elmhurst-Corona (Community District 4) for its research base because it is the most diverse community in Queens, and perhaps in the world. Its residents come from more than 110 countries (New York Times 9/27/1982). For my own work, I have selected my case study households from Elmhurst, and also from Flushing, just across a large municipal park from Elmhurst-Coorna. Flushing also has many Chinese immigrants and businesses, and is the headquarters of most Chinese voluntary associations in Queens.

Research on urban Chinese in the United States in the past has treated Chinatowns as isolated, homogeneous and hierarchical communities. The situation of migration changed after 1965 when the new immigration bill was passed. This gave equal quotas to all countries, and was oriented towards family reunion. The bachelor society of

the Chinatowns of the past no longer exists. But more important, most of the new immigrants do not live in isolated Chinatowns. New Chinese immigrants settle in other parts of the city. They do not live next to other Chinese, as is the case in Chinatowns. Instead, they scatter around and mix with the other ethnic groups. Compared to the old Chinese immigrants, the new immigrants are more highly educated, and are more diverse economic and class backgrounds. They speak Mandarin, Taiwanese, and other languages, in addition to Cantonese or Taishanese. Therefore they should not be seen as a homogeneous ethnic group. The new Chinese immigrants, like the old, have developed a complex organizational life, but it is not inclusive of all immigrants and there is no hierarchical structure in the new Chinese community in Queens.

To describe these new Chinese immigrants and their life, my research can be divided into two parts: the household and community levels. These are preceded by Part I, providing general background, in two chapters. Chapter one sets out the theoretical framework within which I operate. It describes class differentiation within the Chinese ethnic group, the labor market in New York City, and the differences between the new immigrant associations in Queens and the old Chinatown hierarchical social structure. Chapter two is a historical review of Chinese immigration to the United States, describing the changes during the past 100 years.

Part II presents my household data. Chapter three is an analysis of 100 household interviews, providing basic information on immigration, household size, work and other issues. Chapters four, five and six present case studies of working class, small business class, and middle (professional) class households.

Part III concerns community activities. In Chapters seven, eight, and nine I discuss the new Chinese voluntary associations in Queens. These associations are different from the traditional Chinatown hierarchical structure. They function not only inside the Chinese community but also beyond it. On one hand, they try to help Chinese people to understand American society; on the other hand, they serve as contact points with non-Chinese American politicians. They participate in various kinds of broader community activities to show their willingness to participate in American civic. Although there is some cooperation and joint activities between them, several Chinese organizations in Queens, none is subordinate to any other. Each association is an independent and separate unit.

In this work, I show that there is considerable class differentiation among the new Chinese immigrants in Queens. I also trace the many connections between Chinese voluntary associations and the non-Chinese community. I argue that common stereotypes like "Flushing is the second Chinatown" or "Flushing is a new Chinatown" are not

appropriate. When people talk about a Chinatown, they talk about a compact homogeneous Chinese settlement, with a core of Chinese businesses. This is not the case with the Queens Chinese communities, in either Flushing or Elmhurst. While it is true that there are many Chinese living in Flushing and Elmhurst, and there are many Chinese businesses in these two neighborhoods, nevertheless these are mixed communities, with many different ethnic groups living next to each other, and with diverse ethnic businesses operations as well.

The Kwoyeu Romatzyh (國語羅馬字) pronunciation system is used in this work for these Chinese terms, see A NEW PRACTICAL CHINESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, Shih-chiu Liang ed., Taipei: The Far East Book Co. Ltd.

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First of all, I am greatly indebted to my advisor, Professor Roger Sanjek, Department of Anthropology at Queens College, the City University of New York, who has put enormous effort and encouragement in guiding me during the field work, has provided valuable suggestions in discussions, and has devoted much of his time and energy in editing my dissertation writings. I would also like to extend my appreciation to my committee members, Professor Jane Schneider and Professor Burton Pasternak, and my outside reader, Professor Rubie Watson, who gave their time to read my thesis and provided many valuable comments.

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All the team members of the project of "New Immigrants

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PART I. GENERAL BACKGROUNDS

The impression American people have about the Chinese is that they live in Chinatowns and are isolated from the broader non-Chinese community. This was true during the first one hundred years of Chinese migration, between 1850 and 1950, when most Chinese immigrants were male bachelors who lived inside Chinatown under the rule of a hierarchical social structure. The Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association (CCBA) was the top-most organization in this power pyramid; district associations were in the middle; family and clan associations on the bottom. Many studies show this pattern of early Chinese immigrants' social structure in the United States (Crissman 1967, Chen 1980). They depict Chinese immigrants as a single homogeneous ethnic group. However, the immigration bill passed in 1965 had important significance for those Chinese who were trying to immigrate to the United States. Its emphasis was on family reunion and the supply of a labor force needed in the American labor market. Therefore the phenomenon of the bachelor in the past was replaced by the immigration of entire households and families after 1965. And because mainland China still had not opened its door for people to go abroad, the new Chinese immigrants came mainly from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the overseas Chinese world.

Students doing advanced studies, and sailors who jumped

ships formed the main body of the first wave of Taiwan immigrants. After the students finished their degrees they changed their legal status and became permanent residents or American citizens and applied for their family members to join them in the United States. These family members were not all highly educated; some may run businesses, opening a small restaurant, a grocery store or other business, or they may work as workers in stores. Taiwan has no immigration law; people may come to the United States legally to visit or if concrete offers of employment can be presented. Both skilled and unskilled people were hired from Taiwan to work here. Thus there is internal class differentiation among the new Chinese immigrants.

Since most of these Taiwan immigrants do not speak Cantonese, and Manhattan's Chinatown was very crowded, those arriving in New York City often decided not to live in Chinatown. Queens has become an important area of settlement for these new immigrants in New York City. The Chinese in this borough cannot live isolated as did their forerunners in Chinatown; they live in mixed communities among various ethnic groups--Jewish, Greek, Korean, Indian, Colombian and other Latin American nationalities. As more and more Chinese began moving into this borough, they organized various kinds of associations. Each of these associations has tried to establish contacts with non-Chinese associations in Queens. Each of them is also independent of each other. There is no hierarchical

association structure in Queens. There are no family associations, no tongs, no CCBA in Queens.

The main aim of this work is to introduce a new type of Chinese immigrant community in the United States, one which has internal differentiations, and which is also active in non-Chinese community civic activities, and has not attempted to isolate itself from such activities.

CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND SETTING

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first is the theoretical framework which shows why Chinese class differences are considered more important than common ethnicity, at two levels of research: the household and community. This part also argues that in Queens each Chinese immigrant association is equal to, and independent of each other, though there is some interlocking leadership among these associations. The second part deals with changes in the New York City labor market, the role of Chinese immigrants in this market, and historical and social change in Elmhurst and Flushing, Queens, the locations of my research.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Ethnicity is a concept often used in discussions of regional and international migration. Scholars recognize the importance of "ethnicity" when different ethnic groups meet each other or when conflict arises between two (or several) ethnic groups. They acknowledge the importance of "ethnicity" in the political arena and labor for market (Cohen 1969, 1974; Hechter 1976; Wolf 1982). Hechter, for example, proposes the concept of a "cultural division of labor." He argues that immigrants tend to engage in occupations which, in most cases, are not accepted by

.

indigenous workers (Hechter 1976:217-218). The "split labor market" perspective advanced by Bonacich holds that "ethnic antagonism first germinates in a labor market split along ethnic lines" (Bonacich 1972:549). In this view, the higher-priced ethnic labor force tries to protect itself from being replaced by the cheaper ethnic labor force. To some extent, this was true when Irish workers in the mines in the United States feared that the Chinese would take over their jobs for cheaper wages.

Light argues, however, that the "split labor market" is neither a necessary, nor a sufficient condition for ethnic antagonism. He mentions Walliman's study (1974) in Switzerland to show that there may be an atmosphere of ethnic antagonism without the existence of split labor market. He also mentions Hilton's work (1977; see Light 1981:57) in California to show that there "a split labor market existed but ethnic antagonism did not result." Therefore Light argues that a "split labor market theory offers no guidance to complex historical situations that arise when still cheaper labor appears on the scene" (Light 1981:57). What Light questioned was how the split labor market theory can be adapted if successive waves of ethnic groups arrive in different temporal sequences.

The "ethnic succession" model employed by Aldrich (1975) might fill this analytical gap. "Ethnic succession" means that immigrant minorities assume the poorest jobs and housing for a generation or more, then move to a better-off

niche while yet other ethnic newcomers replace them on the bottom. This model puts all groups into an ethnic hierarchy according to the time of arrival: the earliest group will be on top, and the newest ones will be in the lowest position in the hierarchy. In their work in Newburyport, Warner and Srole depicted the process of ethnic succession in great detail. "The workers of the newly arrived groups started at the very bottom of the occupational hierarchy and through the generations climbed out of it and moved to jobs with higher pay and increased prestige. Each new ethnic group tended to repeat the occupational history of the preceding ones." (Warner and Srole 1945:63). When the Jews in New York City moved from production work into the wholesale garment and sweater knitting business, Italians, Puerto Ricans, and later Chinese became workers in the apparel industry. This would be an example of ethnic succession.

However, this theory has also been criticized by several scholars. For example, sometimes immigrants begin as subordinates but thereafter ascend the social hierarchy faster than some older ethnic groups so that the rank sequence is violated (Thernstrom 1973:142-143). Sometimes new ethnic groups enter the status hierarchy in the middle ranks, above some old-ethnics but below the elite; the Chinese in Southeast Asia are found in the "middleman minority" position, for instance (Bonacich 1973).

These studies all treat an ethnic group as an isolated

and homogenous group, and overlook its internal differentiation. In the study of Chinese immigrants in the United States, many scholars have also done so. Whatever isolation and homogeneity may have been true in the past has changed following the emergence of American-born generations, and the post-1949 immigrants. The new generations have received higher education and many have entered middle-class life. Chinese government officials, scientists, and intellectuals came to seek political asylum after 1949, and students came to pursue advanced studies from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and mainland China. After the 1965 liberalization of the immigration law, still other streams of new immigrants arrived, having different identities and class positions, depending upon their educational, social and economic backgrounds.

CHINESE IN QUEENS

The Borough of Queens in New York City is one of the most important settlement points for new Chinese immigrants. According to the 1980 Census there were 39,500 Chinese in Queens. Two important neighborhoods of new Chinese settlement in Queens are Elmhurst and Flushing. One readily can see many Chinese people and stores while walking their streets. However, the Chinese in Queens do not live together in a compact settlement as people in historic Chinatowns. In Queens, they live in multi-ethnic neighborhoods with Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, Indians,

Latin Americans, blacks, and whites who live next to each other, and have stores next to each other. I have lived in Queens since 1980. During these years, I have seen more and more Chinese immigrants move in. Although many Chinese immigrants cannot speak English, as they go about the business of survival in this country, they shop at different ethnic stores. I also found that Chinese of different classes do not often interact with each other. Although most of these new Chinese immigrants have no connections with clan, regional, district or other associations, they are able to struggle for their futures.

To the newer Taiwan immigrants, Chinatown in Manhattan is not indispensable, especially as many Chinese stores have opened in Queens. Today in Elmhurst and Flushing the local Chinese business sector includes grocery stores, restaurants, knitting factories, garment factories, health clinic centers, attorneys' offices, newspaper publishers, book stores, banks, real estate agencies, gift shops, hardware stores, liquor stores, and pharmacies. Some Chinese newspapers that were once published in Chinatown have moved their headquarters to Queens, such as World Journal and Centre Daily News; others have set up Queens branch offices, such as China Daily News, or have Queens reporters, such as Sing Tao Jih Pao. Some new Chinese papers have also established themselves in Queens, such as Eastern Times and Asian-American Times, both published weekly. Chinese banks have established their headquarters

in Queens, including Asia Bank, and Greater Eastern Bank. In addition, other Chinese banks have established branch offices in Queens, including Hongkong Bank, Chinese American Bank, Golden Pacific Bank (later closed under a Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation order in 1985), and Golden City Bank. Chinese Protestant churches and Buddhist temples can be seen in Queens as well.

The more contact and observations I had with the Queens Chinese population, the less it seemed that "ethnic group" was a suitable concept to study these new immigrants. Living among non-Chinese, each person has their own social network which appeared more marked by class differentiation than common Chinese ethnic identity. The focus of my research is Taiwan immigrants, including both Taiwanese, and mainland Chinese who came to Taiwan from mainland China around 1949. I use the phrase "Taiwan immigrants" to indicate that my informants and household cases are from Taiwan. Some were born in Taiwan, and others came from mainland China to Taiwan before immigrating to the United States. Today, many people regard Chinese are those people who come from mainland China. I cannot use the term "Taiwanese" for all of them because some of mainland origin do not regard themselves as "Taiwanese", and some refer to themselves as "Taiwanese" rather than "Chinese" because of political reasons.

I do not deny that "Chinese" ethnic consciousness can be found, and is used in some social situations. For example,

in organizing voter associations and during political campaigning, an appeal to the Chinese "ethnic group" was expressed by some people and was found in the mass media. I recognize that ethnicity and class are intertwined, as several scholars have shown (Hannerz 1974; Mullings 1977; Sanjek 1978), but class differences within the Queens Chinese "ethnic group" are one subject of my analysis.

CLASS STRUCTURE IN CHINESE COMMUNITIES

I adopt a class model for several reasons. First, Chinese people see "class" differentiation themselves. The four traditional classes--scholars, farmers, workers, and merchants-- have existed in people's minds for more than a thousand years (Eberhard 1962:5-6; Kuhn 1984:20). Class differentiation also marks contemporary Taiwan. Gates argues that Taiwan is a multi-class society in which class consciousness is very clear. "A bare-chested cart puller does not share betel nut with a black-suited bureaucrat caught in the same doorway during the rain, no matter what the bureaucrat's ethnic background" (Gates 1981:256). The Chinese in Queens speak about themselves in class terms, such as, "he is a worker", or "he is a boss", or "he is a man swinging his pen in the office." The new immigrants are heterogeneous in a way that cannot be described thoroughly by the concept of "ethnicity." Though people think of themselves as all Chinese on some occasions, individual occupation and economic status lead them to

avoid contact with, or even to deprecate, people who are seen as "inferior" or "superior" to them.

A class model also helps us explore relationships between different classes within the Chinese population, such as manipulation and exploitation of "workers" by "bosses". The class model reveals class differences in solutions to problems that new immigrants confront, for example, language problems of both adults and children, or securing housing and training in skills needed for success in the United States. The class model helps to uncover the relationships between the Chinese immigrants and the larger polyethnic society--the degree of Chinese participation by class in such organizations as Community Boards, and cultural and civic associations and institutions. A class model also is needed to explore mobility, both upward or downward, as some new Chinese immigrant workers become small businessmen, and vice versa.

Class is here defined as "differential access to the means of production," or "common positions within the social relations of production" (Wright 1980). However, there is not a consensus among social analysts about the meaning of "common position" or "relations of production," and therefore various kinds of class models have been adopted by scholars who have different viewpoints and interests. On the basis of their present occupations I divide the Chinese immigrants I studied into four classes: working class (workers in restaurants, factories, and

stores), small business class (self-employed small business owners, such as store owners), new middle class (professionals), and capitalist class (owners of large companies, restaurants, or other enterprises with more than 30 employees). Figure 1 presents my class model; it is similar to Thompson's class model of the Toronto Chinese community (Thompson 1980), but differs in that it includes the lines of inter-class mobility my research uncovered. A class approach to overseas Chinese research was also emphasized by Patterson who argued that because of economic interests, overseas Chinese in Jamaica historically have varied in the importance they have accorded ethnicity (Patterson 1976).

CHINESE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN QUEENS

To examine the typical picture of Chinatown social structure in the past, I turn to Crissman's paper (1967) describing the traditional overseas Chinatown hierarchical structure in Southeast Asia and North America. In this model the clan (or family) organization was on the bottom; district associations such as hui-kuan (based on common dialect or geographical origin), and secret society were in the middle; and the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association was at the top. This structure depicted overseas Chinese as living in almost totally isolated, autonomous, hierarchical, ethnic-enclave communities.

In my research, I paid careful attention to the range of

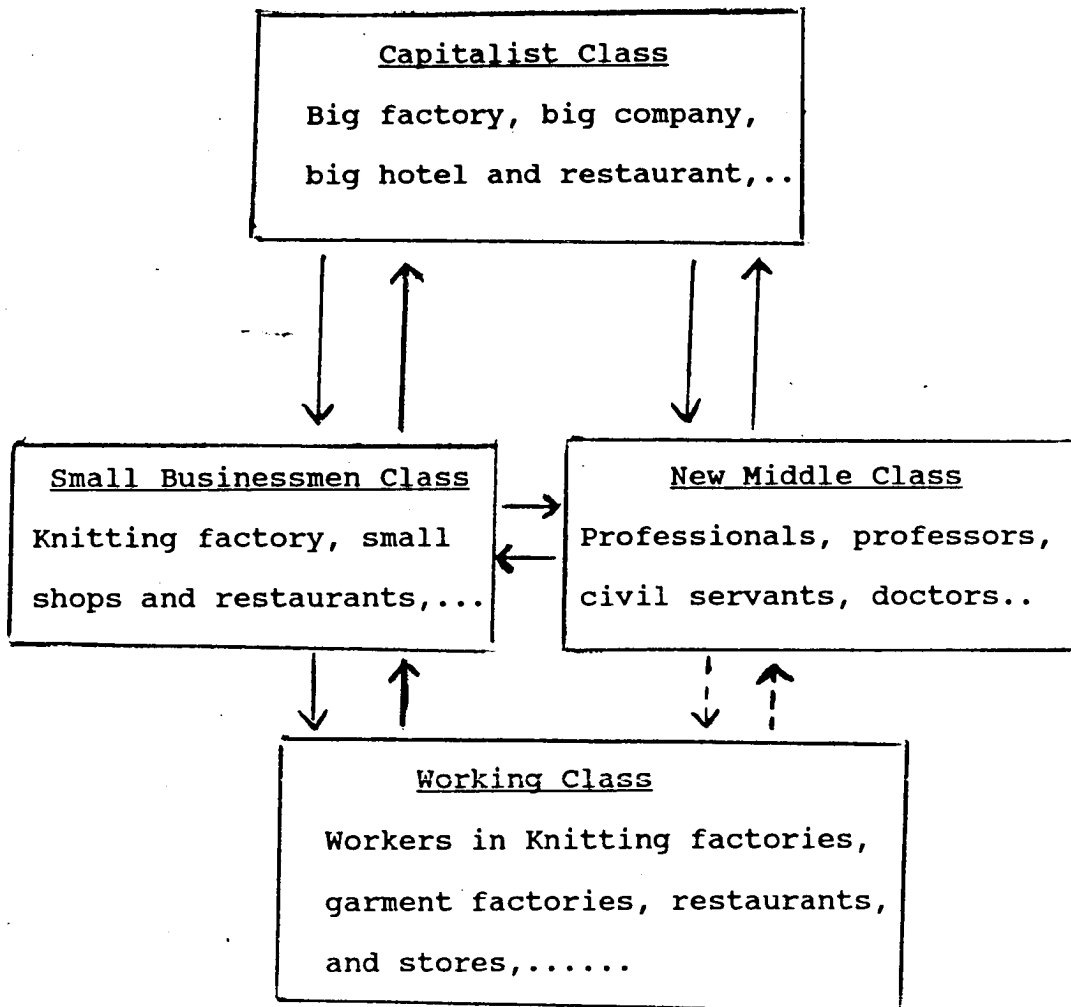


Fig. 1. Class Structure of New Chinese Immigrants

Chinese and non-Chinese associations in Queens available to the Taiwan immigrants. I was particularly concerned with how these associations relate to each other, and how they differ from the traditional Chinatown hierarchy of associations. Most of the Queens Chinese voluntary associations are based in Flushing (religious institutions, however, are scattered around in Queens), but they enroll members and have activities throughout Queens. The major Chinese associations provide leadership and services to all Chinese in Queens, and also link them to the wider non-Chinese economic and political arenas.

There are six key Chinese associations in Queens. They include the Flushing Chinese Business Association (FCBA), which is devoted to promoting economic development and services for Chinese-owned small businesses in Flushing, and the Chinese American Voters Association of Queens, New York (CAVA), which was the first well-organized Chinese immigrant political organization in Queens, and has been actively involved in several electoral campaigns. The Chinese-American Planning Council (CPC; formerly Chinatown Planning Council) is the Flushing branch office of a large Manhattan social service agency; it provides job training, English classes, and other services to new arrivals, senior citizens and youth. Two Chinese women's associations that compete with each other, intentionally and unintentionally, hold several activities; they are Queens Chinese Women's Association (QCWA) and American Chinese Women's Association

(ACWA). The Chinese American Parents Association, Inc. (CAPA) helps Chinese parents and school children solve problems they encounter. Chinese houses of worship, including several Chinese-language congregations in polyethnic Protestant churches, provide for spiritual and secular needs of their members.

The members of the Chinese associations and churches are from different class backgrounds, except for the FCBA. Because the associations do not ask members to fill in their occupation I could not gather precise data on the proportion of members of each class. One thing that is clear is that the boards of directors of these associations are highly educated; most of them are college educated, and many of them received masters degrees and Ph.D. degrees in the United States. Each association is independent of each other, despite some interlocking leadership among them. In terms of administration, no association can interfere with or control the others.

METHODOLOGY

I conducted full-time research for 18 months between October 1984 and May 1987. I spent the period of August 1985 to September 1986 in Taiwan. The methods adopted in my field work were as follows.

ONE HUNDRED HOUSEHOLDS

Family reunion preference and quotas of 20,000 for each

independent country are the most important policy changes in the United States immigration law passed in 1965. Since then many immigrants have applied for their family members to join them after they change their legal status to permanent resident or citizen in the United States. The "household" has thus become an important unit for Chinese. Therefore I decided to conduct interviews in 100 households as one major research approach to the life of new immigrants.

In my original plan, the distribution of 100 households was to include 30 working class households, 30 small businessmen households, 30 professional class households, and 10 large capitalist households. I was not able to conduct household interviews with the capitalist large employers for two reasons. First, they are few in number in Queens, and second, these few were always very busy, and ultimately inaccessible. One large employer, I was told, would be interviewed only if his merits were written up in the newspapers. I adjusted my household distribution accordingly, and interviewed 32 worker households, 32 small business proprietors, and 36 belonging to the professional class.

I selected these 100 household cases by making contacts through networks of friends and their relatives. I made one attempt to use a list of 11 names and telephone numbers from an association. I called all of them, but three calls went unanswered, and the other eight people rejected my

request for an interview. From there I decided to continue with friends and my own connections.

INTERVIEWS

The household interviews provided a broad base of information about the immigrant Chinese population of Queens, and class differences within it. Data obtained in these interviews includes:

- a. household membership, past and projected;
- b. the organization of social reproduction and changing household gender roles;
- c. roles and expectations of children, involvement of grandparents and extra-household kin in childcare, formal and informal daycare, afterschool cultural and language programs;
- d. reasons for and circumstances of migration, and consequent settlement in Elmhurst and Flushing;
- e. economic activities of income earners;
- f. informal income earnings and exchange;
- h. familiarity and interaction with neighbors;
- i. participation in organizations, religious activities, and other associations;
- j. food items bought for daily consumption, ceremonies, picnics, and Chinese and American holidays;
- k. the inventory and place of purchase of appliances and furniture, of ethnically-symbolic art or decorative objects, and of religious articles and good luck charms,

noting who uses and maintains them;

l. household member recreation patterns;

m. how buying decisions are made, who does the actual purchasing, and whether family, household, or individual budgets are maintained;

n. health, medicine, and folk health remedies, practitioners, or use of fortune tellers.

The results of these interviews are presented in Chapter 3 to indicate the range of variation among Queens Taiwan immigrants, and to show the similarities and differences among the three classes.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation occurred at both the household and community levels. On the household level, I did not have a chance to observe any household ceremonies such as weddings and funerals because I did not discover such occasions, or was not informed of them. I did, however, have opportunities to observe interactions between parents and their children. I also spent time with several business owners over many days, even helping them in dealing with customers when the businesses were busy or when they needed assistance. I was invited to dinners with them, and invited them to dinners at my home. I also helped some persons fill out forms, and accompanied them to the Social Security office, Department of Health, and to work places. Such participant observation helped me not

only to understand more about their personal problems and life experience, but also to find out about relationships between employers and employees, and with the bureaucratic governmental system in the United States. These occasions helped them understand my research project better, and resulted in opening informative channels for my work. My household-level participant observation even resulted in one informant's sister offering me a job in her construction company, to help her to collect rent from the apartments she owned.

On the community level, I attended activities of several organizations, and services and other events in Christian and Buddhist churches. I talked to organization executives and board members, and to pastors, Fathers and monks. I attended many meetings of the six key organizations, the Flushing Chinese Business Association, Chinese American Voters Association, Queens Chinese Women's Association, Chinese American Women's Association, Chinese American Parents Association, Chinese-American Planning Council. I observed meetings and events sponsored by American civic organizations, including Community Board meetings, presentations by the Queensborough Library New Americans Project, and Queens Festival Day in 1985 and later years. My dissertation advisor Roger Sanjek and I, were asked to write an article on the Chinese community for the Chinese Pavilion at the 1986 Queens Festival (Sanjek and Chen 1986), and John Kuo Wei Tchen, a historian, and I wrote a

second, longer article for the Queens Festival Chinese Pavilion in 1988 (Chen and Tchen 1988). I also became a member of the ping-pong team of Reformed Church of Newtown in Elmhurst for an annual tournament held by eight Taiwanese churches in the New York metropolitan area, and this helped me understand more about church social activities.

Participant observation provided important information about how these associations and churches are organized, and where their members come from. It helped in understanding questions about how they function in the Chinese community, and beyond it, and about the kinds of competition that occur among them.

INTENSIVE CASE STUDIES

The 100 household interviews provide basic data on class similarities and differences. Besides that, I made a more detailed, continuing study of 20 households. Some of these households are presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. These more detailed case studies represent the value of anthropological research methods: the deeper, more qualitative information based on the relationships and rapport established between these household members and myself. I have spent many days in their stores and in their homes, talking with them, helping them when they needed help, eating with them in restaurants and at their houses or my home. Much valuable information came out of

these long-term relationships.

PSEUDONYMS IN WRITING

For the sake of their privacy, Queens Taiwan immigrants are identified by pseudonyms in the household case studies in Part II. I also use pseudonyms for organization leaders names in Part III. Many in the Chinese community will have read about some of the events in newspapers, and may be able to identify these persons' real names. For others, however, I believe the events and the pattern of Chinese organizational activity I analyze is what will be of interest, and not the names of individual actors.

THE SETTING

LABOR MARKET IN NEW YORK CITY

The situation encountered by Queens Chinese immigrants is structured by trends that have characterized the New York City economy over the last two decades. These include a pronounced native-born population loss simultaneous with large-scale immigration; massive capital emigration and growing foreign capital investment in manufacturing, banking, real estate, and other services; a 30% overall decline in manufacturing jobs (1969-77), with a significant expansion in certain manufacturing branches; increased poverty, unemployment, and deterioration of several areas of the city, along with a boom in gentrification and an associated high consumption capacity for real estate and

the services sector (Sassen-Koob 1981:16-17).

Scholars agree that job loss in New York City is related to capital emigration both abroad and to Sunbelt states (Sassen-Koob 1981:21; Tabb 1982:72-76; Piore 1979). For example, some garment factories left New York City to relocate in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore or other parts of Southeast Asia; others even moved to the southern United States. Some capital intensive industries, like electronics and motor vehicles, also moved out to the South on a large scale in the 1960s and 1970s.

These movements affected the New York City economy and job market quite dramatically. For example, manufacturing employment in New York City reached a peak of 1,073,000 workers in 1947. More than 400,000 manufacturing jobs were lost during the period between 1947 and 1977 (Tabb 1982:75). The unemployment rate was 4.8% in 1970, but it climbed up to 11.2% in 1976 (Sassen-Koob 1981:17). When factory workers are laid off, they cannot easily retrain for clerical jobs. They may wind up on welfare or in the underground economy, or even become involved in crime. Some have moved out of the city. Some stores had to close after they lost their customers.

However, two additional aspects of the New York City economy during this period must be mentioned. First, not all components of labor-intensive industry were equally affected by capital migration. For instance, while big garment factories might move away from this area, smaller

ones still remain. Second, although some industries moved out of New York City, other industries grew rapidly, recomposing the city's economic structure. This shuffling oriented New York City towards a service economy; with a tourist boom, a hotel and restaurant boom, and expansion of international banking operations, top-of-the-line services (in advertising, consultation, and legal firms), and the art market. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported for 1980 that New York City gained 40,000 'white collar' jobs (Village Voice, 4/15-21/1981). However, most jobs in the expanding service sector are, in fact, low-paid, short-tenure jobs, including jobs in domestic service. Many of these have been "filled by women and youths from minority groups" (Tabb 1982:79).

America is a country of immigrants, first from England, then from other parts of the world. The immigration bill in 1965 allowed a new wave of immigrants to come. It was oriented towards family reunion and away from the ethnic preference system. Asia supplied less than 2% of all legal immigrants in 1950, but accounted for more than one-third by 1975. Latin American immigrants also increased in this period from 6.25% to 26% (Sassen-Koob 1981). New York City received about one-fourth of these new arrivals between 1966 and 1976. In line with this, many in the Chinese community estimate that one-fourth of new Chinese immigrants have migrated to the New York metropolitan area.

In New York, declining manufacturing center of the

capitalist world economy, immigrants play a very important role. They provide a cheap labor force which contributes to the survival of declining industries. Immigrants can be seen as a significant labor surplus for the vast infrastructure of low-wage jobs underlying specialized services and high-income life-styles. They are a desirable labor supply because they are relatively cheap, reliable and willing to work under conditions that white Americans do not want to accept, such as night shift jobs. They serve as a regulator for the growth of wages (Marshall 1983, Sassen-Koob 1981, Piore 1979). However, they also become scapegoats for rising United States unemployment when they are viewed as taking away Americans' jobs. The 1980 New York City census data showed that "the labor force of Asian males in manufacturing is 28.2%, and 39.9% for Latin Americans" (Marshall 1983).

Besides low-wage workers, the immigrants also bring capital to the city. Direct capital investment in stores and small retail shops by immigrants should not be ignored in re-employment and recovery of the New York City economy. As Sassen-Koob argues, "they [immigrants] reverse the trend toward housing abandonment and store closing, and they generate cash and tax flows for the city" (Sassen-Koob 1981). Many neighborhoods have small shops and firms owned by immigrants themselves that offer job opportunities for other immigrants and even for native-born Americans. For example, many Korean fruit and vegetable stores, Chinese

restaurants, knitting factories, and candy stores, and Latin American-owned stores appeared after the arrival of immigrants. Marshall finds that "25.1% of Latin Americans and 37.6% of Asians are employed in trade" (Marshall 1983).

Since 1965 many of the new immigrants are well-educated, and more skilled and experienced than earlier arrivals. There are also many students who find jobs in the United States after they complete their degrees. The term "brain drain" describes the loss of human resources from the developing countries, "one more manifestation of the exploitation of human resources of the third world" (Portes 1978). Marshall points out that "7.3% of Latin Americans and 14.1% of Asians are in professional service" (Marshall 1983).

CHINESE IN MANHATTAN

The Chinese case presents one example of this transformation of the immigration process. The history of Chinese immigrants in New York City can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century (Beck 1898:8-11). However, the major influx of Chinese to New York followed anti-Chinese movements in the American West during the 1880s. In 1870, there about 300 Chinese in New York, but the number increased to 2,559 by 1890 (Wong 1982:6). New York City was attractive to the Chinese immigrants because of the following reasons. It was already an ethnically diverse city, and one more small number of new arrivals was easily

accepted. Though it played only a small role in mitigating the West Coast's anti-Chinese movement (Wu 1958), New York City did offer economic opportunities for Chinese who did not want to be laborers. A major city like New York could also supply adequate clientele for Chinese-owned businesses, such as hand laundries and restaurants (Wong 1982:7). In 1920, there were 5,042 Chinese in New York City, most of them engaged in these two occupations.

When the Communist Party took over mainland China in 1949, it caused many high ranking government officials, intellectuals, and technicians to come to the United States to seek political asylum. The approval of the new immigration bill in 1965 attracted more Chinese immigrants to this country. Some of them provided cheap labor and some of them brought capital with them. These new immigrants headed into the cities rather than to rural areas. Therefore, while some smaller Chinatowns were disappearing in the United States (Lee 1960a:339), Chinatowns in several big cities have expanded in recent years. In New York's Manhattan Chinatown, the Chinese population has increased rapidly year by year since the late 1960s. Business is booming more than ever before. Rent has been soaring day by day. The increase of the Chinese population has resulted in an expansion of Chinatown's boundaries. In the beginning, New York Chinatown only covered four streets, but today it has expanded to cover more than 20 commercial streets (Wong

1982:10).

Sung's work showed that there were 230 garment factories in Chinatown by 1976 (Sung 1976), but in May 1981, the New York Times reported 500, with 20,000-22,000 workers in Chinatown (New York Times, 5/15/81). Compared to only 49.5% of women immigrants in the other parts of the United States, 80% of women in New York's Chinatown were employed (Wong 1982). Although most of the owners and workers of garment factories in Chinatown are Chinese, the owners do business with Jewish and other ethnic group wholesalers.

Light and Wong's study showed that there were 600 Chinese restaurants in the New York metropolitan area in 1960 (Light and Wong 1975). Wong pointed out that Chinese restaurants increased to 4,500 by 1980 (Wong 1982). The restaurants not only pay workers' a regular wage, but cultivate many future engineers, professors, accountants, and other professionals among both owners' and employees' children. In the early period, the Cantonese chop suey was enough to satisfy American appetites, but now various kinds of Chinese restaurants have appeared, such as Peking, Hunan, Szechuan, Shanghai and Taiwan. The more Chinese restaurants have appeared, the more contact between Chinese and non-Chinese has resulted, not only in the sense of customers, but also in business contacts between Chinese and non-Chinese, with non-Chinese utensil suppliers and printing office.

Gift shops and grocery stores are the other two main

businesses in Chinatown. Gift shops are mainly patronized by non-Chinese tourists, and grocery stores cater to fellow Chinese, as well as some non-Chinese. Manhattan Chinatown has become a commercial center of Chinese goods for Connecticut, New Jersey, upstate New York, and other eastern states.

The laundry business was the other important Chinese occupation besides restaurants in earlier days. In the 1930s it reached its peak of about 4,000 laundries in New York City, with almost one third of Chinese employment related to this occupation. However as technology developed, the home washing machine gave Chinese laundries a big blow. The number declined to about a thousand or even less today.

Although this picture is based on Manhattan's Chinatown, the situation of the Queens Chinese is similar in some respects. Almost all the types of business one can find in Chinatown also exist in Queens, with the exception of Chinese movie theaters and funeral homes. The Queens Chinese contribution to New York City's labor market today is no less than that of Chinatown. Like Chinese businesses in Chinatown, Queens Chinese businesses also contribute to New York's economic development.

In recent years, the Chinese economic and political potential has become evident to American businessmen and politicians. Some American enterprises not only employ Chinese-speaking staff, but also put Chinese-language

advertisements in the Chinese newspapers. Some even deliver Chinese-written flyers to Chinese residents. For the Chinese lunar new year of 1985, Harrah's Casino in Atlantic City, New Jersey, mailed a postcard to a Chinese resident on the second floor of my landlord's house. On the front side, written in English, it said "Win a trip to Hong Kong at Harrah's Chinese New Year Festival, February 20-22." On the reverse side, written in Chinese translation:

Come celebrate the year of the Ox at Harrah's.

'Chinatown-by-the-bay' features:

- . Martial arts demonstration. Table tennis championships. Chinese art, silk, porcelain, cookware.
- . Special performance by Chinese singer Myra Chen and harmonica player Cham-Ber Huang.
- . Ceremonial lion dance. Authentic Chinese cuisine.

Admission: \$5/day, redeemable in food or beverage.

I was invited by a friend, Mr. Hung, to Atlantic City to enjoy the 1985 celebration of the Chinese lunar new year. We took a special bus arranged by a Chinese travel agency. As we entered the Atlantic Casino there were 80 ten-seat tables in a big room where the casino had prepared an American buffet. Non-Chinese were not welcomed unless accompanied by Chinese relatives or friends. Everything,

"all you can eat", was free. The casino presented a Chinese band and singers on stage. Not every table was fully occupied, but people came and went all day. A vast number of Chinese appeared in Atlantic City, not only on one day at one casino, but for several days, in several casinos. I was told that Lion dances were performed in the square outside another casino for this Chinese festival occasion.

Recently, I found a Greyhound Bus advertisement on the platform along the Flushing No. 7 subway line written in Chinese as follows, "Take a lucky streak with Greyhound to Atlantic City. Twenty-five runs to each big Casino everyday". A subway advertisement for Tide detergent I saw in 1984 was the earliest of many along this line. It was written in Chinese and English, and said, "Tide says clean in any language (汰漬是清潔的標記)." New York Life Insurance Company recently announced it planned to spend \$300,000 on Chinese and Korean mass media (World Journal 5/26/87, 7/2/87). Metropolitan Life put a full page advertisement in a Chinese newspaper (World Journal 1/27/87) to recruit Chinese salesmen. AT&T also has advertised in a Chinese newspaper. When the Chinese lunar new year arrives, these two insurance companies, "the executive board, officers and the staff of Local 23-25 International Ladies Garment Workers' Union", CitiBank, Courvoisier, Hennessy, and other non-Chinese businesses convey their greetings to New York City's Chinese

population in the Chinese newspapers. Roosevelt Raceway in Westbury, New York, provided a Chinese translation for its 'Lucky Winner Contest' on June 28, 1985. Many non-Chinese businesses now list job notices in Chinese newspapers.

CHINESE IN QUEENS

According to a conservative estimate, in 1980 there were 150,000 Chinese in New York City, with half of them living in Manhattan Chinatown (Wong 1982). Many new Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan do not settle in Chinatown because it is already too crowded, housing and health conditions are poor, and they do not speak Cantonese and Toishanese, still the dominant dialects in Chinatown today. As with some older immigrants and second generation Cantonese speakers, Queens is an important borough for this new wave of Chinese migrants. The 1980 Census reported 39,500 Chinese in Queens, but many local Chinese leaders are skeptical of this number. In 1986, the Flushing Chinese Business Association estimated that there were about 60,000 Chinese in the greater Flushing area.

FLUSHING (COMMUNITY DISTRICT 7).

Flushing, part of the Colony of New Netherland, was founded with the granting of lands to English colonists, who came from Massachusetts, in 1645 (Kupka 1949). The first occupation of the settlers of Flushing was farming. This was followed by the establishment of nurseries,

beginning in 1737; until 1840, Flushing had a monopoly on the nursery business. The nurseries left their impression, and Flushing became noted for its many beautiful trees, among them the Weeping Beech tree, still standing at Thirty-seventh Avenue near Parsons Boulevard.

Flushing residents voted against consolidation with Greater New York in the referendum of 1894. However, consolidation passed and in 1898 Flushing became part of New York City. The population of the village at that time was 12,000. Some of the benefits of consolidation with Greater New York City during the first fifty years of this century were miles of paved streets, connection with the IRT subway line in 1928, 2,000 acres of land developed into Kissena Park, and Flushing Meadows Corona Park, where the World's Fair was held in 1939-40 and 1964. Today, the annual Queens Festival Day is also held in this park.

In the beginning of the century the business center of Flushing was at Northern Boulevard and Main Street. Today, owing to the subway terminal at Main Street and Roosevelt Avenue, that area has become the center, with retail business radiating in all directions to Northern Boulevard, Union Street, and Sanford Avenue. Several smaller business districts are located throughout the community. F.W. Woolworth, and Stern's and Alexander's department stores are in the Flushing hub and serve as anchor stores, with about 600 small retail establishments surrounding them (Shaman 1984). Downtown Flushing, the city's sixth largest

shopping district, was experiencing vacancies and an exodus of high-priced shops when Asian businesses began to enter in the mid-1970's (Gottlieb 1985).

In the 20 years since immigration laws were loosened, between 200,000 and 600,000 Asians have settled in the city, according to various estimates. Many of them have followed the path of the No.7 line--dubbed "the Orient Express"--into northern Queens, particularly to Flushing. "Flushing during the 1970's was a depressed area," according to Wendy Weber, associate director of the Downtown Flushing Development Corporation. "It was the Asian investment that turned the area around" (Gottlieb 1985).

There were 51 religious institutions by the 1970s in CD7, including Protestant and Catholic churches, and synagogues (Community District Portfolio 1978). Since then Korean and Chinese Protestant churches, and several Indian temples, have emerged. There are 16 elementary schools, 4 junior high schools, and one high school in CD7. There are also four hospitals--Booth Memorial Medical Hospital (371 beds), Flushing Hospital (313 beds), Parsons Hospital (145 beds, now incorporated into Flushing Hospital), and Whitestone General Hospital (103 beds) (Community District Portfolio 1978). Parsons Hospital was owned by Asian doctors, mainly Chinese, from 1985 until 1988.

A scene of dancing dragons appeared at the second 'Grand Opening' of the Woodner House condominiums in Flushing.

The first opening was aimed primarily at Manhattan residents priced out of that borough's real estate markets. Mr. Woodner said his company now realized that the Asian community in Flushing could not be forgotten. "You can't build a building in a vacuum," he said (Gutis 1986).

In the early 1980s Community Board 7 in Flushing estimated that everyday 32,000 people used the IRT subway, 76,000 used the 23 bus lines, and 75,000 vehicles moved through downtown Flushing. The revitalized Flushing has become attractive in recent years not only to Chinese immigrants but also to the local non-Chinese politicians and the mass media. English language newspapers have interviewed Chinese and non-Chinese local leaders about their views of the Asians in Flushing. Some of their reports reveal American community resentment of Chinese and other Asians who are seen to have made the price of real estate go up. In turn the Chinese newspapers complain about non-Chinese crime, and discrimination against the Chinese. We will return to see these problems later on.

ELMHURST-CORONA (COMMUNITY DISTRICT 4)

In 1652, farmers from England first settled in the center of what is today Elmhurst and named it 'Newtown', which came to include Elmhurst, Corona and neighboring settled in later years. Like Flushing, Elmhurst became part of New York City in 1898. The name Newtown remains

today, in Newtown High School, Newtown Church, and The Newtown Crier, a community newspaper. The term 'Elmhurst' was bestowed by a real estate agent in 1890 (Tauber and Kaplan 1966).

By the 1960s, 33% of Elmhurst residents lived in one-family or two-family houses, and 46% in apartments with more than 10 units. In the late 1960s, some one-family wooden houses had been torn down, replaced by brick, box-like houses of three- or more units which have become more common recently. Developers buy one- or two-family houses, demolish them, and rebuild. One of my informants bought his attached three-family house when they first appeared in Elmhurst in the late 1960s. In some areas, the new three-family houses occupy almost the whole block. Although it is illegal, overoccupancy is common. John Rowan, the CD4 District Manager in 1983 told me that "People divide a house into several separate rooms renting them to tenants, so that a one-family house may become a three or four unit household."

Many ethnic groups have resided in Elmhurst. German, Irish and Swedish immigrants were the first wave of 19th century new residents here. Cubans came in the early 1960s, and then other Latin Americans after the new immigration law in 1965. Chinese first moved into Elmhurst in the 1950s or 1960s. It is hard to document the exact time and number, but Sung mentioned that Cantonese came to this area in the 1960s (Sung 1983). One of my informants

said that there were about 100 households from Taiwan when he arrived in 1962. He said that these families could not find a place in Chinatown so moved to Elmhurst where the subway was easily accessible. In 1970, the community had 23% Hispanic residents, 70% whites, 3% blacks, and 4% others (including Asians).

In 1970, 85% of Queens residents were whites, but in 1980, whites were less than 65%, 18% were blacks, 14% Hispanics, and 5% Asians. In Elmhurst, the population changed even more rapidly than in most parts of Queens. In 1980, Community Board 4 had a total population of 137,000. Among them, only 34% were whites. Fifteen percent of Community Board 4's population was Asian in 1980, and 83% of them lived in Elmhurst. Among the Asian immigrants, Chinese were the largest in number with 9,500, Indians and Pakistanis 4,500, Koreans 2,500, and the Filipinos 2,500. The Chinese here as in Flushing engaged in various kinds of occupations: workers in stores, owners of such businesses as grocery stores, bakeries, and restaurants, and professionals in government agencies and private enterprises (This description draws on Sanjek's research proposals, see Sanjek 1984).

Broadway is one of the busiest commercial streets in Elmhurst. It is a street with many Asian businesses, including Chinese restaurants, laundries, real estate agencies, and candy stores, Korean grocery stores, beauty salons, restaurants, and supermarkets, Indian and Pakistani

food and electronic appliance shops, and Thai restaurants. A few Filipinos engage in business, but more are professionals such as nurses and white collar workers. Latin American businesses, such as restaurants, are mostly on Roosevelt Avenue, on Elmhurst's northern border. Among them, some are run by Chinese from Latin America. In Elmhurst in 1986, a survey of 912 small businesses showed that Latin American businesses accounted for 30%, and 26% were Asian owned (Sanjek 1987a:16).

Transportation in Community District 4 is quite convenient. Several subway lines, the E, F, GG, R and No. 7, connect it with Manhattan. Buses run between Community Board 4 and other neighborhoods in Queens, and even to Manhattan. If one takes the subway, one can arrive in Manhattan in about 25 minutes. It takes only 10 minutes to LaGuardia Airport and 20 minutes to Kennedy Airport by car.

Elmhurst City Hospital is the biggest in this area with 792 beds. It has more than 3,300 staff members, including Chinese doctors, with social workers and volunteer workers providing translation into 60 different languages. Although it has Chinese doctors and social workers, considering its users, it is short of Asian staff, especially Asian nurses. Mr. Hung, a Chinese member of Community Board 4, was invited to join the hospital advisory board in 1987. There is a second hospital with 300 beds, three nursing homes, several nursery schools, and five senior centers located in Community District 4. As to

educational institutions, there are five public and four private elementary schools, a junior high school, and Newtown High School. There are about 300 Chinese in this public high school which has bilingual programs for Hispanics, Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), and Koreans.

According to the New Immigrants and Old American Project survey there are nine Korean Protestant churches, five Hispanic Protestant congregations, five Chinese congregations (one is a Catholic church), and "four houses of worship offering services for religions other than Christianity and Judaism: Ch'an Meditation Center, whose priest is from Taiwan, Geeta Temple, serving Hindus, the Jain Center of America for adherents of Jainism, an ancient Indian religion, and Masjid ul-Tunfiq, an Islamic house of worship" (Sanjek 1987b:22). Because of the influx of new immigrants, multi-ethnic churches have become common here, with different schedules for different language services arranged in the same church. If one passes a church today, often one will see signs in different languages. A good example is the English, Taiwanese (with English and Mandarin simultaneous interpretation), and Tamil (a South Indian language) services that are scheduled in Reformed Church of Newtown on Sunday. Other churches have English services serving several ethnic groups, such as the First Presbyterian Church of Newtown.

CHAPTER 2. RETROSPECT ON CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES

POPULATION MOVEMENT

There are many works dealing with Chinese in the United States of America. They show that the patterns of Chinese immigration to the United States can be divided into three major waves. During immigration before 1882, the first wave came mainly from Kwangtung Province in Southeast China. The factors underlying this wave of migration were unrest caused by the Taiping Rebellion in China, and the labor needed for mining and railroad construction in the United States (Barth 1964; Coolidge 1968; Kung 1962; Lee 1960b; Lyman 1974; Sung 1967). In the beginning these Chinese laborers were welcomed, even praised, and were considered almost indispensable by white Americans, especially the entrepreneurs involved in the economic development of California (Barth 1964; Coolidge 1968; Liu 1976).

The anti-Chinese movements that soon followed were due to economic and cultural factors. Chinese workers were exploited by their employers, who paid them the lowest wages possible. These Chinese sent most of their earnings back to their home country instead of spending them in the United States. The economic depression in California in 1870 had made 50,000 to 100,000 people unemployed. The drought in the winter of 1876 caused the heavy loss of

wheat, fruit, and cattle farms. Thousands of Chinese and other farm laborers drifted into San Francisco to swell the ranks of these already unemployed. People who invested in stocks had lost their savings, and their jobs, and were looking for a scapegoat. The Chinese were one of the most visible minorities with their long, black queues, and loose black suits (Chen 1980). They were attacked by white workers precisely because they accepted the wages forced upon them.

Cultural factors reinforced the situations. The whites justified violence with accusations: "Chinese do not wear our kind of clothes,... and when they die, their bones are taken back to their native country." "Chinese are heathens and do not bring their wives and families." "Chinese gamble, and smoke opium. They eat rice but not bread." "Chinese do not want to be assimilated in our culture" (Liu 1976:491).

Physical violence directed towards the Chinese happened very early in the mining areas. Before 1870, when campaigns became coordinated, there were spontaneous outbreaks of anti-Chinese violence like the Tuolumne riot in 1849. Politicians joined the anti-Chinese movement, even though they appreciated the Chinese contribution before. The Democratic Party passed its first official anti-Chinese resolution at its convention in Benicia in 1852. In 1876, they staged a special anti-Chinese rally that attracted a crowd of 25,000 people (Chen 1980:136).

In 1879, the Henry Grimm play "The Chinese Must Go" was first performed in San Francisco (Fessler 1983:142). Finally, on May 6, 1882, president Chester A. Arthur signed into law the first of a series of Chinese Exclusion Acts (Fessler 1983:145). The free immigration of Chinese laborers was ended. Under this Act, only merchants, teachers, students, and clergy were allowed to enter the United States.

Usually scholars treat the period between 1882 and 1943 as the second phase of Chinese immigration history, ending when the Chinese Exclusion Acts were repealed in 1943. From then there was a quota of 105 Chinese who were admitted to the United States annually. I prefer to extend this second period to 1964, one year before immigration policy was amended, because this small quota was still discriminatory compared to those for Western European countries. Under the Chinese Exclusion Act, not only did the number of the Chinese immigrants coming to the United States decline, but many Chinese in fact left America. Between 1908 and 1943, 90,199 Chinese left the United States versus 52,561 recorded as new arrivals. The total number of Chinese in the United States declined from 107,488 in 1890, to 74,954 in 1930. Only after 1950 did the number rise past 107,488, to 117,629.

During this period of decreasing numbers of Chinese Americans, there was also a change of geographic distribution. In the early years, almost all the Chinese

lived on the West Coast. The anti-Chinese movement pushed many either back home to China, or to the central and eastern parts of the United States. In 1880, 96.8% of the Chinese population was in the Mountain and Pacific states. By 1940, the United States Chinese population in the New England and the Middle Atlantic States had risen from 1.6% in 1880 to 25.4% (Fessler 1983:187). The heterogeneity of the eastern cities afforded Chinese a safer place to live than in the West. The dense population in the eastern cities also provided job opportunities to these Chinese immigrants. A marked phenomenon after 1890 was the urban-oriented migration of Chinese in the United States, who left rural areas for the cities. In 1890, New York contained the largest Chinese population in the East with about 3,000 people. By 1940, over 90% of the Chinese in the United States were urban dwellers. The percentage was higher than the Japanese (54.9%), and even higher than the total American urban population (56.5%) (Fessler 1983:188).

When the Communist Party came to power in mainland China in 1949, a large number of Chinese, including government officials, businessmen, scholars, and scientists, fled to the United States to seek political asylum (Sung 1980). Today many of these highly educated immigrants teach in universities, and work in public research institutes and private industry. During most of the 1882-1964 period, racism, reflected in laws, professional practice, and labor unions, barred the Chinese from many occupations in the

civil service, teaching, medicine, dentistry, manufacturing and blue collar employment (Chen 1980:196; Fessler 1983:187). Most educated and skilled workers were kept doing menial work.

The third wave of immigration came after 1965 when the Naturalization and Immigration Act repealed the discriminatory quota of 105 Chinese per year and extended the ceiling to 20,000 for each independent country. The number of Chinese immigrants entering the United States increased rapidly. According to Sung (1980), there were 205,107 Chinese (Taiwan and Hong Kong) immigrants admitted to the United States between 1966 and 1975 with the smallest yearly number being 16,434 and the largest 23,427 (the figure is higher than 20,000 because United States citizens' immigrant parents are not counted in the quota system). There were 125,000 more Chinese (Taiwan and Hong Kong) immigrants between 1976 and 1980 (Fessler 1983:196).

The characteristics of this third wave of immigrants can be described as follows:

1. Varied educational backgrounds: After the 1960s, many college students came from Taiwan and Hong Kong for advanced studies in the United States. The brain drain phenomenon, the exit of highly skilled persons, marked immigration from Taiwan. Not until 1979 did the Taiwan government permit its people to apply for tourist passports. This policy made the average years of education for Taiwan immigrants in the 1980s lower than before

because people who could afford to now could leave, and many of them stayed in the United States where they changed their tourist visa statuses.

2. Family and kinship orientation: After they became permanent residents or American citizens, Chinese immigrants could and did apply for immigrant status for their parents, spouses, children, and siblings. This also lowered the average years of education for Taiwan immigrants. Some studies showed that 80% of Chinese immigrants came by kin sponsored "chain migration" (Sung 1980:47).

3. Settlement beyond Chinatowns: By the end of the 1960s, the American Chinese population in major urban communities had separated into two different groups: the old immigrants, or Chinatown Chinese, who remained tied to the ethnic sub-economy and its institutions; and the 'non-Chinatown Chinese', who entered the professions, universities, and neighborhoods of white North American (Yang 1966:328).

Today, many new Chinese immigrants do not live in Chinatown. For these new immigrants, Chinatown is a place for occasional shopping, sight-seeing, and movie-going. New Chinese settlements today are in outer city and suburban areas, such as Flushing and Elmhurst in New York, Monterey Park in Los Angeles, Sunset and Richmond in San Francisco, and Argyle in Chicago. This new phenomenon contradicts the persisting view that "foreign born Chinese

tend to concentrate in the central sections of metropolitan areas where, historically, there have been Chinese communities organized into Chinatowns" (Fessler 1983:199).

4. Balanced sex-ratios: In the earlier periods, most of the Chinese immigrants were male laborers. Before the end of free immigration in 1882, there were about 100,000 Chinese males but only 8,848 Chinese females in the United States. Many of these women returned to China, or died because they could not endure the harsh life in the strange environment. By 1890, there were only 3,868 Chinese women compare with 102,620 Chinese men in the United States. The female to male ratio was 1 to 18 in 1860, 1 to 21 in 1880, and 1 to 26 in 1890; it dropped to 1 to 7 in 1920, and 1 to 1.9 in 1950 (Lyman 1974:88,96).

Many of the female Chinese immigrants towards the end of the second period were of childbearing age. Between 1947 and 1956 there were 9,498 Chinese women between age 15 and 29, and 6,880 between 30 and 34, admitted to the United States, and they accounted for 76% of the total female Chinese immigrant population (Sung 1980:42). An increase of the Chinese American birth rate followed. From 14.5 per 1,000 population in 1940, it increased to 25.2 in 1947, and jumped to 43.8 in 1948 (Tan 1973).

5. Immigrants age 50 and older: Until recently, male and female immigrants over age 50 made up about 10% and 20% respectively of the total number of immigrants every year. People of such mature age in China traditionally did not

leave their homes. But today this pattern is changing. Even though the geographical distance between Taiwan and the United States is great, highly developed medical science makes them feel safer living outside their own homeland. Perhaps, too, the traditional concept of "dying at home" is fading away little by little. People find it is easier to go back to Taiwan with today's air transportation. Whatever the reasons, older immigrants in many households take care of their grandchildren so that both their adult children and their spouses can earn money outside the home.

6. More diverse occupational distribution: In the first period, almost all Chinese immigrants were manual workers such as miners and railroad construction workers; some were even imported to southern plantations to replace slaves after emancipation (Barth 1964:143; Loewen 1971:22-26; Cohen 1984:82; Quan 1982:5). With the anti-Chinese movement, they were forced into certain less desirable, non-competitive jobs, particularly in "personal services." King and Locke shows the striking change in job distribution between 1870 and 1970. In 1870, personal services, mining, manufacture, and agriculture employed 40.9%, 36.9%, 8.2%, and 8% respectively, and covered 94% of total employment. In 1970, the same four job categories employed only 7.1%, 0.2%, 17.3%, and 0.9%, or 25.5% of total employment. Manufacturing was the only category that had increased at all. The three leading occupations in

1970 were wholesale and retail trade (34.6%, including restaurants), professional services (21.2%), and manufacturing (17.3%) (King and Locke 1980:19).

This change was clearly related to the high education levels of the new immigrants and the easing of job discrimination. Between 1967 and 1975, professional, technical, and kindred workers were always the biggest group among arriving new immigrants (Sung 1980). The decrease in discrimination since 1940 has permitted Chinese to seek better jobs, a change that especially benefits the educated second generation, and the 'brain drain' student immigrants.

7. City-oriented migration: New immigrants have seldom gone to a rural area first. San Francisco, New York City, and Los Angeles are the three main places for new Chinese immigrants to live (Sung 1980:43). The reason may be because there are more job opportunities, both manual and professional, in these big cities. Numbers have declined in San Francisco, while they have increased in New York City. The New York City and New Jersey area had 600 Chinese restaurants in 1960, while there were only 80 in the core area of San Francisco Chinatown (Light and Wong 1975). There were about 230 garment factories scattered around the fringe of New York's Chinatown in the 1970s (Sung 1976), and the number has since increased to more than 500. Another reason for urban settlement was probably the convenience of mass transportation, particularly in New

York City. Many of my informants said that one did not have to know how to drive, and own a car, in New York City because it provided convenient subway and bus transportation.

CRISSMAN AND SEGMENTARY STRUCTURE

In 1967 Crissman published an article about the social organization of overseas Chinese in the cities of Southeast Asia, and in North American Chinatowns. He argued that this pattern of social organization did not originate outside China, but was transplanted from mainland China. According to his view, overseas Chinese communities were segmented and hierarchical social structures, with a Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association (CCBA) on the top, district associations in the middle, and clan organizations at the bottom (see Figure 2). Many earlier studies of Chinese Americans fit this model (Chen 1980; Kung 1962; Lee 1960). I would like to examine this model more closely.

1. Clan association: The importance of lineage organization in China has been pointed to by many scholars (Baker 1968; Chuang 1973; Cohen 1969, 1976; Freedman 1958, 1966; Hu 1948; Kulp 1925; Pasternak 1972). This kind of kinship organization did not play an important role in early Chinese immigration, but clan organization did emerge as significant in these overseas communities (Freedman 1957; Li 1970; Skinner 1957).

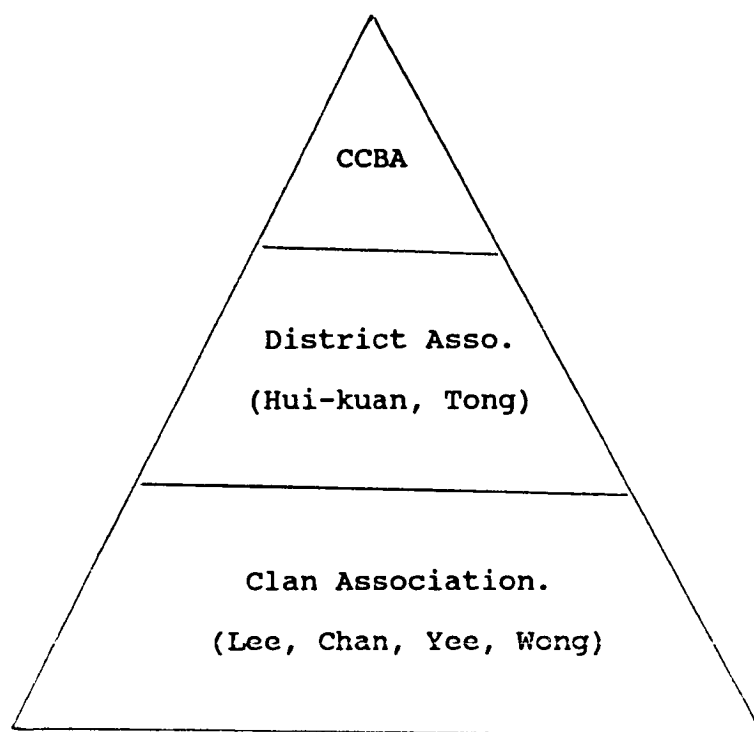


Fig. 2. Crissman's Segmentary Model

During the first period of migration to the United States, clan organizations were formed by people who had, in most cases, the same family name. They provided new arrivals temporary room and board, and helped to find jobs for members. Clan organizations also might control some businesses in Chinatowns. For example, the Yee and Lee clan associations in Chicago controlled the more expensive Chinese restaurants. Generally speaking, there would be one or a few strong clan organizations in each Chinatown, for example, Lee in New York Chinatown, and Chan, Lee, and Wong in Chicago (Light 1972). The Lee Clan Association in New York Chinatown had more than 10,000 members, and operated a federal credit union with more than two million dollars for mutual benefit (Kuo 1977).

2. District Association: The most important district association is hui-kuan, based on common dialect, or district of origin in China (Chen 1980; Lee 1960; Lyman 1974). District association originated in China. Chinese cities had weak central authority, and thus local associations became powerful and autonomous, and performed religious, commercial, adjudicative, and charitable functions (Lyman 1974; Liu 1976). There are five main speech groups among the Chinese immigrants in the United States: Cantonese (in fact, the early Cantonese immigrants came from Toishan and speak Toishanese), Hainanese, Hakka, Fukienese, and Teochiu. The hui-kuan served as a credit and loan society, and employment agency.

The other important district organization is the secret society or tong. According to Lee (1960), the secret society and merchant association are overlapping groups which also originated in China. The secret societies recruit their members for personal qualities rather than by kinship. Lee held the view that the tong's importance resulted from the needs of a predominantly male society whose desires for social advancement in the United States were blocked by racism (Lee 1960:162). Secret societies were at first opposed by clan and hui-kuan leaders, but efforts to drive them out of Chinatowns did not succeed. On the contrary, the increasing number of secret societies and their activities at the end of the 19th century made them strong enough to challenge clan and hui-kuan dominance in the Chinatowns.

3. Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association (CCBA):

CCBA, or the Chinese Six Companies, was formed by six district associations as the supreme authority over all other Chinese local organizations. In its heyday, the CCBA was a semi-official government in Chinatown and acted for the interests of the Chinese community and its general welfare. The CCBA thus had the most power in this hierarchical social structure (Beck 1898; Kuo 1977). The CCBA put all of its efforts to encourage the Chinese, regardless of regional or dialect identity, to be China-oriented. The CCBA capped a closed hierarchical system of social, political, ritual, welfare, and economic

activities which had isolated the Chinese immigrants from the larger outside world for more than one hundred years. Only those few Chinese living outside were able to assimilate the American cultural heritage.

However, this isolated ethnic, unassimilated, autonomous, and segmentary situation in Chinatowns has changed in the past few decades. The massive immigration from Hong Kong and Taiwan since the mid-1960s has changed the power structure of Chinatown. It was already changing by the 1940s due to the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts, and a series of refugee, citizenship, and voting rights laws that eliminated some of the conditions of ethnic isolation. War brides legislation and family reunification policy made it possible for more male workers to stay at home with their families, which weakened the traditional bachelor organizations. Young, second-generation Chinese were more assimilated to American society, and did not need to remain within the traditional Chinese sub-economy in Chinatown (Lyman 1974). Some moved away from Chinatown, and others returned to do social work after they realized the importance of helping their community. With the emergence of new social service agencies funded by the state and federal governments, and of radical organizations begun by social workers, professionals, and students, the power of traditional CCBA leaders was challenged (Wong 1974, 1982). Competition between new and old leadership was obvious, and discussed

in newspapers, magazines, and books. Finally, more and more new immigrants settled and formed associations beyond Chinatown.

BECK AND NEW YORK CHINATOWN

The book, New York Chinatown, was published in 1898 and provides a truly amazing amount of material on early New York Chinatown, despite its American author's ethnocentrism. It furnishes quantitative as well as qualitative data.

In Manhattan Chinatown, the supreme authority was Chong Wah Gong Shaw (Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association). Any notice posted on its bulletin board had to be approved by its president, whom Beck called the mayor of Chinatown, and was regarded as a formal announcement. All decisions made by the CCBA had to be observed by all Chinese. It oversaw sending the remains of Chinese who died in New York to their hometowns, and later bought land in Evergreen Cemetery, Brooklyn, for Chinese burials separate from the "white devils" (Beck 1898:226).

Although only men were seen when visitors went to Chinatown, there were some 84 married couples or families living there in the 1890s. Among them, 36 wives were Chinese, and the other 48 were white, either respectable white women, or former prostitutes, according to Beck.

There were between 12,000 and 13,000 Chinese in the New York area. The Chinese engaged in 22 different

occupations, with the largest number, 8,000, working as laundrymen. The laundrymen had their own associations, the territorially-based Chop Sing Hong and Sing Me Hong. No Chinese could work in this business without affiliation with the appropriate hong (Beck 1898:58). When he wanted to sell his store, he had to put the notice on the bulletin boards of his hong and the CCBA. The buyer could pay no more than 10 per cent of the purchase price to seal the bargain; the other 90 per cent had to be paid at the hong headquarters in Chinatown, in the presence of members of the CCBA. This arrangement gave creditors of the retiring laundryman an opportunity to present financial claims to the Chinatown "mayor" for settlement.

Beck stressed that the Chinese stuck to their own culture and customs. They did not use the free clinic and dispensary of American doctors, but rather their own herbal doctors. He discussed birth and funeral ceremonial practices. He described Chinese opera and bands, gambling, and 80 character lottery in Chinatown. He also mentioned the seven Chinese vegetable gardens in Queens and Brooklyn where the farmers preferred to use implements with which they were accustomed.

Beck also provides a detailed description of missionary work in Chinatown. The churches attracted many attendants, but most came to learn English, not to embrace the Christian religion. The classes were mostly taught by young white women whom some Chinese married.

This book provided valuable material about the life of early Chinese immigrants in Manhattan Chinatown and other parts of New York City. We are provided a fuller picture of Chinatown life at the personal level than of the operation of associations. However, the author's ethnocentrism is evident in the book too. For example, in discussing Chinese rituals, he says that "it is a mistake to call their superstitious idol worship and pretended forms of devotion religion. They have no religion--good, bad or indifferent. They are simply heathens--barbarians" (Beck 1898:207). He also mentions that "the Chinese are naturally and constitutionally the most inveterate of gamblers. Almost all of them gamble, and their code of morality places no embargo on the practice" (Beck 1898:95).

SIU AND SOJOURNING LAUNDRYMEN

As a son of a laundryman, Paul Siu came to the United States in 1927 when he was 21 years old. Knowing nothing of the real life of the laundrymen in the "Gold Mountain", he was shocked on the first night in his father's store in St. Paul, Minnesota. Compared to most of the other Chinese, Siu was lucky because his father wanted him to come to study, not to work in his laundry. A year later, he moved to Chicago where he had many Siu relatives working in the laundry business. He visited them, and helped them write letters home, learned what they joked about, joined leisure activities, and observed how they interacted with

each other, and with women. This formed the basis of his dissertation, a portrait of 1930s Chinese bachelor society in America. In 1953, he completed his dissertation, which was published under John Kuo Wei Chen's editorship in 1987.

The most important concept Siu developed was "sojourner", defined as one who "clings to the culture of his own ethnic group as in contrast to the bicultural marginal man. Psychologically he is unwilling to organize himself as a permanent resident in the country of his sojourn."

According to Siu, the first Chinese laundry appeared in Chicago in 1872 before the emergence of first Chicago Chinatown. The number increased and decreased before it reached its peak of 704 laundries in 1928, compared to 421 non-Chinese laundries. It started in mid-east Chicago, and then penetrated north, west and south during these years. Generally speaking, the ups and downs and the expansion of its geographical area were related to the social and economic conditions and expansion of the city. For example, after Chicago became an industrial city in 1883, the laundries increased from 199 that year to 313 in 1893. As Siu argues, the Chinese laundry industry expanded when "better people (more affluent) sought better residential areas in the outer zones" (1987:39). In order to cope with competition of non-Chinese laundries, the Chinese laundries had adopted modern machinery such as steam boilers, water swings, and washing machines at the time when Siu did his

fieldwork.

In order to make a living, the Chinese laundrymen had to find a good location and select the right customers. Therefore the location "is largely on lines of transportation, especially along some of the principal street car lines, or around the 'satellite loops' and business districts." (1987:42). The young married couples, "white-collar" office workers of the salaried class in apartment houses, and single men and women who are detached from family ties were the main clients of the Chinese laundries. The Chinese laundry appeared in almost every neighborhood, although it was harder to find them in single-family neighborhoods and the immigrant areas.

The Chinese laundry was a small enterprise; some were run by one person only, others had up to six workers, but the majority were two- or three-man businesses. Size reflected the location of the business. In the deteriorated and the poor neighborhoods, the Chinese laundry was usually operated by one older man. The counter was always locked and a fence was built accross it; a doorbell was used to signal the arrival of a customer. In contrast, in the apartment house and residential areas, the laundry was usually managed by three or four young men, with no fenced counter. The window was decorated by a neon sign. Men of the same clan tended to join one another as partners. The laundryman's store was not merely a place to work, but was also a home for sleeping and cooking meals.

In most cases, the laundrymen were unmarried or their wives remained in their hometowns in China. The store sign was painted in red which was a symbol of good luck and prosperity in China. The Chinese abacus was used in accounting and adding up bills. The laundry ticket was written in Chinese characters; Americans could only understand the amount charged on the ticket, and nothing else.

Capital resources to start a laundry business were of two types. The first was private sources, which included interest-free loans from relatives and friends, loans with interest from money-lenders, and a large amount from woi (hui, rotating credit associations), a common source of capital in other Chinese communities as well. The second type, loans from banks, were less accessible due to language barriers. Some English-speaking Chinese became agents for bank loans, from which they earned commissions. A laundryman had to use his personal property, the laundry shop if he owned one, as security. If he did not he needed someone as guarantor for a bank loan, and found such agents through their advertisements in Chinese newspapers. Siu found that private loans seemed to be losing popularity, with loans from American banks replacing them.

The newcomers stayed in the laundry business because there was almost no other choice. They could quickly find work, or even become a partner, in a laundry through the help of a clan member or friend. However, few planned to

stay permanently in America; most hoped to return with a big amount of money to enjoy the rest of their life in their own hometown.

The social world of the Chinese laundrymen comprised his laundry and Chinatown. Inside the laundry, co-workers shared common interests and understandings. They held birthday parties inside the store and joked with each other while they were working, especially about sex. They visited each other on Sunday. They seldom visited parks, museums, or other institutions in the community. Some occasionally went to see a motion picture. But it was only on trips to Chinatown that they felt at home. Here they shopped for daily necessities, and attended to business matters, and were "recognized as a person, enjoying a life of primary relations where sentiments and attitudes were warm, intimate, and spontaneous" (Siu 1987:145).

Only a few festival days were transplanted to the New World, such as Chinese lunar new year, and the Spring Festival (Chun Jie) (Siu 1987:145). The laundrymen also celebrated American holidays but gave them different meanings. Christmas was called "Winter Festival", and was devoted to ancestor worship. They would send gifts to friends and relatives, and give Chinese tea, li-chi nuts, silk and chinaware to their customers.

The laundrymen kept their connection with their families in China. They sent money back to support their families and relatives. They might be heads of families even though

they were far from home. The laundrymen also extended their concerns to village affairs. They contributed money to village education and for law suits.

Many of them worked all of their lives as workers, without enough savings for the return trip home. Among those who did return, few brought a big fortune with them. Many retired in Chicago's Chinatown, where they had come to enjoy themselves when they were young, and died there. A few went home with skills, such as radio and automobile repairing, or photography, and opened businesses there. Some succeeded and some failed. Readjustment was often not easy after many decades abroad. In some cases, dissatisfied with the backwardness of the villages, they moved to towns or to Hong Kong. Some even had to go abroad again to earn their living because they either spent all their money within a few years, or failed in business.

The sex ratio was very imbalanced in Chicago's Chinese community, and the "street walker" was used to meet sexual needs. These women's addresses were passed around among the laundrymen (Siu 1987:251-256). The Chinese community condoned resort to prostitutes as inevitable because of the long separation from home. However, they condemned those people who neglected to support their families in the hometowns, and those who did not plan return trips to China.

Besides sex, the other important leisure activity was gambling. The laundryman worked hard six days a week, and

wanted something exciting to break the dullness and routine. "If you don't gamble, what are you going to Chinatown for?" was a common expression. Gambling losses also prevented many people from going back to China. Siu said that one experienced gambler told him that probably only 40 per cent of the Chinese immigrants returned to China, while 60 per cent remained and died in America (Siu 1987:242).

Some young laundrymen went to Sunday School, and through their weekly contacts with their teachers, they observed and learned the American way of life, including dress and manners. However, according to Siu, the main purpose was to learn to speak English, and to meet women. The Chinese elders objected to young men attending Sunday School because "once he learns how to speak English, he goes to fool around with American girls" (Siu:1987:279).

Siu's collection of many personal documents and his own participant observation provide a very important record of the Chinese laundrymen's sojourning life. However, he does not say much about the relationship between the laundrymen and the organizations of the larger Chinese community. For example, he mentions Chung Wah Hui Kuon (the Chicago CCBA) only once in relation to selling a business, and the clan association only once in the celebration of the Spring Festival. There is no mention of any laundry association in Chicago although such associations already existed in New York Chinatown by 1890s. The CCBA and clan

associations also might have had other relationships with the laundrymen, such as to help ship immigrants' deceased remains to China.

WEISS AND A CALIFORNIA CHINESE COMMUNITY

By the 1970s, some recent studies of Chinese in America (Kuo 1977; Light and Wong 1975; Weiss 1974; Wong 1974, 1982) and find that Crissman's segmentary model was no longer suitable for contemporary urban Chinese communities in the United States. For a Chinese American community as yet little affected by the post-1965 immigration, Weiss argued that if "a Chinese community evidences a lengthy historical continuity and its population increase is primarily due either to a high birth rate or to internal immigration rather than to overseas immigration, there will come a time when the native-born sons and daughters will reach adult age and establish their own identities" (Weiss 1974:148). In Weiss' view Crissman's segmentary model was applicable in Valley City, California between 1850 and 1940 but since then, a new generation, and new organizations have appeared. He described a "tripartite system" of traditionalist, modernist, and activist, in which each sub-system was autonomous from the others, and each had its own structure, membership, leadership, ideology, and activities.

This model is useful in understanding those changes in long-settled Chinese communities which occurred before 1965,

and which continue to have an impact as established Chinese American interact with Chinese immigrants. In Weiss's work, the traditionalists "are primarily foreign-born, Chinese speaking,.... whose associations, such as family associations, tongs, and the Chinese Benevolent Association are basically concerned with the preservation and continuation of their Chinese heritage, which could be inferred from their activities, such as Chinese school, Chinese movie-shows, and Chinese festival day" (Weiss 1974:153).

The modernists are primarily native-born and English-speaking, concerned with establishing and maintaining an "American-Chinese" identity. Their associations such as the Chinese Civic Club and sports clubs are based on members' social and recreational needs. Churches and student organizations are also prevalent. White Americans are invited to events, and members deal directly with other Americans on an informal social basis (Weiss 1974:153-154). Nonetheless, they interact exclusively with Chinese on most occasions, especially in sports and leisure activities.

The activists are primarily second-generation high school and college students who identify themselves as American and Asian rather than as Chinese. They form connections with other minority groups, and advocate radical change. They receive little support from the traditionalists, and only passive acceptance from most of

the modernists. Few in number, the activists were a fragment of the 1960s student movement, not a major sub-system of the urban Chinese community.

A major question is whether, as Weiss argues, these three sub-systems are united to form a unitary community structure, or separated in their interests and activities. There is little evidence of much cooperative work. The only instance of coordination Weiss reports is between traditionalists and modernists around the "Moon Festival Beauty Pageant." In most cases, competition and criticism marks relations among these three "sub-systems".

If separate organization of group interests, rather than a new community structure to replace Crissman's model, is evident, then we may question Weiss' concern that "this tripartite system.... allows individuals, as they pass through their life cycle from childhood to old age, to retain their ethnic ties while they shift their cultural outlook" (Weiss 1974:257). Weiss seems to assume that when a man is a student, he will act as an activist, in his middle age he will act as a modernist, and in his old age he will become a traditionalist. There is no evidence for this life cycle sequence, abstracted from any historical context. Ethnic group cohesion appears on the decline. After the old immigrant generation passes, the traditionalist organizations will wither away. The birth of each new generation in fact brings the emergence of new associations.

Weiss also concludes that "regardless of their differences, all Chinese are united by a sense of 'family'.... This familistic spirit... has been strengthened by the more objective realities of Chinese life in America.... Today the family remains a basic unit of Chinese American life" (Weiss 1974:254). We might ask whether family life rather than a tripartite model is a better view into contemporary urban Chinese populations. Both families and organizations are crucial to a more balanced picture.

WONG ON MANHATTAN CHINATOWN

In 1974 Bernard Wong completed his dissertation on "Patronage, Brokerage, Entrepreneurship and the Chinese Community of New York" (Wong 1984). In this work, he emphasized differences between the patrons and the brokers. Patrons in the Chinese community are called kiu ling which means literally the leaders of the overseas Chinese. They are affiliated mainly with the traditional associations of Crissman's model. The leaders of the tongs and the CCBA are the most powerful kiuling patrons. They are entrepreneurs who control ethnic enclave enterprises such as restaurants, laundries and the garment industry.

Brokers are Chinese social workers and volunteer professionals affiliated with social agencies and other institutions with ties beyond Chinatown. Kiu ling and brokers differ not only in social, economic, and

educational backgrounds but also in their conceptions of Chinese ethnic boundaries, their views of internal social order, and in their strategies to deal with outsiders (Wong 1974:251). The kiu ling emphasize harmony and friendship, and oppose methods such as protests and demonstrations in dealing with the larger society (Wong 1974:268). Kiu ling want to present the image of a peaceful Chinatown community and hide problems from outsiders. They want to keep the traditional hierarchical structure of the Chinese community intact, and to preserve their vested interests. In contrast, social brokers call attention to the existence of social problems and are eager to obtain funds from the larger society in order to improve conditions in Chinatown. Yet, differences and conflicts between kiu ling and social workers do exist and can lead to attacks and counterattacks. The social workers claim that the kiu ling are not able to obtain necessary help for the poor in Chinatown. The CCBA responds that the social workers exploit the Chinese people to fill their own pockets.

One problem with Wong's approach is that it is difficult to maintain a clear-cut difference between patron and broker organizations. For example, the CCBA is also an employment broker with economic connection outside Chinatown to the larger society. It is preferable to view "patron", "broker", and "entrepreneur" as roles that one leader or organization can play at the same time (Hart 1975; Mayer 1967; Foster 1963; Wolf 1966).

Wong's paper, "Elites in Chinatown, New York City" (Wong 1977), offers a more detailed analysis of these two groups, characterizing the differences between them in birth place, age, occupation, power base, language, and life-style. He also argues that the emergence of the new elites, the social workers, resulted from the following factors.

1. The new social structure: The traditional associations were geared to the needs of rural, adult, male sojourners. They cannot address the more complicated social problems of the new immigrants in housing, crime, health care, and day care. The new social agencies attempt to solve these problems by getting funds from the larger society.

2. Changing social relationships: In the earlier periods, social interaction was based on kinship, home-town ties and the network of associations. Social relationships among the new immigrants are more complex, including hierarchical relationships such as teacher-student, employer-employee, owner-customer, bureaucrat-client.

3. Large population size: The size in New York Chinatown's population was small before 1960. It more than tripled from 18,329 in 1950, to 69,324 in 1970. The traditional elites and their associations are not able to meet the needs of this new large population (Wong 1977:18-19).

In his more recent work, New York Chinatown (1982), Wong also addresses family life. He identifies four types of

family according to the time of arrival, and birth place: old immigrant families, including families which came before 1924, and war bride families; Chinese-American families of the second and later generation; families of intellectuals, students and officials who came to the United States before 1949, and who chose not to return to China after the change in political regime; new immigrant families which arrived in the United States after 1965 (Wong 1982:60). Different attitudes, beliefs and behavior characterize these families. For example, the husband-wife relationship of those born in China contrasts with the equality in the home, and money spent on recreation and luxuries of the Chinese-American families. The families of intellectuals stranded after 1949 are, however, more acculturated than the older immigrant families. Unlike the older immigrants, many new immigrants plan to stay in the United States permanently. They seek economic betterment and educational opportunities for their children and in order to achieve these goals, they work hard and live frugally (see also Lee 1960:185-231).

THOMPSON AND CHINATOWN IN CANADA

Thompson's paper in 1979 discussing elite cooperation and conflict in the Chinatown of Toronto identified a third significant leadership group, the new entrepreneurial elites. These new elites emerged following the amendment of the Immigration Act in 1967 which allowed immigration to

Canada for those qualified on the basis of educational, occupational, and language requirements. This new entrepreneurial elite was considered by the traditional merchant-elites as "businessmen first, Chinese second" (1979:312) and their economic invasion was viewed with hostility. Therefore the new entrepreneurial elites and the social service elites worked together to challenge the leadership of the traditional elites. Following a 1969 "Chinatown Plan", however, the situation changed. The original proposal, advanced by social service elites and like-minded non-Chinese, sought to prevent high-rise residential development from displacing Chinatown's one- and two-family housing units. One of the new Chinese entrepreneurial elites, however, wanted to build a complex of expensive boutiques and high-priced condominiums in the heart of Chinatown. The new entrepreneurial group, for economic interests, and the traditional elite, to maintain hegemony in the community and remain spokesmen for all Chinese, joined forces to overturn the original plan (1979:307-319). Here Thompson showed that there was the possibility of compromise and cooperation between the hostile elite groups because of converging interests.

In 1980 Thompson adopted a Marxist class model to replace Crissman's and Weiss' models of North American Chinese communities. He argued that a social class model better characterizes the present differential educational, occupational, and income complexities in Chinatowns. Such

a model also describes internal Chinese community relationships between bourgeoisie and proletariat, and ties events occurring in the ethnic community to the larger society. Finally, a class model accords with Chinese self-perceptions, and emphasizes the structural basis of the numerous community organizations and voluntary associations that have emerged in Chinatown since 1960. The competing models, which emphasize differing cultural or psychological orientations, neglect the linkages among groups (1980:275-278).

Thompson divided the Chinese community into four classes:

The bourgeoisie: the owners of factories and firms which employ at least 30 workers; this includes both traditional and new entrepreneurial elites.

The petty bourgeoisie: operators of family restaurants, and other small shop owners.

The new middle class: professionals and students.

The Chinese proletariat: workers in lower-level jobs in the ethnic sub-economy, most often also facing a language barrier to employment beyond it (Thompson 1980:279-286).

Although it is a valuable framework to analyse contemporary Chinese society, Thompson's class model nonetheless presents some difficulties. Thompson treats the petty bourgeoisie and new middle class as two independent classes. He does not account for linkage between them, in that Chinese immigrant professionals often

shift to small business, and sometimes back again to professional occupations. His model presents only a one-way flow, from petty bourgeoisie to proletariat but not the reverse. Both downward and upward mobility between these two classes is obvious in today's Chinese immigrant society. Thompson takes it for granted that students belong to the new middle class. In fact, students can fall into any of the four classes after they graduate; today many PhDs work as small businessmen, and even in the working class.

LOEWEN AND CHINESE IN THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA

Not all Chinese have had the same Chinatown ghetto experience. A different story is told in Loewen's work on the Mississippi Chinese. Loewen focuses on interethnic relations among Chinese imported into the Mississippi Delta and local southern whites and blacks. After the Civil War, many freed blacks in the Delta left plantation labor. To cope with the shortage of laborers, Chinese workers were recruited from California, Oregon, Chicago, and even Hong Kong. However, the planters found that the Chinese did not meet their original expectations. They were not more efficient than black labor and they would leave if they did not receive fair treatment. After they left the plantations, they could not open laundries like Chinese elsewhere in the United States, due to local competition from black labor. For the same reason, few found work as

domestic workers in the white homes. Yet most remained in the Delta, and turned to running grocery stores. According to Loewen, eventually 97% of the Mississippi Chinese would find work experience in these stores. The grocery business in fact quickly became a Chinese monopoly.

Loewen isolates several factors that enabled the Chinese to succeed in this business, as opposed to whites or blacks. The Chinese were inclined towards independent ownership; as Siu found, the sojourning Chinese most often returned home only after establishing their own independent business (Siu 1952:34-35).

Accordingly, they worked hard, and lived very frugally. After the pioneering businesses were established, other Chinese learned the business by working in their relatives' stores. Relatives also provided support in obtaining credit from wholesalers once one decided to start a grocery business (1971:49-50). Racial segregation was a barrier to interaction between whites and blacks, but the Chinese, coming from outside the system, were able to interact with both racial groups.

To run a successful business, however, the Chinese had to show different attitudes toward blacks and whites. To attract blacks, a Chinese grocery store not only sold food, but provided a place to kill time over long hours. They helped illiterate blacks by interpreting and assisting them with Social Security forms and notices. Most important, they extended credit more widely and more flexibly than the

white merchants (1971:60). Chinese stores became the only integrated locations in the Delta; blacks and working class whites could sit separately, but both were served beer. In some cases, the Chinese grocery stores became places for whites to recruit black day labor (1971:61). The Chinese grocers also hired black women to clean the store, and to serve the customers. This employer-employee relationship sometimes led to cohabitation or marriage.

However, in order to demonstrate that they were different from blacks, and to be identified with whites, the Chinese imitated white behavior and values. They adopted first names used by whites for their children; they spent large sums of money to maintain their homes according to white standards. Nonetheless, they were still excluded and discriminated against by many white social and recreational organizations and country clubs. The dispersed Chinese had to drive long distances to Chinese clan associations or Chinese clubs to play mahjong on weekends and holidays. No Chinatown formed due to the small population size.

After the 1930s, independent Chinese Christian churches emerged in the Delta as centers of Chinese social activities. Wedding banquets, funerals, and Thanksgiving Day fund-raising dinners were organized around them. The Chinese gradually realized that the road to participation in white society was through the church, for it "provided a way to show whites that Chinese were not heathen but had an

acceptable and distinctly non-Negro Christian religion" (1971:84). The church helped the Chinese solve the problem of their children's education. A Chinese Mission School was established in 1936.

The school was a stepping-stone for the Chinese to promote themselves into white society; they showed whites that they were different from blacks (1971:86). The Chinese children held Christmas parties to which whites were invited. They performed plays for white audiences. They joined the white spelling-bees and other school contests. Their academic excellence gave the Chinese an advantage in their struggle to enter the white system. Through their own efforts, and some white friends' help, the Chinese became acceptable in white institutions. Churches, restaurants, barber shops, and schools eventually opened to the Chinese, but not all white organizations accepted them.

Chinese-black relations traveled on a different track. From the beginning, blacks treated the Chinese as economic intruders. After Martin Luther King's murder in 1969 Chinese stores in the Delta were attacked. Blacks also resented Chinese efforts at joining the white system. Unlike other Chinese American studies, Loewen's book focuses on the Chinese position between white and black, and raises issues about the contemporary situation of Chinese immigrants between whites and other minority ethnic groups.

The literature review in this section represents the development of study of overseas Chinese. Beck's work showed the early life of the bachelor society and its social structure. Siu's work provided a more detailed analysis of the private life of these individuals. Crissman's segmentary model represented the social structure of the bachelor society, and traced its organizational roots to China. These authors described a very different social structure from today's new immigrant community.

Wong's study of various leadership roles in Chinatown in the 1970s shows the importance of these leaders both inside and outside the Chinese community. Weiss's research showed that some connections had been made with non-Chinese groups by modernist and activist groups. Today in Queens, outreach to establish relationships with the non-Chinese community is seen as very important by the new immigrant associations. Thompson's class model was an important reference in my household research because it identified the three household groups I also found, and considered differences in peoples' behaviors based on different class backgrounds. Loewen's work analyzed the relationships between Chinese and blacks and whites. The racism and resentment he depicted in his book seems to be occurring again today, not only in Queens, but also across the nation.

PART II. HOUSEHOLDS

My analysis is divided into quantitative and qualitative sections. Chapter 3 is an analysis of 100 household interviews, comparing such factors as, year of arrival in the United States, household size, division of domestic work, class interaction, channels of job-hunting, and celebration of Chinese and American holidays. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present nine case studies of working class, small business, and professional households, with three cases in each chapter. These case studies present the struggles of Queens Chinese immigrants, depicting experiences common to most new immigrants.

CHAPTER 3. ONE HUNDRED HOUSEHOLDS

For this study I conducted one hundred household interviews, divided among three classes: 32 households of workers, 32 households of small businessmen, and 36 households of professionals. I did not conduct household interviews with large capitalist employers; their relationships with those in the other three classes, and their roles in community and organizational activities, have been studied primarily through my work on Chinese organizations in Flushing, and through information obtained in the household interviews with their employees. The occupational distribution of these 100 household heads are as follows:

Working class: There are 14 people working in the restaurants (eight cooks, three waiters, two waitresses, one captain), seven female workers in the knitting and garment industry, five people working in grocery stores and supermarkets (four men and one woman), two men in Chinese newspaper publishing, one man in a laundrymat, one female key puncher, one man in an iron factory and one woman in a variety store. Among these people, only one of the cooks works in a non-Chinese owned restaurant, and one woman works in a non-Chinese owned computer company. All the other 30 people work in Chinese enclave businesses.

Small businessman class: The distribution of these 32

businesses is as follows: there are nine owners of candy stores and coffee shops (selling candies, newspapers, coffee and tea, cigarets, soft drinks, notebooks, detergent, film, video games, toys, lottery tickets), four of Chinese restaurants, five of trading companies, four of interior decoration or roofing businesses, two of gift shops (selling cards, decorative items, toys, T-shirts), one of a food business (dumplings, fried peanuts, and other items made at home and sold to stores). one of a fish store, one of a hardware store, one of a moving company, one of an iron factory, one of a laundrymat, one of a furniture store, one of a framing store, and one of a bakery. Some of these stores provide an opportunity for interethnic contact--most of the candy stores' customers, for example, are non-Chinese. The informant who can identify the largest number of ethnic groups, more than 20, is an owner of a candy store with multi-ethnic customers. Similar situations are found in the gift shops and fish store. The businesses with contacts mainly with Chinese customers only are the interior decoration business and iron factory. Chinese grocery stores have both Chinese and non-Chinese customers.

Usually these stores were run by married couples. Two of my female informants in this study were business proprietors. One divorced woman ran a business by herself; another woman ran a bakery with her friends.

Professionals: There are 36 households belonging to the

new middle class. Among them, six informants are civil servants, five accountants (including two female assistant accountants), three workers in shipping companies, two professors, two workers in computer companies, two workers in banks, and two dentists. Also included are a female nurse, a medical doctor, an artist, a pastor, an architect, a dental technician, a medical technician, an insurance broker, a printing company employee, a manager, a secretary, a real estate agent, and a trading company employee. More than 20 professional occupations are represented. This contrasts with the early period, when Chinese immigrants were not found in professional jobs because they were illiterate, or because they were banned from several occupations. In New York State, before 1940 Chinese were unable to work in 26 occupations (Wong 1982:37).

In this chapter, I present the basic background characteristics of these immigrants, and make certain comparisons among the three classes. Portraits of households in each class follow in chapters four, five and six.

HOUSEHOLD SIZE

First we look at household size for the three classes. I make a distinction between households and families. In anthropological research, "family" usually means a kinship group and "household" means a residential unit (Bender

1967; Pasternak 1976). In China, family ties and relations between members are very extensive. The joint family exists in China whenever two or more men are coparceners of a family (chia) estate and property, whether they are married or not, or if they reside together or not (Freedman 1970:9; Cohen 1976:58-63). Pasternak (1976:98-99) points out that, in the Chinese case, family relations occur between members who live in different places, even when one lives on the mainland and one lives in Southeast Asia. The term household refers to the individuals who share living space; they may or may not share other activities, such as consumption, production, or sexual reproduction and child care (Sanjek 1982:58; Yanagisako 1979:165). In my research the household is almost always a nuclear family, that is parents and children, though some young couples may live together without getting married. Even though many households live in rented housing with their landlords, or with other tenants, they do not, in most cases, pool money to buy food, or do anything else together. In short, their budgets are independent, as are their life patterns.

In one case a household of three sisters and one brother live together in a house, they eat together, and share the household work and some living expenses. The best-paid one paid the electricity and gas expenses. In my study there were several cases of three generations living together, either temporarily or permanently. For example, Mr. Tou's mother came to visit them and stayed with them for a few

months twice in the past. Mr. Hung's mother came to take care of her grandson in the past few years. She told me that she would like to stay in Taiwan, but she had to come to take care of her motherless grandson. She said, "My son is a man. A man does not know how to take care of children." Most Chinese in Queens can not afford domestic help; in my studies only two households had the luxury of hiring live-in housekeepers.

Many households in Queens maintain relationships with their families in Taiwan, such as when a husband in Taiwan sends money to his wife and children in the United States, or a husband sends money back to Taiwan for his wife and children's living expenses. Telephone calls and gift-sending are also very common means for people to maintain the relationships between these two locations.

There is a total of 358 people in the one hundred households. The sex ratio is evenly balanced, with 180 males and 178 females. In the working class there are 45 males and 42 females; in the small business class, 73 males and 69 females; and in the professional class, 62 males and 67 females. The average household size overall is 3.58; for the working class it is 2.74; for the business class 4.43; and for the middle class 3.58. The average size of 3.58 is larger than that of 3.05 for See's work in the San Francisco Bay Area (See 1977) where he studied more second-generation Chinese Americans, who are younger, and farther removed from the traditional Chinese value of "more

children, more luck".

If we compare household size with Taipei and Kaohsiung, the two biggest cities in Taiwan, 3.58 is smaller than that of either 3.80 in Taipei or 4.18 in Kaohsiung (Ministry of Interior 1983). It appears that household size drops during the internal migration process in the Taiwan experience. In Taiwan, Taipei is the largest city, with the greatest number of people who have migrated from other cities and the rural areas. It has the smallest average household size in Taiwan. Kaohsiung is the second largest city also with a huge migrant population. Its average household size is the second smallest in Taiwan. Cases of single person households in these situations affect average household size. And single person households represent an important fact of the migration process. In Taipei, for example, census data show that 18% of households were composed of single persons, and 13% in Kaohsiung. I have 12 cases of single person households (12%) in my research--seven from the working class, one from the small business class and four from the professional class. Single household residents usually are unmarried, but they can also be to married people who migrate separately from spouse and children. Separation, temporarily or permanently, is the first cost some migrant families have to pay upon entrance to the United States (Walter and Areskoug 1981: 241). We will see this migration process more clearly in the case studies in later chapters.

DIVIDED FAMILY TIES

There are several cases of "divided family ties" (分離關係家庭) in my Queens household cases. By "divided family ties" I refer to households with either children, a wife, or a husband in Taiwan. Unmarried singles who live alone do not fall into this category. In total, I found 19 households that fit into this category, 14 in the working class and five in the small business class.

This distribution of "divided family ties" results when people in the working class come alone, and when both husband and wife in all classes come with tourist or business visas, leaving their children in Taiwan. The Taiwan Government has allowed people to apply for tourist passports only since 1979. The recent industrial and economic development in Taiwan has made international business travel more necessary, which has also opened up doors to people who wish to migrate abroad. In the 1970s and early 1980s, it was easy to apply for these two kinds of U.S. visas from the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT), at Taipei. Many people who travel on business or tourist visas to the United States, however, do not return to Taiwan. Some in fact plan to stay permanently before they come.

The international communications network has done much to break down barriers between Taiwan and the United States. One can watch TV, read newspapers, or receive

telephone calls and letters from relatives or friends in the United States and other parts of the world. I encountered cases of people persuaded to come to the United States because their friends told them of "gold spread all over the streets" by phone, in letters, and even in person when they went back to Taiwan. One of my informants told me that a friend went back to Taiwan to tell him how easy it was to earn money here, and said that he could work in his restaurant if he wanted to come. On this advice, he applied for a business visa and came to work in the friend's restaurant. After three or four years of hard work, he was able to buy a half share in a Chinese restaurant. Such stories circulate widely among Taiwanese.

Among the 14 "divided family ties" working class households, six left their children in Taiwan, three left husbands, one left husband and sons, one a wife, and three, wives and children. Those with husbands in Taiwan are usually legal immigrants, mothers who bring children to the United States because they claim that school pressures in Taiwan are too heavy for their children. Their husbands have jobs or businesses in Taiwan, and come to visit their families here a few times a year, or send them some money to supplement their living expenses.

In Taiwan, people call such families "Ney-tzay-meei" (内社美), roughly, "wife in America". (One introduces a wife as "ney-ren", "ney" means inside, "ren" (人) means person. "Tzay" means "in". "Meei" means beautiful or

virtuous, and people call America "Meei-Gwo" (美國). "Gwo" means "country".) "Ney-tzay-meei", was originally meant to emphasize a woman's virtues, and now it describes a family whose wife is living in the United States. "Tay-kong-ren" (太空人), or "Tay-kong-jia-tyng" (太空家庭) is also used for this form of household. The original meaning of "Tay-kong-ren" is "astronaut", but now it also means a husband who has to fly between two places frequently. "Tay-kong-jia-tyng" means that the wife is not at home. This pattern is quite different from the early Chinese migration in which males lived in Southeast Asia, North America, South America and other parts of the world, and left their wives and children in their hometowns.

Those who have left their children in Taiwan have different reasons. If a son is older than 16 years, he is of military service age (it was 14 until a few years ago) and cannot go abroad until he completes one year or more of military service. I was told that the AIT does not want to issue a visa if a boy's age is 12 years or older.

Husband and wife may come separately or together, with different visas, or at different times, leaving their children behind. They may come to see if it is really easy to earn a living or not. In this case, one person or a couple will rent a small room for sleeping and cooking; both may be away during the daytime, or the wife might do machine knitting work and remain at home. One of them may

work in another city, and visit once a week. A small room to eat and sleep cost \$300-350 per month in Flushing in 1985. A medical doctor's wife told me that her husband went to see a patient at midnight, and found several beds set up in the living room for single renters. This recalls 19th century conditions for immigrants in Chinatown and for European immigrants in tenements described by Jacob Riis described (Riis 1970). It happens today in Elmhurst and Flushing.

After such parents come to the United States, their children are taken care of by grandparents or other relatives. In most cases, these immigrants will send money back to Taiwan for their children's living expenses. How much they can send is less important than continuing to do so as long as they have jobs here. It is hard for immigrants to raise children here if both work because they have little time to do so. In Taiwan, one can send infants to the parents' homes in a rural village or in the cities, or one can invite his or her parents to come to stay to take care of children. Of course, the couple can also invite their parents to come to the United States, but a greater financial burden is involved. If they hire a baby-sitter or housekeeper, they say that the wife's salary is gone. Some elderly people do migrate to take care of grandchildren here. This usually happens in small business or professional households, but not in the working class households. I only met one grandmother who came to take

care of her grandchildren in my working class households interviews. This grandmother had a green card so she must spend at least one month in the United States every year. She told me that she prefers to stay in Taiwan where she is more familiar and has more friends, and she comes to the United States only because of her permanent resident status, not for baby sitting.

One young couple offered \$500 to anyone who would escort their infant back to the husband's parents in Taiwan. They send tapes, make telephone calls, and send pictures to communicate with their overseas children. They also send money to their parents for the child's expenses. They could not themselves bring their child back to Taiwan, and cannot visit, because of their illegal status.

Among the five "divided family tie" business class households, three have children in Taiwan, and two have wives and children in Taiwan. Four of these five cases were working class when they arrived in the United States, and moved upward in class position after several years of hard work. Mr. Koungh, for example, was a businessman in Taiwan, but worked in a Chinese restaurant delivering take-out orders when he first arrived here. A few years later, he and his brother opened a roof repair company. His wife joined him in 1984, and works in his company too. They have five children who have stayed with grandparents in Taiwan, and send \$1,000 a month back for the children's living expenses.

Another case in this class is that of Mr. Lun, a father of a business owner who brought two children, a boy and a girl, to the United States. He told me that he wanted them to receive a good education -- a dream that has, as yet, not come true. Usually, we see a mother taking on a double burden of being a mother and a father at the same time. Mr. Lun plays the role of "a father and a mother", but spends most of his time working. He does interior decoration and repair work which sometimes involves late hours and holidays. The boy attended a high school with a Chinese bilingual educational program, but he did not like the school because of the demand to learn English. He worked in a Chinese restaurant afternoons and weekends, and fell behind in his classes. In the beginning Mr. Lun thought that "my son can learn some English in the restaurant". When this did not happen, the frustration became so great that he shouted at his son everytime he did not see him reading or writing. As they drifted further apart, his son forged Mr. Lun's signature on his report card, and recently did not come home to sleep for several days.

I did not find any "divided family ties" household among professionals. Many of them came as students, and applied for permanent residence after they started employment. Most began and have kept intact their own nuclear family in the United States. They have money to hire a baby-sitter, or to invite their parents to come to take care of their

children.

FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS

I now turn to the 15 female heads of these 100 households, in total, 11 in the working class (three single person households), two in the business class, and two in the professional class (both are single person households). The 11 female heads represent 35% of the household heads in the working class. Among them, three live alone (two are widows, with children in Taiwan), and two are widows who live with their children.

Another woman brought two daughters to the United States because she did not like the treatment she received from her husband. One woman divorced her husband some ten years after she brought her four children to the United States to join him in 1971. Three women's husbands travel back and forth between Taiwan and United States. They said that they thought the United States could provide a better education for their children. These three are the "ney-tsai-meei" or "tay-kong-jia-tyng" households mentioned earlier.

The female heads are in effect both mothers and fathers, and all work to earn a living to support their children. Boserup and Pessar argue that working women have a "double burden" of household work and work outside the home (Boserup 1970; Pessar 1982). I see these women's burdens as even heavier than Boserup and Pessar because they play

the fathers role too. Why do they stay in the United States under such a triple burden?

One woman and her son have lived in New York City for two years. Her husband has a good business in Taiwan, and she could only find a garment factory job after she came to New York. Her wages are low, and her living expenses are so high that she would like to return to Taiwan. However, her son said that he would not be able to catch up in school work in Taiwan, so she has given up the idea.

Another woman came to the United States with her husband in 1979, and he died in early 1984. She would have preferred go back to Taiwan because her children were there, but did not. Although she changed knitting factory jobs often in Queens, she said that she could save money each month. She did not think that she could find a job in Taiwan, and even if she could, she did not think she could save more money than she could in the United States. She felt upset over losing her husband, and not being able to live with her children. On the advice of a friend, she went to the Christian Testimony Church, a Chinese church discussed in a later chapter, to find comfort in its preaching and hymn singing.

Four female heads in the working class category had green cards before they came to the United States. Three of these are married. Two stayed in Taiwan as long as possible, but when the children became of school age, they felt it necessary to migrate to the United States so that

they could receive an education in English. English is recognized as important in future mobility. Another factor for these women, as for others, is the tension and pressure associated with the educational system in Taiwan.

One woman raised four children after her husband passed away. However, she felt that a very serious cultural generation gap existed between her children and her. She told me that she has no right to question anything done by her children. After she prepares the meals, her children eat, and she waits until they finish. They do not greet their mother's friends. She told me that she was frustrated and discouraged about her life. She said that everybody was asking for God's blessing for more years to live, but she prayed every night to God to end her life as soon as possible. She felt that God would protect her, and she went to churches, religious retreat camps, and even made a trip to Jerusalem in order to find peace. She works in a knitting factory in the daytime, and in her house at night. She works so hard that sometimes her hands can not move properly. Even though three out of her four children graduated from college, and have their own jobs, she does not receive any money from them. She even bought a house for her first son, the third child, who only has to pay the monthly mortgage rate for it. She feels that she would be worse off in Taiwan because she is illiterate. "I totally submit myself to God. I hope He brings me away immediately."

There are also two female household heads in the small business class. Both of them came to the United States after failed marriages in Taiwan. They began as workers. One eventually bought a laundromat, and the other began a home-made food business after she retired from a knitting factory job. She cooks peanuts and glutinous rice dumplings at home, and delivers them to Chinese grocery stores and supermarkets. She also gets a commission from selling chickens.

The final two female household heads are unmarried single women in the professional class.

MIGRATION EXPERIENCE AND MOTIVATION

Although the U.S. immigration law in 1965 allowed an influx of Chinese immigrants, earlier contingents of students and sailors should be counted as the first wave of Taiwan immigrants to the United States. Table 1 lists date of arrival of the first member of each household, (W, stands for Working class, B, Business class, and P, Professional class in this and other tables). In most cases, the first to arrive is also the household head.

Among the working class, the earliest to arrive in the United States were two sailors who jumped ship in 1967 and 1969. In the business class, the first to arrive was a woman sponsored by an American employer in 1967. The seven people in the professional class who came before 1970 were all students. In all, 10 out of the 14 who came before

Table 1: Year of arrival in the U.S.

	54-66	67-72	73-78	79-84	85	No.
W.	0	6	9	17	0	32
B.	0	5	8	18	1	32
P.	4	3	12	16	1	36

1970 were students, and 2 were the sailors who jumped ship. Only 2 were sponsored by relatives. Table 2 summarizes the reasons for the migration from Taiwan for the initial member of the one hundred households. Often more than one reason was given by informants so the total number of answers is more than 100. Because these interview results are retrospective accounts, they include both reasons for initial migration, and reasons why migrants have remained in the United States.

The reason to migrate and the reason to become a permanent resident can be different. For example, one of my informants came to the United States to leave a failed marriage. After arrival, she found she could easily find a job and earn money. Under her sister's application, she got her green card and settled here.

Obviously, "to go abroad to study" is an important reason for the professional class, but it is not for all of them the reason for staying in the United States. They all faced the option of going back to Taiwan after they finished their studies. For some, economic well-being and their children's education are the main reasons for them staying in the United States. One engineer, Mr. Hung, told me that he had already decided to find a job and stay in the United States when he first arrive as a student. "Only those who want to be professors will go back to Taiwan. I made up my mind that I did not want to go back before I left Taiwan. I came to find a job and a better life.

After working only a year, I could afford to buy a car which was impossible in Taiwan." Mr. Tou, a medical doctor, said, "After I finished my study here, I found a job in the hospital so I stayed. Besides, we had a child before I graduated. You know that the pressure of the school in Taiwan is very severe. For both economic reasons and the child's education, we decided to settle down here." Therefore "to go abroad to study" is often the superficial or manifest reason only. It was a proper reason to obtain passports and visas to leave Taiwan.

Sponsorship by kin is a very important factor in the Taiwan migration process. This has been broadly referred to as "chain migration" (Cronin 1970:186; Dubisch 1977:72; Friedl 1976:372; Graves 1974:123). The Chinese historically are no exception to this type of migration (Siu 1987; Skinner 1957; Wu 1958; Wong 1982). According to Sung, 80% of the Chinese immigrants came to the United States because of "chain migration" (1983:63). In Taiwan, Gallin points out, the male head of a household or an adult son, is the first in family to migrate to the city. Other family members join them later, as do kinsmen from the same village (1978:267-271).

In this study, 29 of the 115 reasons for migration were relatives' sponsorship (see table 2). The 29 households came when relatives already here applied for permanent residence for them, the so-called "green card". In terms of their immigration history, the Taiwan immigrants are

Table 2: Reasons of Coming to the U. S.

	Study	Econo.	Child.	Poli.	Relati.	Employ.	Fami.	Other
W.	2	13	2	0	11	3	2	2
B.	6	10	4	1	10	2	1	3
P.	19	4	7	0	8	6	0	1
Sub	27	27	13	1	29	11	3	6

still in a pioneering stage, so chain migration in future years will play an even larger role.

Kin sponsorship is closely related to the U.S. immigration quota system in which family reunion accounts for 80% of the total available numbers. The immigration quota system is divided into six main categories, with each allocated a different percentage of annual places (see Sung 1983).

First preference (20%): Unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens.

Second preference (26%): Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence.

Third preference (10%): Members of the professions or persons of exceptional ability in the sciences and arts.

Fourth preference (10%): Married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens.

Fifth preference (24%): Brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens over 21 years of age.

Sixth preference (10%): Skilled and unskilled workers in short supply.

If we add the first, second, fourth, and fifth preference categories, all related to family reunion, they occupy 80% of the total annual quota. There are in addition some "non-quota" slots for refugees, and for citizens' parents. In my research I encountered some informants who are illegal immigrants with expired tourist

or business visas. A few of them are eligible to change their status because they would fall under one of the six legal categories for immigrants. For example, the Lims' visas were expired, but Mr. Lim's brother had applied for them under the fifth preference.

Economic factors provided another important reason for immigration from Taiwan. 27 informants (13 working class, 10 small business, and 4 professional) attributed their motivation for migration to economic factors. Today, many scholars no longer accept in full the conventional economic view of migration as an outcome of "income differentials," in which people move from low-income areas where the labor force is abundant, to high-income areas where labor is scarce (Piore 1979:4-5). Morrison even argues that there is no relationship between a country's per capita income and migration flows because many of the major sending countries are relatively high-income countries, while many low-income countries produce little international migration (Morrison 1982:9).

Nonetheless economic reasons were considered very important for migration according to my research. The per capita income in Taiwan in 1982 was \$2,543, which was the 43rd highest among the 160 countries of the world (China Times 4/23/83). It was estimated to reach \$4,952 in 1987 (World Journal 8/21/87). Taiwan also has the second largest foreign currency reserve in the world, some \$60 billion. If we look only at these figures, we might agree

with Morrison.

If we look more closely, however, we find that economic motivations for migration are important. Unemployment in Taiwan reached its highest rate at 4.1% in 1985; this meant that more than 320,000 people were out of jobs.

Underemployment is also serious. The government figures indicated that the underemployment rate in Taiwan was 15% of the employed population, or more than one million people (World Journal 1/3/86). The official estimate is always lower than the reality.

Even before 1979, newspapers in Taiwan reported that "some college graduates could not find jobs" or "college graduates go for the jobs that elementary school graduates are qualified for," or "a lady working in the textile factory is a college graduate but went to apply for the job with her certificate from elementary school." In 1983, more than 180,000 people took an examination for 4,000 slots in a state-owned business; many college graduates took this examination for which junior high school graduates were qualified (China Times 5/25/83). A newspaper article entitled, "The sorrow of the intellectuals, and the shame of the intelligentsia?" mentioned that there were 830 college graduates sharing the same work and wages with 90 illiterate colleagues in another state-owned business (Centre Daily News 1/29/85).

In Taiwan today people are familiar with the United States from TV, newspapers, magazines and other mass

media. One may also hear about experience of relatives and friends in the United States. Many in Taiwan believe that easy money is waiting to be earned in the United States. A cook told me,

I jumped onto the land when our ship was in the United States in 1969. I found a job washing dishes in a Chinese restaurant. I received \$300 for my wages in the first month. \$300 was equal to 12,000 in Taiwan currency at that time. Oh! God. You know that a professor in Taiwan could not even earn that kind of money. [At that time, a professor's monthly salary was about \$100]. I would have liked to come earlier if I knew that it was so easy to earn big money here.

Another friend told me about a Taiwanese immigrant who went back to Taiwan to boast that he owned a restaurant after only three years' of work. He encouraged his friends to do the same. Three of them came to the United States at different times, and one became a co-owner of a Chinese restaurant three or four years later.

Economic reasons are more important for the working class and small business class, many of whom were workers before owning businesses, than for the professionals. A worker's wage in Taiwan is hardly enough to support the basic living standard of a family. The extent of underemployment and unemployment in Taiwan is well remembered. These factors are less important for the professionals because most of them came as students.

The third most important reason for migration is "for the children's education" (see also Graves and Graves 1974:125; Portes 1978:5; Taylor 1969:128). The impression that many Americans have about Chinese and other Asian youth is that they are very bright; the stereotype is the winner of the Westinghouse Science Talent Search. While school performance among Taiwan children is certainly stressed, when stories about contest winners appear in the Chinese newspapers here, the comment is usually made that, "if they were in Taiwan, they would not have the chance to show their talents."

Taiwan immigrants frequently say that school competition is too keen in Taiwan. They refer not only to competition among students, but among parents, teachers, and schools. Parents want their children to attend good schools. Teachers and school administrators want to be the star teachers, and run star schools. People in their forties and older who received their education in Taiwan remember excessive amounts of homework and physical abuse. In Flushing, I overheard a boy speaking Taiwanese with a friend on a bus. I asked what the difference was between education in Taiwan and the United States. He said, "Of course here is much better. In Taiwan the teachers beat us even if we just make very small mistakes. My hands were bleeding sometimes after being punished." More often than not parents in Taiwan do not blame the teachers when their children are punished. Instead they blame the children for

not studying hard enough, or not behaving well. Knowing that the college entrance examination is very difficult, they justify harsh punishments on the part of teachers. Usually no more than 25% of high school graduates pass the entrance examination for college.

In Taiwan, people look at college and university as the only way to get a good job in the society. This problem is more serious for boys than girls. Girls may retake the examination annually if they do not pass. A newspaper account of a young woman who had taken this examination for ten consecutive years, and then committed suicide after another failure, called attention to the situation. But a boy has to serve in the army for two to three years if he fails in his first two or three tries. (For a description of education in Taiwan, see Gates 1987). For a young man between 16 and 30 years of age, it is almost impossible to obtain a passport for study abroad until he finishes his military service. In Taiwan, a man usually begins his military service between age 20 and 22, or in the year after he graduates from college or university. After he spends two or three years in the military, it is very difficult to retake and pass the college examination; he forgets the material, and, sometimes, texts are changed. Some succeed, but others enter night colleges whose entrance examinations are less competitive.

Taiwan immigrants in the United States told me that the United States is paradise for children because of light

homework, no physical punishment in school, and easy entrance into college. Many parents attempt to bring their children to the United States as early as possible, especially before age 16 for boys. According to the Taiwan Ministry of Interior, between July of 1982 and April of 1983, 5,203 youths under 16 years old traveled abroad with their parents, but 2,061 did not return with them to Taiwan (Centre Daily News 5/21/85). Since 1986 Chinese newspapers here have begun to comment on the difficulties of these young students whose parents return to Taiwan and leave their children with relatives, or even with strangers. The relatives feel that they should not be too hard on someone else's children. Strangers feel their responsibility is only to provide room and board. Some of these boarder children run away from school, spend time in the streets, and are unable to keep up with school work. This situation is worse on the West Coast in Los Angeles and neighboring areas, where many Chinese teenagers, mainly from Taiwan, live with relatives or in private dormitories. In New York I came across only one case of a man who tried to establish one of his houses as a private dormitory. This failed because there are fewer potential boarders than on the West coast. In Queens, such youth usually stayed with relatives.

The American dream of mobility through education is not always so easy to achieve. Some parents cannot help their children either because they have to work, or they cannot

speak or read English. However, most parents continue to feel that the American educational system is more enlightened than Taiwan's because children are encouraged to study subjects they are interested in. The hope for a better education remains an important factor in Chinese immigration today.

Three cases of migration in my study were motivated by broken marriages. One woman came to the United States after a divorce, and another brought her two daughters to the United States because she did not think that her husband treated her well. In Chapter four, I will present the case of a man who came here after a divorce. Coming to the United States after a broken marriage allows people, especially women, freedom from the criticism of traditional Chinese morality.

Surprisingly only one person mentioned a political motivation for migration. This man said that the Kuomintang Party in Taiwan was so strict that people were afraid to say what they felt. People opposed to the KMT's regime have initiated a Taiwanese Independence movement in Taiwan, and in overseas Chinese communities. Some people are afraid that the Communist Party may take over Taiwan one day as it did in mainland China in 1949. One informant once said, "If not because of the Communist Party, then not so many people would have run to the United States." Two informants did mention that Taiwan's retreat from the United Nations in the early 1970s was the main reason for

them to come to the United States, but these two interviews were incomplete, and not included in the 100 analyzed here. Some people, understandably, did not answer fully my question about their reasons for migration because they were worried about the purpose of my study.

There were substantial increases in the numbers who applied for visas to come to the United States after Taiwan left the United Nations in 1971, and again after President Jimmy Carter normalized relations with mainland China in 1979. In 1979 I applied for a student visa. The number of visa applicants was so great at the American Institute In Taiwan that for a few weeks it had to limit the number accepted. At one point the number was 200 applicants per day. People could not even get a "number card" if they were not in line the night before. There were already 70 or 80 people there when I arrived at 9:30 at night. Some brought chairs, radios, rain gear, and blankets, and played cards with friends. A woman standing next to me had someone switch places with her at 3:00 a.m..

FINDING WORK

Next I compare ways in which the 100 informants find jobs in Taiwan and in the United States. In Taiwan, kinship plays a very important role in the urbanization process, especially in the area of economic assistance (Chuang 1973; Cohen 1976; Gallin and Gallin 1974; Pasternak 1976; Yin 1981). In overseas Chinese communities, kinsmen

also assume responsibility to help relatives locate a house or a job, and to deal with emergencies. Kinship is an important way to find a job in Chinese restaurants in London (Watson 1974), and in Australia (Inglis 1972), and in money-lending and rotating loan clubs among Chinese in Papua New Guinea (Wu 1974). This kind of assistance can also be found in the Chinese communities in the United States and in Southeast Asia (Freedman 1960; Lee 1962; Lyman 1974; Liu 1976; Skinner 1958; Sung 1967; Wong 1982).

For the one hundred Taiwan immigrants I studied in Queens, I have divided ways of finding jobs into five categories: kinship ties; friends' introduction; employment agencies; self-help, including through newspapers, and posters, and direct approaches to employers; and jobs offered by Taiwan or American companies before migrants arrive. Table 3 shows how people got their first jobs and their current jobs. (I do not consider self-employment of business owners). I compare the first job of the people in the three classes and the current job of the working class and the professional class

Only 10 of 32 people in the working class got their first jobs through a kinsmen's help, and only three of these migrated under a relative's sponsorship. The other seven got jobs from kinsmen who did not apply for their immigration status.

Among these 7 cases, two are Dah-Chern people who originally lived on an island located in Chekiang

Table 3: Job-finding

	first job					current job				
	1*	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
W.	10	13	0	6	3	3	15	3	9	2
B.	5	13	1	7	1					
P.	0	4	1	23	8	0	5	2	20	9

*(1= kinsmen, 2= friend, 3= employment agency,
4=self-help,5=company recruitment and other)

Province. They came to Taiwan around 1949 with the National Government. Many Dah-Chern became cooks. Though they came to the United States through different channels, they are a close-knit group, and now use their connections to obtain jobs for other Dah-Chern persons in the kitchens of today's immigrant-run Chinese restaurants. I was told that once one Dah-Chern person works in the kitchen, soon all the workers in the kitchen will be Dah-chern.

One of my Dah-Chern informants told me that more than half of the young people in his village left for cities or for the United States to find jobs. He was trained to be a cook, and worked in a restaurant in Taipei where he met and married a waitress. They heard that many Dah-Chern people in the United States earned big money, and they wanted to come. They gave about \$5,000 to a travel agency that helped them get passports and visas to come to the United States. Both found their first jobs in a restaurant through the help of the husband's uncle who was already here.

Many people in the business class were workers when they first arrived in the United States. Only five of them got their first jobs through a relative's help, though 11 came under their relatives' sponsorship. And only three out of these five persons got their job from the relative who applied for their legal status.

There were no professionals who obtained their first jobs with a relative's help, although eight persons got

their legal status through relatives' applications. This was because their job opportunities were in non-Chinese companies or institutions where their professional skills were in demand.

The second category is friends' help to find jobs. For many, friends replace kin in helping to find a job, and in this study, 13 people in the working class, 13 in the business class, and four in the professional class found their first jobs through the help of friends. Friends include classmates, neighbors, and former colleagues in Taiwan, or new friends encountered in the United States. Many came to the United States because friends told them that they could help find them jobs. Many in fact knew they had a job in the United States even before they left Taiwan, though admittedly they might know nothing about the kind of job.

In this study, friends are a more common resource in job-finding than are relatives. For example, Mr. Chong told me that his friends visited Taiwan and said that they would come to meet him at the airport, and help find him a job if he wanted to come to the United States. Mr. Chong later wrote his friends, and they indeed met him at the airport, and helped him find his first job. Like many, Mr. Chong had no relatives here, so that his friends became his most important source of help. Sometimes, people say, they get quicker responses from friends than from relatives.

There are four professionals who got their jobs through

their friends. Mr. Dou worked in a shipping company in Japan for a few years. Once his friend asked him if he would like to come to the United States. He came and found a job in another shipping company with their help. But as mentioned earlier, most professionals find jobs outside the Chinese community, beyond which kinship and friendship networks; as yet operate only sparingly.

In other studies in complex societies, researchers show that kinship ties are replaced by ties of friendship, patronage, and various voluntary associations, for instance, in Mexico (Foster 1963); in Guatemala (Reina 1959), and more widely in compadrazgo ties in Latin America (Mintz and Wolf 1967). Gitlin and Holland showed that Appalachian migrants preferred to find housing on their own, or with institutional aid (Gitlin and Hollander 1970). In Yugoslavia, Denich found that 60% of her sample secured jobs without kinsmen's help (Denich 1970).

We see this happening in today's Chinese immigrant communities also. My interviews suggest that friendship is more important than kinship for the following reasons. First, not all immigrants have kin in their new situation. Second, due to close contact with fellow workers in work-places, friendship becomes more important in later job-hunting. Third, professional training obviates kinsmen's help in job-finding.

The third route to employment is access to an employment agency. Only one man in the business class, and

one man in the professional class, used an agency for their first job. I will return to the employment agencies later.

The fourth category for job-seeking is the individual approach of reading newspapers, and posters in schools or public places, or just walking in and asking for a job. Six people in the working class, seven in the business class, and 23 among professionals used such self-help methods to get their first jobs. Chinese newspapers carry several pages of "help-wanted" advertisements for job-hunters. Most listing, however, are for menial work, such as cooks, waiters and waitresses, baby-sitters, and store helpers.

Mr. Chop, who now owns his own business, found his first job as a mover for a moving company through the newspapers. Mr. Ying told me that he got his first job in Queens when he saw a "help wanted" poster in front of a restaurant. Mr. Waun, now a business owner, came to study in New York City but quit a few months afterwards. He also found his first job in a Chinese importing company through a Chinese newspaper advertisement.

To the professionals, listings and newspapers are the most important source for jobs. Two-thirds of them found their first jobs through these media. In colleges and universities many job opportunities are posted on bulletin boards and in journals. Mr. Long, who now works for the city government, came to study in 1962, and received his masters degree in 1964. He read a poster on the bulletin

board outside the department's office, applied for the job, and got it. Mr. Tsoung, a dentist, worked in Japan but his father wanted him to come here because the other family members were in the United States. He came in 1973. He found that he had to take an examination in English for his dentist license so he went back to Japan for a year. He came back again at his father's request. He finally passed the examination and found his job in a hospital through an American newspaper listing in 1976.

The last category consists of people sent to work here by companies in Taiwan, or hired there by companies in the United States. There are three people in the working class, one person in the business class, and eight people in the professional class in this category. Two out of the three working class men were sent by the World Journal, a Chinese newspaper in Taiwan. The other was hired as a cook in Taiwan. It is more common in the professional class for a company to send staff members to work in branch offices in the United States.

Many people change jobs once they are in the United States. Compared with first-time job-hunting, help from kinsmen becomes even less important in finding later jobs. Friends, and the other means, become more important. This is especially true of the working class, where friends become the most important source for second and subsequent jobs. If we look at Table 3, we see that only three people got their current jobs through a relative's help while 10

people had such help in finding their first job. It appears they make friends among their colleagues who prove useful in later job-hunting. For example, Mr. Yep, a cook in a Chinese restaurant, found his first job with a relative's help. Since then, he has changed employment in several restaurants, using his friends' introductions. Mr. Chiu got his first job with an uncle's help, but he did not like his uncle's wife, had arguments with them, and moved out. After this, he found jobs through his friends or through employment agencies.

Agencies are used by both working and professional classes. The difference is that the working class uses Chinese employment agencies in most cases, and the professional class mainly uses non-Chinese employment agencies. In the Chinese agencies, one has to pay perhaps \$50 before one can get the address of the prospective employer. Usually the job-hunter pays one-tenth of the first month's salary as commission to the agency. In contrast, it is usually employers, not job-hunters, who pay fees to non-Chinese employment agencies. I visited Chinese employment agencies with one informant several times. In most agencies, I saw many people sitting in a small room, waiting their turn. One agency even offers Chinese chess for job-hunters to play while they waited.

With several Chinese newspapers published in New York City, employers often use them to recruit workers. Although many employers prefer to ask their workers to

introduce prospective employees to them, recruitment by this means is sometimes difficult.

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

We turn now to labor force participation among the 100 Taiwan immigrant households. In the 32 working class households, 48 of 87 household members, or 55% have paid jobs. In the 32 small business households, 73 of 142, or 51%, hold jobs, which include in many cases both husband and wife taking care of one business full time. Some 67 of 129 people, 51%, of household members in the professional class are employed.

We may also examine the number of workers per household. In the working class, there are 17 single-headed households, and 15 households with two people working. In the small business owner class, the breakdown is as follows: five single-headed households, 21 households with two people working, two households with three people working, one household with four people in the work force, two households with five, and one household with eight people working. In the professional class, 10 households have one person working, 24 households two people, and two households have three people working.

In total there are 68 households that have two or more adults working in jobs outside the home, or 68% of these Taiwan immigrant households. It is usual in immigrant groups that men and women both participate in the labor

market. Basch mentions that 75% out of the 78 households in her research on Vincentians and Grenadians had more than one employed member (Basch 1987:168). The high labor force participation of the largely immigrant Asian and Pacific Islander census category accounts for its median family income in 1979 at \$22,700, which was higher than total national median family income of \$19,900 (Bureau of The Census 1989:9).

If we look now at the adult labor force, those between ages 25 and 64, only one man and four women in the working class do not have paid jobs. The man was a student in graduate school. Those women who do not work are mainly home to take care of infants. For example, Mrs. Lang takes care of three children between one and three years old. In the small businessmen class, many couples run the business together. In some cases, however, husbands and wives are in charge of separate businesses. The adult labor force in this class includes all the adult men, and all but nine adult women. Four of these women are older than age 60; one of them, in fact, helps her daughter and son-in-law take care of the business during peak hours. The other five women are between 25 to 39. One is a graduate student; the other four do housework, care for children, and come to help when the stores are busy. Mrs. Kong comes to take care of the store when her husband goes to the wholesalers. Mrs. Lang will go to help in her husband's restaurant if it is busy. In the professional class, three

adult men and six women do not have jobs. Two of the three men are students. One aged 50, does not have a job. Among the six home-maker women, only two do not have young children; the other four take care of infants at home.

HOME OWNERSHIP

After people come here they make an effort to buy a house of their own. To own a home is deeply rooted in Chinese values. People say they have to have a house as security if they lose their job. According to Chinese real estate brokers, a difference between Chinese and Koreans is that more Chinese first buy a residence, and Koreans first a business. They say that Chinese are more conservative in calculating risk. They would rather first buy a house and then find a job or start a business. I will next compare home ownership rates among the three classes of Taiwan immigrants.

In the working class, eight households own their own homes. Six own one-family houses, and two own one-bedroom units in co-operatives. Another two households live in their parents' homes, and the other 22 households rent houses or apartments. Among the six home-owners, two rent out parts of their houses to Chinese or non-Chinese tenants. (Such rentals are illegal, but common in Queens among owners of all ethnic groups). Mr. Coung rented the second floor of his house to a young Chinese couple.

Mrs. Oung came in 1971 and bought her first house seven

years later in 1978. Mr. Lamb bought a house two years after he came here with his parents' money. His parents have a construction company in Taiwan and can afford the money to buy a house here. It took an average of eight years for these eight working class households to buy their own houses, with a range of two to fourteen years. Buying a house is also related to marital status. Single people are more likely to move around to different cities but married couples like to settle down as soon as possible, especially if they have children. Few single persons buy houses.

In the small business class, 17 of the 32 households own their homes. Among these 17 households, five rent parts of their houses to tenants. Some also own additional houses to rent. For example, Mr. Chuang has three houses. He and his family live on one floor of a three-family house and rent the other two floors (legally) to Chinese tenants. He also owns a house few minutes away. He rents all of its rooms to Chinese, including seven rooms in the basement that he rents to singles and couples. More than ten people live in the basement, in a situation of illegal occupancy. One of my informants who lives in such quarters told me that the existence of only one bathroom for seven or eight males makes him feel very anxious every morning. The average number of years before buying a house for the small business class informants is 5.6 years, and ranges from one to twelve years.

Some people in this class bring quite large amounts of money with them, which enables them to buy a business, and to make enough money to buy a house sooner than people in the working class. Mr. Chuang used capital brought from Taiwan to buy his houses. Nevertheless, about half of the small business households remain renters. Some of these spent their savings to buy a business. But more recent arrivals are also victims of soaring real estate prices in Flushing and Elmhurst.

In the professional class, 21 households out of 36 own their houses. The average number of years before buying a house is 6.2 years, ranging from less than one year to 17 years. This figure for the professionals is between the businessmen (5.6 years) and the workers (8 years). However, there are important differences among people in this class. Civil servants can only afford to buy a house after several years' work, and probably only a one-family house. Medical specialists may be able to buy several houses within a few years because of their high incomes, or with capital carried from Taiwan. Mr. Tousi was a dentist in Taiwan and has bought three houses since he came. One house is for his own family; one for his clinic, with his parents living on the second floor; and the third is rented to Chinese and non-Chinese tenants. Chinese live in the basement, illegally but with no objection. Mrs. Tousi says that she has no trouble renting the basement to Chinese, but that she avoided Americans.

Two cases in the professional class reflect the high value some Chinese place on real estate. Mr. Dou and Mr. Lang live in a rented apartment and rented house. Yet both own houses rented to other people. Mr. Dou said he feels no security in his job and did not think that he could run a business of his own, so he used his savings to buy a house. He sees this house as his family's security. In case he loses his job, he can enjoy income from this property. His own rented apartment is cheaper than the house because he and his family have lived there several years. Mr. Lang and his family live in a rented house, but bought a house in Bayside, Queens, when real estate prices began rising. They put all of their savings and money brought from Taiwan into buying it. They said that if they did not buy it at the time they did, they would be unable to buy it now, at the time I interviewed them. This house brings them an income of \$1,000 a month.

HOUSEWORK

We now explore the division of labor in housework. I chose several tasks, including cooking, banking, laundry, garbage disposal, and others, to ask about participation by household members. Table 4 shows the frequency of reported housework performance for the three classes.

In the working class, women play the most important role in almost every task, except banking, with some men assisting them in vacuum cleaning and garbage disposal.

Although 13 women are responsible for household banking, we have to remember that 11 of these women are female household heads or live alone. Garbage disposal and vacuuming are seen by Chinese as jobs that require more physical strength, so men do them. Many working class husbands work long hours in restaurants, and come home very late, or in some cases, just once a week. These men perform minimal household work.

As in the working class, business women do major household tasks with the exception of garbage disposal and banking. In most cases, small business owners deal in cash, and men are responsible for bringing the large amounts of cash to banks. Men try to find the most convenient time, when business is slow, to go to the bank. In several cases, men spend long hours in the store, and the wives do more in the house.

In the professional class, women still do most of the housework, but men help more than men in the other two classes. Most professionals have more regular, 9 to 5, work schedules, which enable them to spend more time at home than men of the other two classes. Therefore they can help their wives do housework, not only vacuuming and garbage disposal, but also laundry, dish-washing, bathroom cleaning, and other tasks. This is indicated in the frequency distribution in Table 4.

Children also help parents do some housework. Boys often do vacuuming and garbage disposal, while girls help

Table 4: Performance of Housework Tasks

	cooking				vacuuming						dish-washing					
	1*	2	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
W.	6	23	2	1	11	12	2	0	5	2	6	21	2	2	1	0
B.	1	21	9	1	6	14	3	1	7	1	4	21	0	3	4	0
P.	2	27	3	4	17	9	2	0	6	2	8	16	0	2	8	2
	Kitchen-cleaning					Bath.-cleaning					Banking					
	1	2	4	5	6	1	2	5	6		1	2	5	6		
W.	6	23	1	1	1	6	24	1	1		15	13	4	0		
B.	3	22	1	5	1	2	23	5	2		15	5	12	0		
P.	3	24	0	6	3	5	23	7	1		11	10	15	0		
	Bed-making				Garbage disposal					Laundry						
	1	2	5	6	1	2	3	5	6	1	2	3	5	6		
W.	6	20	4	2	9	12	3	8	0	6	23	0	3	0		
B.	1	20	11	0	11	9	3	9	0	6	19	1	6	0		
P.	3	18	15	0	21	8	2	5	0	3	21	0	10	2		

* 1= father, 2= mother, 3= son, 4= daughter, 5= co-operation, 6= others.

in the kitchen, doing cleaning and dish-washing.

The division of labor is very similar to the situation in Taiwan. At home, men in the Taiwan working class are found watching TV, talking to neighbors, disciplining children, or repairing furniture or electrical appliances, while wives do the more routine housework. The professional class, especially low- and middle-rank civil servants, help their wives in various kinds of housework as do Taiwan professionals in Queens.

Such a labor division is not related only to time allocations but is also related to the cultural and educational changes occurring in Taiwan. The Taiwan government promotes equal rights and sharing of work between men and women which is reinforced by education at school. Generally speaking, the more educated one is, the more one talks and hears about equal rights and more possibilities sharing more work with women. More and more men do not feel ashamed to share housework with women.

ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP

In chapters one and two we discussed the importance of associations in Chinese communities of the past. The isolated and compact settlement pattern facilitated the emergence of these organizations. Some scholars see them as products of the "bachelor society" (Lee 1962). But today's new immigrants live scattered a over wide geographical area, intermixed with other ethnic groups.

Very few family and district associations have been formed in Queens. Chinese people in Queens in fact criticize themselves as too selfish and individualistic to work together. What kinds of associations do these Taiwan immigrants join?

In the 32 working class households, only 10 people were members of any association. Among them, five had joined churches. In addition, Mr. and Mrs. Chung joined a social dancing club; Mrs. Chao joined a Chinese musical instrument performance group; Mr. Kang belonged to CAVA, a military school alumni association, and other Chinese associations no longer in operation. Ms. Ling, a widow of an American, had more familiarity with non-Chinese associations, and belong to a non-Chinese swimming club and to CAVA.

In the small business class, 15 people belonged to associations. 10 people to only one association, three to two associations, and two to three or more. Among the 10 people who belonged to only one association, six were members of churches. In all, there are six members of the FCBA, two of CAVA, one of a district association, two in alumni associations. Mr. Ong, whose role we shall examine in Part III, is, perhaps, the most active of all Queens Chinese in the life of associations. He was one of the founders of CAVA, the general secretary of FCBA, a board member of the Downtown Flushing Development Corporation, and a member of an alumni association.

In the professional class, some 26 people, more than

two-thirds, belonged to various associations. Members of this class also join more diverse associations, including churches, and district, alumni, academic, professional, commercial and political organizations, as well as socially-oriented organizations. Among them, 11 belonged to only one association, 8 to two associations, and 13 to three or more. There are eight members of Newtown Church, one of Christian Testimony Church, two in other Protestant churches, and three in Roman Catholic churches. In all about 40% of this class attend churches. People also participated in alumni associations of the schools they graduated from in Taiwan, both high schools and colleges. Alumni associations are increasing in popularity today. People were also members of non-Chinese professional associations, such as civil engineering, dental, and insurance business groups.

Of those people who joined associations, some are very active, and others are inactive in participating in activities held by these associations. From case studies, we see some people who have become inactive in their religious practices after coming to the United States. We also see some very active members who are involved in various associations, and who help form an "interlocking" leadership in the community. People join associations for many purposes. There are those who attend church mainly because of their religious beliefs, since many of them were Christians in Taiwan. Some churchgoers have social and

practical economic motivations as well. Other associations may have specific goals, such as CAVA which is a politically-oriented association, but people also use their positions in these organizations to benefit business activity and make contacts, and as stepping stones to higher status. Associations may serve both members' own purposes and the community's welfare. The cases studies in Chapters 4-6, and the chapters on associations in Part III, will illustrate these points more clearly.

FESTIVAL AND HOLIDAY CELEBRATION

Their celebration of Chinese festival days and American holidays expresses how these new immigrants both preserve their own traditions and react to new ones. I would not suggest that patterns of Chinese and American holiday celebration indicate that the working class is more "traditional" or the professional class more "modern." I see this as a mixed situation, with work schedules and income levels important elements. People would like to preserve their Chinese heritage, but they also accept American holidays. Many had heard about these American holidays before they came, and some even celebrated "Western holidays" (西洋節日) in Taiwan. Dance parties and exchanging gifts at Christmas are not something new to many Chinese, especially to young people.

In Table 5, I summarize the participation of households in Chinese lunar New Year, the Dragon-boat Festival day,

Table 5: Celebration of Chinese and American Holidays

	New Year	Dragon	Mid-Aut.	Xmas	Thanks.	Other
W.	23	10	14	13	9	1
B.	32	20	23	22	20	5
P.	26	19	23	26	21	5

Mid-Autumn Festival, Thanksgiving, Christmas and other American holidays. From the table it is evident that Chinese New Year is still the most important festival day for Chinese immigrants in Queens. The way they celebrate it is, however, simpler than in Taiwan. In total more than 80% of the households celebrate it, including 23 working class households, all 32 small business households, and 26 professional households. The many Chinese grocery stores in Queens make it easy for people to shop for Chinese New Year special foods and items. If people bring ancestor tablets or statues and portraits of deities to the United States, they worship at home on the eve of Chinese New Year by offering food and burning incense sticks. However, only a few households in Queens perform this ceremony because only a few households have ancestor tablets or ancestor pictures.

People in the working class usually have a banquet and receive a red envelope with money inside from their employers. They may get one or two days off for this special occasion. For the small business owners, most will take one or two days off for Chinese New Year, especially in an ethnic-enclave business such as a Chinese grocery store, restaurant or beauty salon. Because most of them work in non-Chinese companies or agencies, the professionals are not able to take any days off. The professionals do however enjoy those American holidays which most of them and their families can celebrate

together, though many still celebrate Chinese New Year.

Generally, the celebration of Chinese lunar New Year for most new immigrants in Queens today involves making special dishes and glutinous rice cakes, giving red envelopes with money to children, and making telephone calls to relatives in Taiwan. People can buy festival foods, or make some of them at home. Because so many try to call Taiwan, the American telephone operators ask if it is a holiday for the Chinese, and some even say "happy new year" after they hear Chinese English accents, or that the call is to Taiwan.

The Dragon-boat Festival day is, to some degree, less important here than in Taiwan because glutinous rice dumplings, a very important item for this holiday, are very easy to buy in Chinese grocery stores and are rarely made at home. When I asked about this day, many people answered that it was not important because rice dumplings can be eaten at anytime. In Taiwan, besides rice dumplings, an important event on this festival day is the Dragon-boat rowing contest in rivers. Although a Dragon-boat contest was held in Philadelphia in 1986, it was not until 1989 that Dr. Sesein Jang, president of FCBA, organized the event in Queens. This ancient Chinese Festival event has never, to my knowledge, been staged by any Manhattan Chinatown group.

Mid-Autumn festival day is also an important occasion in Taiwan. People eat moon cakes and pomelos, a citrus fruit. The moon cake is specially made for this day. In

Queens, when the date draws near, advertisements for "Hong Kong style moon cake", "Taiwanese style moon cake", "Cantonese style moon cake", "air-freight Taiwanese moon cake", and "air-freight Hong Kong moon cake" can be seen in the Chinese newspapers and on TV programs. Three of the households I interviewed have moon cakes sent by air-mail from their families in Taiwan. Boxes of moon cakes are displayed in Chinese bakeries. People buy them both for their families or to send as a gift to friends. More than 65% of both small business and professional households celebrate by eating moon cakes. Less than half of the working class households celebrate this day, either because they work or because they are single. This also applies to celebration of Dragon-boat festival day. Businessmen usually do not take the day off for these two festival days, and neither do their employees.

My research found that 13 of 32 working class households, 22 of 32 business households, and 26 of 36 professional households celebrate Christmas. The most simple way some celebrate is with a Christmas tree at home. Some also give gifts to their children, buy gifts for their children to exchange with friends, and attend Christmas dance parties. Mr. Hsoun, a worker, graduated from a community college in Queens, and has many Latin American friends. He celebrates Christmas day with these friends, drinking and dancing. Some Christians celebrate Christmas by attending church services. Compared with the

other two classes, the professionals enjoy this holiday more because they have time to visit and celebrate with friends or relatives. Some even enjoy long trips because the "children are on school term breaks, and they can take vacation days from work."

Regarding the Chinese celebration of Thanksgiving, it is similar to Christmas day. There were 50 out of 100 households that celebrated this holiday, nine in the working class, 20 in the small business owner class, and 21 in the professional class. To the Chinese, it is a holiday they share with the Americans. Some even buy turkeys, although turkey meat is not popular in Taiwan. Chinese restaurants in the New York suburban areas close only on Thanksgiving Day when few American customers come. Thanksgiving has become a recreation day for restaurant workers and some of the employers who drive cars or vans to casinos in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Halloween is a holiday that only a few Chinese children celebrate. One of my informants was apprehensive that people might wear masks and rob his store, so he asked me to watch it with them. But when my wife and I arrived, the first thing he said was, "Since you are here, let me take my children trick-or-treating for a few minutes. They have asked me several times." Many Chinese parents say that one episode of trick-or-treating is enough to satisfy their children's curiosity.

Here we can see two different patterns in festival

celebrations: generally, the working class and small business class have less chance to celebrate American holidays, and the professionals cannot fully enjoy Chinese Lunar New Year celebrations. Time is an important constraint that qualifies such differences. In a Chinese enclave working environment, it is natural to have one or two days free to celebrate the New year. For professionals working in non-Chinese companies, this is very difficult. Many of them envy the Jews whose holy days have become official holidays in New York City and elsewhere. Although some elementary schools in Queens allow Chinese students to take one day off on Chinese Lunar New Year, their parents are not allowed to take time off from work. Many Chinese immigrants are disappointed by this, and hope one day they will be able to enjoy the Chinese Lunar New Year as an official holiday.

We see more professionals than small business owners and working class people celebrating American holidays. In addition to believing it is important to observe Chinese holidays, professionals want to celebrate American holidays with their families to acculturate their children into American society. Although we found that some working class households celebrated American holidays, many of them said these holidays were for Americans and felt they had nothing to do with their lives.

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE

In religious activities, most people are followers of Chinese folk religion though there is also an important growth of Christian churches among recent overseas Chinese communities. In these 100 households, counting either one adult or a couple who said that they are Christian, the distribution is six in the working class, five in the business class, and 16 in the professional class, or a total of 27 households.

In most cases, the churchgoers are not "rice Christian", the word used to indicate the old immigrants in Chinatowns who left the churches after they learned how to speak English. But some are inactive after they arrive here, either because they are too busy or for other reason. Three Christian households out of 16 in the professional class are inactive churchgoers now. When one of my informants in the working class said that he is a Catholic, his wife asked, "are you a Catholic?" What she meant was that they have never been to church since they came to the United States. He said that they were too busy to attend church because they work on Sunday. A woman in the businessmen class also told me that she and her husband went to church in Taiwan but they do not have time to attend church here because they take care of their restaurant business on Sundays. Nonetheless, this household has written Christian scriptures displayed on the walls in their house.

Perhaps one of my most interesting informants is Mr. Cou who was a Christian in Taiwan and attends Newtown Church in Elmhurst. He told me he tries to attend church once every month or two, even though he has to run his business on Sunday. He said he would receive punishment or a warning from God, such as catching a cold, a broken machine, or burglary, if he did not go to church for a long period.

Nearly as many as say they are Christian mentioned that they went to Buddhist temples to burn incense sticks, including 10 households of the working class, 10 business households and 6 professional households

If we look at practices that belong to Chinese folk religion, such as fortune tellers, amulets, and deities' pictures and religious statues in the home, we get another picture. Six working class households have such religious items in their homes, including Buddhist inscriptions, amulets, and ancestor tablets. There are five households in the business class that have Chinese religious items at home, articles similar to what the working class households have. Five households in the professional class also have Chinese religious items at home. A few people possess both Christian and Chinese religious items at the same time. Mrs. Chian, a small business owner, has a rosary given by a Catholic priest in Taiwan; and she also bought a Huu-ye (deity of tiger), and Kuan-yin (the Goddess of Mercy), both deities in Chinese folk religion, for her home and store for luck in business.

A visit to a Chinese fortune teller is now a possibility for Queens Chinese who face personal anxieties and uncertainties. Four households in the working class, nine small business owners, and three professionals reported consulting fortune tellers. Some told me that it was only for fun, but others obviously took it very seriously.

Mrs. Yep, a waitress, told me of several consultations with fortune tellers. She said that she went to see them when she and her husband planned to start their own business. On the last occasion, she went to Chinatown to see a fortune teller when her boss asked her and her husband to become partners in the restaurant. Her husband was afraid due to the business failure they had the last time. She wanted to risk it again. She told me she and her husband had quarreled about the matter. Her final strategy was to persuade her husband to consult a fortune teller. Things did not work out as she wished, however. The fortune teller warned them that if the business had four partners it would fail; their employer's lover, whom they did not like, wanted to have a share in it. They gave up the venture because of this warning. She told me that since they arrived in 1982, she had been to see fortune tellers in Chinatown and Queens several times.

For some, there is no contradiction between attending church, and consulting a fortune teller. Mr. Cou, who was a Christian in Taiwan and attends a church in Elmhurst also believes in Chinese fortune tellers and other folk religion

practices. He has a bowl on a table in his home with "mother money" in it. "Mother money" is a coin, the older the better, which brings good fortune. He has also consulted several fortune tellers. Once a fortune teller warned him against touching water so he has tried to avoid washing his hands as much as possible.

SHOPPING PATTERNS

In terms of shopping preference, the language barrier is very important, but it is not absolute. In this study, 21 working class households, 12 small business households, and seven professional households said that they preferred to buy goods from Chinese stores. The people in the working class list the following reasons: ease of communication, bargaining over price, occasional absence of sales tax, and the sentiment "Why not let my own people earn my money." Common language is used not only to ask about goods, but also sometimes in chatting and exchanging information between customers and store owners. To bargain in Chinese stores is a true art, and one can often enjoy this process. Most business owners, however, say that bargaining is "a pain-in-the-neck". Chinese customers, however, are proud to relate successful bargaining episodes and strategies to friends. For example, once after a Chinese woman left the store, Mr. Woung told me that he was sick of this woman. Although her son-in-law and daughter are medical doctors, she would try to bargain down to a

very low price. On one occasion, he told her to ask her daughter if there is any bargaining in her medical office.

To pay the extra fee of sales tax beyond the label price is very hard for Chinese people to understand because there was no such charge in Taiwan until 1985. People do not understand the purpose of the sales tax, and try to avoid paying it. Some Chinese business owners will sell their goods without charging tax. However, not all customers can get tax-free treatment, and it is not practiced in all the Chinese stores.

Some non-English speaking informants said that one can buy things in a department store without knowing English because prices are listed on the goods, and printed out by cash registers. However, English has to be spoken in some situations. For example, a woman could not do anything when she found that the price shown on the cash register was different from the price on the sign where she picked up her comforter, and she could not explain this in English.

The feeling of buying from "my own people" exists in only a few people's minds. On the contrary, most people emphasize quality and variety as considerations of where to shop. There are no Chinese furniture stores in Elmhurst and Flushing, so one has to go to non-Chinese stores, or to Chinatown. Some complained that the Chinese stores were too small, with only limited choices, so they would rather shop in non-Chinese department stores where the variety was

greater and the quality was better. It is necessary, however, to buy such things as Chinese foods and medicines in Chinese stores.

Chinese medicines remain widely used in the Queens Chinese community. Of the 100 households, 76 have Chinese medicine in their homes: 24 working class, 28 business owners, and 24 professionals. When people are cut by a knife, or upset by food, they will use a Chinese medicine such as Yunnan-bair-yaw (a light brown color medicine good for stopping bleeding and stomach pain, made in Yunnan, mainland China), Bao-jii-wan (a pill for fever, diarrhea, intoxication, over-eating, and gastrointestinal diseases), Jeng-low-wan (a pill for diarrhea), goou-pyi (an anti-rheumatic plaster also for relaxing tendons and stimulating blood circulation), and Tiger Balm (for muscular aches and pains, sprains, rheumatism, insect bites, itching, lumbago and headache). These are found in Chinese medicine stores and some Chinese grocery stores. Many people even bring these medicines with them when they come to the United States. Most Chinese use these for self-treatment. In one unusual case, I was told by a woman that her family in Taiwan would mail her these medicines, but her husband, a dentist who does not believe in Chinese medicine, would throw them away. I also interviewed a medical doctor's wife who had a masters degree in biochemistry and who spent time studying Chinese medicine. When the wife gave her husband's patient some knowledge of

Chinese medicine, the husband had no objection to it.

CLASS MOBILITY

I have argued that a class model permits consideration of both downward and upward mobility in overseas Chinese populations. In this study, class mobility is evident in the two-way flow by which a worker can move upward to become a small business owner, and a small business owner can also move downward to become a worker. A professional may also possibly move into other classes too. Among the 32 working class members interviewed, eight had once been small business owners. Some moved back and forth not only once but several times. The case study of Mr. Kang in Chapter 4 will illustrate this kind of mobility.

Only five out of the 32 small business owners operated businesses as their first occupation in the United States. Most started as workers. Mr. Lung, a hardware store owner, came to work in his sister's restaurant on his arrival. Later he worked in a hardware store, and, finally, he purchased his hardware store himself.

Among the professionals, several work careers flow between different classes. Mr. Chung was a employee in a shipping company when he first came to the United States. He then ran a dry cleaning store when the company closed, but because he was new to this business he and his wife made several mistakes. Eventually he gave it up and found a job in another shipping company. We will come back to

these examples with more context in the following chapters.

I also asked those interviewed about their last occupation before leaving Taiwan. This question is not important for the professionals because they were either students or professionals. Accordingly I list the last occupational category in Taiwan of only the other two classes in Table 6. This illustrates that 17 workers are downwardly mobile since leaving Taiwan, where they were business proprietors or professionals, and five workers have moved up to small business ownership since arrival in the United States.

There are many female school teachers who become workers in the United States because of the language barrier. Others in the working class, like Mr. Wing and Mr. Chong, were businessmen in Taiwan who came here after their businesses declined, and could only find jobs as workers. Such persons are likely to become businessmen later on, as have others in this situation. In the small business class among Queens Chinese are many former professionals, such as teachers. Some of them have shifted first to worker, and then to small business owners. Mr. Pong, who was a teacher in a Taiwan high school, worked as a waiter in a restaurant during his first year in the United States. Later, he ran different businesses, such as a restaurant, a gift shop, and a candy store. Downward mobility is a cost that many immigrants pay temporarily or even permanently. Upward mobility also appears in this research, both in fact

Table 6: Last Work in Taiwan

	W.	B.	P.	O
W.	11	7	10	3
B.	5	13	12	3

and as an ideology. Many Taiwan immigrants believe that as long as one works hard, one can earn some money and become one's own boss.

CLASS INTERACTION

I asked the question "Whom will you consult with first if you encounter difficulties?" I did not ask for examples of difficulties they encountered, but rather that informants list people they could think of immediately. The results are shown in Table 7. I used this as an indicator in understanding class interaction.

From these results, there is a very strong tendency toward intra-class as opposed to inter-class contact. Other fieldwork data are consistent with this pattern. Some members of the working class have some contact with professionals either because they are relatives, or they knew each other in Taiwan. Notwithstanding downward and upward mobility, some small business owners maintain their relationships with members of the working class as well as with professionals. In the professional class, however, there were no contacts mentioned with people in the working class. For some professionals doing various kinds of voluntary association work there is contact with people in the other classes, but it is not related to personal matters. These professionals will turn for help to other people in the same class.

Table 7: Contact with friends

	W.	B.	P.	0
W.	50	11	10	4
B.	12	58	17	3
P.	0	12	64	4

CHAPTER 4. THE WORKING CLASS

Today's Chinese immigrant working class in Queens is formed by such blue-collar workers as waiters, waitresses, cooks, and workers in restaurants; workers in knitting and garment factories; and workers in stores. Their position in the American economy in the 1980s is part of a long history. Earlier Chinese emigrants left for other countries because of economic difficulty at home, and a shortage of labor in their host countries. Since the 15th or 16th century, the Chinese have worked in Southeast Asia as agricultural laborers and later on rubber plantations. In the 19th century, the Chinese "coolie" was shipped to South America and the Caribbean for similar work. Those Chinese who emigrated to the United States in the mid-19th century mainly became mine workers and railroad laborers. Before World War II, most overseas Chinese worldwide were still workers, whether in Sarawak, Singapore, Cuba or Peru.

The situation was the same in the United States. In the 1920s, the vast majority of Chinese immigrants belonged in the working class, and nearly two thirds in 1930 (King and Locke 1980). A survey in 1969 showed that 53% of all Chinese immigrants in New York Chinatown worked in restaurants (Chinatown Study Group 1969). Besides Chinese restaurants, the other important occupation for Chinese workers is factory employment. After 1965, immigrants from

Hong Kong established many garment factories in New York Chinatown and offered work opportunities, though wages were low. The 1969 survey showed that female workers in garment factories comprised 75% of the Chinatown female labor force. In other parts of the city such as Queens, the Chinese knitting factories employed many immigrants, especially females.

There are 32 working class households in my study. Many of them were not workers in Taiwan. Some are college graduates and were professionals. Nonetheless, due to language problems, they often do not have the same occupations they did in Taiwan. Typical are those elementary school teachers from Taiwan who are not able to find teaching jobs in the United States because of language barriers. Such downward mobility is quite common in the early years of immigration. Some move upward within a few years, or over a decade, but others never recover the social status they had in Taiwan.

Today's new immigrants also find a more diverse employment than those who were limited to restaurants, laundries, or garment factories in the past. My working class informants included iron factory workers, knitting workers, construction workers, store workers, and workers in publishing companies. In this chapter, I present three portraits to illustrate the life experiences of a cook, a waitress, and a store worker.

Mr. Kang, a cook

Mr. Kang was 65 years old when I first saw him in a gift shop, though his demeanor made him appear younger. Mr. Kang was a high-ranking official in a government company in Taiwan. He had a car and chauffeur provided by the company because he was director of a division. He said that life in Taiwan was very enjoyable, although he did not get along with his wife. He retired earlier than required; interested in cooking, he took a course to learn how to cook. In 1973 he came to the United States as a cook under the sponsorship of a Chinese restaurant.

He first lived in Manhattan Chinatown where he had friends. His friends advised him to invest his money in a Chinatown restaurant since he knew how to cook. Meanwhile he taught cooking classes in a YMCA in Philadelphia, and worked as a reporter for a Chinese newspaper in New York. At that time he lived in a Chinese business association building in Chinatown. He told me that wooden panels were used to divide the space into several small rooms to rent to Chinese, and one could even hear snoring in the next room. The rent was \$50 a month.

He next worked as a manager in a Chinese restaurant in the Bronx. He quit the job after three months because "there was a boss on my top and chef on my bottom. It was very hard to please both of them." Then he went to work in another Chinese restaurant. At the same time, he and his friends invested in a garment factory which soon closed

because none of them wanted to manage it. He lost \$5,000. He and another friend later opened a small night club in Washington, D.C., but the money earned was wasted by the friend. In 1981, he and yet another friend opened a Chinese restaurant on Northern Boulevard, in Flushing. This time, he was both cook and boss with a half share. But, he said, he was cheated by this friend once again because, working in the kitchen, did not know what happened outside. After that episode, he swore that he would never again be a partner in business. "It is good to have one person running a business. If there are two or more Chinese people, the business will fail."

He went back to work as a cook which he thought was easier for him. He did not have to worry about the failure of the business. In 1984, he worked in a Chinese restaurant in Brooklyn. He worked six days a week, leaving home about 10:00 a.m. and returning at midnight. He worked hard, doing meat-frying, dumpling-making, and kitchen cleaning. The heat in summer plus the heat in the kitchen was uncomfortable. He seldom could eat meals without being disturbed by orders. "When I put on the cook's uniform for the first time and thought about how elegant I was as a director in Taiwan, tears ran down from my eyes. However, what could I do? I realized that I had to face reality so I changed my life attitude. I worked hard. I even wrote an article in a Chinese newspaper to share my experience with the other aged people."

In October 1984, he found a job in a Chinese restaurant in Florida through an advertisement in a Chinese newspaper. He told me he would drive his car there, and enjoy the scenery on the way. I was surprised when he called me from his home in Elmhurst a week later. He said,

It took me three days to drive to Florida. No more than ten minutes after I arrived at the restaurant, the boss received a phone call from my friend who told him that the reason for the phone call was to see if I had arrived safely because I was 65 years old. The boss did not dare to hire me after he learned my age, so I had to spend another three days driving back to New York City.

In March 1985 he took a job in a Chinese fast food restaurant in New Jersey, found again through the Chinese newspaper. Since it was more than an hour's drive from home to the restaurant, he often stopped to rest on his way. He told me that business in the restaurant improved after he began working there. The sale of chicken increased from 20 pounds per day to 30 pounds, and then to 50 pounds a day. However, he quit after one and half months.

The boss graduated from National Taiwan University. He is a very scientific man. He wrote down almost every ingredient in my recipe. He even wanted me to give him my recipe for the sauce, but I could not give it to him because as a cook, it was my secret.

We argued about this for a few days so I decided to quit the job.

In April 1985 he found a job in a Chinese restaurant in Missouri through the Chinese newspaper once again. He said that he had to be there on April 20 because the restaurant had a seafood banquet of fifteen tables. He called me once from there, and it sounded like he was doing very well. However, he called me again in June from his home in Queens. In June 1985, National Golden Pacific Bank, a Chinese bank, was closed under an order of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC). This news shook many Chinese in the community, and customers surrounded the bank branches. Mr. Kang read about it in a Chinese newspaper and was frightened because he had an account in the bank. He quit his job and came back to find out what was really happening.

He felt tired after all these experiences, and decided to go back to Taiwan. He asked me to accompany him when he applied for an American passport in Manhattan. The clerk asked him to give his mother's first name. I told the clerk that in some cases a Chinese married women would have only a last name of her own, especially in the older generation. The official insisted that Mr. Kang supply a first name. Mr. Kang told the clerk it had not been a problem when he applied for a visa in Taiwan. The official did not believe him. Mr. Kang did not want to write something different from his former documents. Finally, we

gave as a first name "Shih" (which means clan. So his mother's name became, Mao Shih, meaning "Mao clan"). He finally got the passport.

He left for Taiwan in July 1985 and wrote me a letter upon arrival. After I returned to Taiwan in 1985 we saw each other several times, and my wife and I had lunch twice with him, his daughter and his friend. Once in a Mongolian Bar-B-Q restaurant, his daughter said, "Do you know what my father thought about when he saw the snow in the United States? He did not think of Taiwan but Peking where he grew up." To reminisce about one's hometown in mainland China is very common among the older generation of mainlanders in Taiwan. Another of my informants told me, "We, the mainlanders, have no properties in Taiwan. We are like the floating flowers on the water. Taiwan, America, and any other place are all the same to us."

In Taiwan, Mr. Kang taught cooking classes at the YWCA and the Sailor Training Association "to kill time." He enjoyed his life in Taiwan much better than in the United States because he had so many friends there, and no language problem. He returned to the United States at the end of 1985 for six months, however, and then went back to Taiwan again. He came back to Queens at the end of 1986. Since then he has lived with his son and daughter-in-law in Flushing.

He suffered a stroke in Taiwan, and retired from work after he came to the United State in 1986. He stays at

home and ventures out once a week to downtown Flushing as a kind of physical exercise recommended by his doctor. In early 1987 his son bought a house in Long Island, and he moved to live with them. He came to Flushing very seldom then because it now took him two hours. He felt so isolated living there, however, that he thought again about living in Taiwan. He wrote to his daughter in Taiwan who helped him find a senior citizen apartment. He left for Taiwan in June 1987.

Although he is an American citizen, the English language is his biggest problem in the United States. He always needed translation assistance from friends. For example, he did not pay his traffic violation fine before he went to Florida, so he called me to go with him to the Motor Vehicle Bureau to clear things up. When he wanted to apply for Supplemental Security Income, he also asked me to go with him.

Mr. Kang was a member of the Chinese American Voters' Association (CAVA) in Queens. He is patriotic, and even published a pamphlet for the Double Tenth, the national anniversary of the Republic of China, using his own money, in the 1970s. He also joined several Chinese anti-communist organizations in New York Chinatown which is in keeping with his background as a military school graduate. Whenever he was in the United States, he always voted. He believes that only cooperation and political action will give Chinese Americans a stronger voice in

American politics.

Ms. Ying, a waitress

Ms. Ying is a mainlander who formerly lived in Kaoshiung, the largest city in southern Taiwan. She is in her early 50s and was an elementary school teacher before coming to the United States. She did not get along with her husband, so she decided to bring her two daughters to the United States in the summer of 1982. They came on a tourist visa, and were cheated by a friend in the travel agency. The friend told them that he had arranged living quarters in New York and charged them for his help. When they arrived, the friend brought them to his girl friend, Ms. Lan. They were supposed to share a living room, which Ms. Lan herself sub-rented from the apartment's tenant. The tenant was angry at this arrangement, and they had to move out the next day. However, they had already paid money to "share" with Ms. Lan. The next day, Ms. Lan found them a living room in a Chinese couple's apartment. But again they did not occupy the whole living room. They had to share it with the Chinese couple's brother. The living room was divided into two parts by a sofa: one part was for the brother, the other part for Ms. Ying and her two daughters. However, their part was also the place where people watched TV and talked so they could not have it to themselves until everybody went to bed. The Chinese couple rented their first-floor apartment from a very strict landlord, who lived on the second floor. The couple told

the landlord that Ms. Ying was a relative and would move out after she found a place of her own. Although the landlord was Cantonese and could not understand other Chinese languages, he could detect that the relationship between Ms. Ying and the others was troubled.

They soon moved again. After two weeks, Ms. Lan found part of a living room in the apartment of another Chinese woman for rent, and invited Ms. Ying to share with her. They used a curtain to separate their sections. Two households slept on two mattresses in this rented part of a living room--one for Ms. Ying and her two daughters, and one for Ms. Lan and her new-born baby. The rent Ms. Lan received from Ms. Ying was the full amount paid to the Chinese tenant; Ms. Lan paid no rent herself. Ms. Ying still did not have a job, and had little choice in the matter.

One of Mrs. Ying's friends from Taiwan operated a Chinese restaurant in Manhattan, and he allowed her to learn how to be a waitress in his restaurant. After several days, Mrs. Ying thought she had learned the basic skills, and she asked to become a waitress on the payroll. She found, however, that she was not able to understand the customers' orders, and had to quit the job.

Next she tried knitting work at home where she could take care of her two daughters, nine and eleven years old, at the same time. Knitting was not a well-paid job at that time because there were too many Chinese knitting

factories, and too many Chinese women looking for knitting work. As a beginner she did not receive a good wage. Through a friend's introduction, she again tried waitressing in a Chinese restaurant, and again found she could not hold the job.

Through another friend's introduction in early 1983, she found work in a Chinese metal processing factory in Manhattan assembling necklaces and wreaths. This was stable work, five days a week, eight or nine hours a day, but she was not satisfied with the weekly salary of \$150, and hoped to find a better-paying job.

After ten months in the factory, she learned from a friend how to operate the Chinese character typewriter. She then found a typing job with a Chinese newspaper publisher with this friend's help. She began work at midnight. The company sent a car to pick up workers at 10:00 p.m., and brought them back around 7:00 a.m.. When she came home, her two daughters were already up. After they left for school, she went to sleep. She had time to talk to her daughters after they came back from school. She worked six days a week. She also bought a Chinese typewriter to earn money at home by typing letters and documents for individuals and other Chinese newspaper publishers. Her rate was eight dollars for one thousand characters. She also used the typewriter to teach students how to type.

She felt she could not have a stable life without her

own house. "I have to watch the landlord's face. If he (or she) raises the rent too high, then I will have to move; otherwise, I cannot afford it." She did bring a modest amount of money with her from Taiwan, and when the Chinese tenant from whom she rented space wanted to buy a house, she lent her some. When the tenant moved to her new house, she suggested that Ms. Ying rent a room from her. Mrs. Ying accepted reluctantly. The new house was not as convenient to work as her former room.

They did not get along, and Ms. Ying left. With another friend, she rented a one-bedroom apartment in a three-story house; they in turn rented the bedroom to a student. Ms. Ying, her friend, and her two daughters slept in the living room where they used standing closets to separate sleeping space and eating spaces. They stayed there for a year, and then moved again. This time, Ms. Ying and a married couple, work colleagues, rented a two-bedroom apartment on the first floor of a two-story house. The couple occupied one bedroom, and Ms. Ying and her daughters the other room. A year later they had to move when the landlord found that five people, and two households, were occupying the apartment.

In 1986 they moved to a three-bedroom apartment on the second floor of an attached three-story house. They took a medium-sized room, and rented out the other two bedrooms. Ms. Ying's dream of her own home still had not come true.

She quit the typing job in early 1986 and went to work

in a Chinese restaurant in Long Island as a waitress again. At first she commuted between home and restaurant. At 10:00 a.m. she took a bus to Jamaica and then transferred to a train. When a Long Island Railroad strike occurred, she had to remain in Long Island. After that, she came home just once a week. She was worried about her two daughters staying at home alone with two males sharing their apartment, but she could not find a job in Queens or Manhattan.

She also started smoking. Once she offered me a cigarette at a dinner, and because I do not smoke, she put it back in her purse. Her younger daughter was shocked and asked, "Mother, do you smoke?" She had never seen her mother smoking before. On a friend's invitation, she attended the Sunday service at Newtown Church, although she did not understand very much of the Taiwanese service. She told me she needed something to relax herself because the pressure on her was too heavy. She had "the triple burden" of working, taking care of the house, and raising her children without a father.

Her daughters understood what their mother was trying to do for them, and tried to help. In their first year in the United States they also had language problems and could not communicate with the other students. But after two years, they had caught up with their school courses. They joined a church in 1984. On Wednesday night, a member usually picked them up at their home and brought them home

after the service. The younger daughter went to the YMCA to learn swimming and ballet. The elder one worked to save money for college. She found a job in a knitting company as secretary for the owner who could not speak English.

After she came here, Ms. Ying did not want her husband to know where she was. Several days after they arrived, she called Taiwan and told him that she would never return there because he did not treat her well. She would not give him their address in New York. She also asked for a divorce, but her husband would not agree. When her son got married in Taiwan, he sent her pictures, and she called Taiwan. Though her husband and the son asked her to come back to Taiwan, she refused again. Neither the husband nor her sons have tried to come to the United States to look for her.

Although Ms. Ying is in the United States illegally, because she arrived after January 1982, she did not qualify under the amnesty provision of the 1986 immigration law. When amnesty was debated, she had hoped that it would help her to change her status. Unfortunately, this dream was dashed when the bill finally passed in November 1986. She has no plans to open a Chinese restaurant or other small business because she does not think she is capable of doing so. She saves her money, and hopes that her job will remain stable, and that her daughters enter college and find husbands who have legal status to marry. She also hopes for a more liberal amnesty might pass so that she can

change her own status.

Mr. Choung, a grocery store worker

Mr. Choung, 53 years old, works in a Chinese grocery store in Rego Park, Queens. He came to the United States in 1982 through his brother's visa application. At first it was hard to find a job because of his age and lack of strength for physical work. After a few months, with his sister-in-law's help, he found a job driving an ambulance van for senior citizens. However, his elderly passengers were hard on him. They complained that he drove too fast, or that he did not know how to drive because he was foreigner. After nine months, he quit the job. Then in 1984 he went back to Taiwan for several months. When he returned he brought his eldest son with him.

Some of Mr. Choung's friends in Taiwan asked him why he wanted to go abroad, telling him that he was too old. They asked what he could do in the United States with his poor English. Once here, he admitted ,sometimes, that even he did not know why he wanted to come. His major reason was that both he and his wife thought the educational system in Taiwan presented their children with too much pressure; they did not want their children to suffer as they did.

In Taiwan he told his wife that although it was hard to make a good living in the United States, it was not very difficult to find a job.

If we really think about our sons, we should go

to the United States. We can try to establish our own business as many people have done in Queens. Many people work as the employees in the beginning and run their own business after they have enough capital or after they become familiar with the environment.

Mrs. Choung agreed to let their elder son migrate first because of his military obligation in Taiwan, and he was able to bring the son with him before he became eligible for mandatory military service. However, it had been two years since Ms. Choung received her green card in Taiwan. She was afraid that the United States immigration officer might not let them enter, and told her son to keep quiet at the airport. "I was very lucky", she said, "They did not ask me anything. I was really scared at that moment."

After they came, they stayed with Mr. Choung's brother. They soon found a one-bedroom apartment in Flushing. They brought all their savings and the money they had received upon their retirements, and planned to buy a small business they could run themselves. Thus they read the advertisements in the Chinese newspapers, and went to look at prospective businesses to buy. They visited a store on Woodside Avenue, in Elmhurst, but did not take it because they thought that the owner exaggerated the amount of business he did. They also found that there were several competing grocery stores nearby. The second store

they looked at was in Corona. The \$130,000 price was too high, although the business appeared successful.

Meanwhile, Mr. Choung worked in a Chinese wholesale store in Manhattan, a job found through an advertisement in the Chinese newspapers. The job required heavy physical labor and involved long hours, so he gave it up. Then he went to work in a Chinese grocery store in Rego Park, Queens. He worked six days a week, sometimes until 8:30 at night.

Mrs. Choung attended English classes for several months at the Chinatown Planning Council in Flushing. By chance, she stopped at a new donut and coffee shop near her house, asked for a job, and got one. She learned that the Chinese owner had another shop in Brooklyn. Because she was older and had a family, he trusted her, and asked her to take care of the money in the cashier registers. She worked six hours a day. It was not a difficult job, although at the beginning she had trouble understanding the customers and finding the correct variety of donut that they ordered. The owner asked her husband to come to learn how to make donuts after he learned that they might want to open their own shop. So Mr. Choung came on Sunday, or on his day-off; several months later, he quit his job in the grocery store.

Mr. Choung then found a job in a bakery in Queens, but soon shifted to a better-paid job in a donut shop in Brooklyn. It took him 30 minutes to drive to his

night-shift work, from 12:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m.. The Choungs are now working in the bakery business to learn the skills necessary to run their own bakery. Mrs. Choung calculated that her employer's donut shop makes about \$1,100 a day.

Their second son arrived in the summer of 1986, but had trouble with English in school. He was placed in a bilingual class, but Mr. and Mrs. Choung were unhappy with his teacher, a Filipino-Chinese, who had taught in Taiwan. The teacher said their son liked to physically touch other boys, and people in the United States would treat him as if he were homosexual. Mrs. Choung said, "He must be crazy. It is normal for kids to play like that. In Taiwan kids do it, so he does it here. I have seen American kids touching each other. They are too young to know about 'gays'. Don't you see the kids play like that in the United States?"

The teacher also complained that their son was not making much improvement in his English. The teacher said that he should have been able to form sentences and read well within half a year. He asked what the boy did after school. Mr. Choung told him that he either went to the Boys Club or played with his elder brother. The teacher said that the boy should not play, or go to Boys Club, and Mrs. Choung should be home when her son returned from school. Mrs. Choung told the teacher that she was a teacher in Taiwan herself, and did not want to push her son

back to Taiwanese educational practice--no play, no fun. She told him that they came to the United States to escape from that kind of educational system. She said that a Chinese counselor in the Boys Club helped her son with his homework quite a bit.

The elder son, who had come earlier with the father, attended junior high school. Because he did not know English, he almost never said anything in class. He said that he spoke fewer than ten English sentences in his first two years. He drew pictures in class while teachers taught. When his classmates laughed, he followed, though he did not know what was going on. When his brother's teacher was dissatisfied, he told his mother that he could not understand why the teacher was pushing so hard. "Because like me, I knew nothing in the first two years, but now I can complete a composition in the classroom." He enjoyed his life here. He was the only Asian on his school's basketball team, and he introduced his younger brother to the Boys Club.

Mr. and Mrs. Choung were Roman Catholics in Taiwan. They do not have time to attend mass here so when Mr. Choung said, "I am a Catholic," it was Mrs. Choung who said, "Are you?" They do not have time to join any associations either. They still celebrate some Chinese festivals. When I visited them, it was the "Yuan-hsiao", the small Chinese New Year, on January 15th of the lunar calendar. Mrs. Choung made some "tung-yuan", flour balls,

to celebrate. She said they try to preserve some Chinese customs to have their sons remember that they are Chinese, but their celebrations are not as elegant as in Taiwan.

Of course, these three case studies cannot include all situations that the working class encounters.

Nevertheless, they show some common factors such as language barriers, enclave ethnic job opportunities, and lack of time to get together with their families. Downward mobility is very common for many of them due to the language barrier. Workers might be exploited by their employers as we have seen from case studies. However, many workers tried to move upwardly. Some made it and some did not. Some women in this class have shown their strength and ability to work and survive even without their husbands' assistance.

One point of public and scholarly contention is the competition between immigrant workers and native workers. Some have said that immigrants compete with native-born workers for low-skilled jobs (Briggs 1985), and others argue that most immigrants work for low wages and harsh working conditions which native-born workers would not accept (Piore 1979). In this study, I found that most Chinese workers can only get jobs in ethnic enclave businesses in which wages are low and Chinese or only simple English is necessary to deal with customers. In these cases Chinese workers have not taken jobs away from

native American workers.

CHAPTER 5. THE SMALL BUSINESS CLASS

Most overseas Chinese were manual workers before the 1930s. But Chinese were accustomed to frugality, and saved, even pennies, as they could. Besides sending remittances to their homes, some Chinese invested their savings, or pooled money from their hui rotating loan clubs, in small retail businesses, or money-lending. In Thailand, the Chinese manipulated many kinds of relationships to enlarge their business activities; the Thai royal family even provided capital to the Chinese, and Europeans found it difficult to compete with Chinese enterprises (Skinner 1957:100). By 1932, 75% of the Chinese in the Philippines ran retail businesses. By 1943, 64% of the Chinese in Jamaica owned businesses. In 1962-1963, 95% of the businesses in Cambodia were Chinese (Bonacich 1973:583). This dominance in business often provoked local hostility toward the Chinese.

Before 1940, Chinese businesses in New York City were concentrated in Chinatown, and limited to restaurants and laundries (Light 1972). Even by the 1970s, the major types of Chinese business in Manhattan were laundry, restaurant, and garment factory (Wong 1982).

Several scholars refer to certain minorities that operate small businesses in host countries as "middlemen minorities" (Blalock 1967:79-84; Bonacich 1980:13). They

include Jews in Europe, the Chinese in Southeast Asia, Armenians in Turkey, and Parsis in India. Jews, and overseas Chinese and Indians, appear to be treated as middlemen minorities wherever they are found (Bonacich 1983:14). Such middlemen minorities concentrate in certain kinds of small business; they have strong family and kinship ties used in their business; they work hard over long work hours; and they are thrifty (Bonacich 1983:18). They are also viewed as indifferent to local politics (Eitizen 1971:137).

Bonacich argued that the mental state of the middlemen was similar to that of Siu's "sojourner" (Siu 1952:36). Their purpose as guests in the host country was to earn but not to spend money. Because they are seen as draining resources without investing them locally, they are viewed with hostility by indigenous residents. In addition to these characteristics, middlemen minorities also fit Belshaw's definition of entrepreneur (Belshaw 1958; Barth 1963).

In Queens, Chinese small business proprietors, in most cases, are both bosses and self-employed workers. They manage and make plans for their businesses, yet serve customers just as do the employees they supervise. Although their capital may not be large, they bear the risk of bankruptcy, robbery, extortion, or burglary. Many have no experience of being a business owner in Taiwan. To engage in a business is a gamble. Some succeed, others

fail, and still others go back and forth between success and failure.

Although some researchers argue that kinship and nepotism are obstacles to economic development, a family labor force is usually the most important resource for the Chinese small business owner. Family members are the most reliable assistants; they will not quit suddenly. Family labor is free or needs only a small salary. Watson showed that the most efficient way to run a Chinese restaurant in London was with family labor under the father's management (Watson 1975). Wong found that a common complaint of business owners in New York Chinatown was the lack of kin to help with development and expansion (Wong 1982:45-46). Wu's research also showed the importance of family members in managing and running businesses among the Chinese in Papua New Guinea (Wu 1982). Benedict (1968) argued that family members spend more time working, and will keep the secrets of a successful operation.

Some cases of succession in family business have occurred in overseas Chinese communities. A well-known example in the United States was the son's succession to the presidency of his father's Wang Computer Company. But most of today's immigrant Chinese small business owners do not want their sons joining or inheriting their businesses. They rather invest huge amounts in their sons' education, and hope that their children will be professionals--medical doctors, scientists, or accountants.

In traditional Chinese elite eyes, merchants are the lowest position on the four-class ladder of scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants. However, this conceptualization did not represent the "little tradition" scheme. People at the grass roots in China realized that aside from passing the civil service examination, business was the route to prominence in society. Wealthy people could sit and talk with officials; the common people could not. In Taiwanese society people are aware that one can become powerful if one is rich. The achievement of political power through business is not the goal of the Queens Chinese small business owners. For them, to run a business means one can be his own boss, and not worry about being laid off.

Before turning to three portraits of small business operators, I would like to present my data on capital formation among the 32 Chinese small business proprietors I studied.

Despite its significance in overseas Chinese communities (Light 1972; Skinner 1958; Sung 1967; Wong 1982; Wu 1974), and in Taiwan (Chuang 1980; Wang and Apthorpe 1974), few Taiwan immigrants used hui rotating credit rings to acquire business capital. Among the 32 small businesses, the principal sources of capital were personal savings (26 cases), and capital brought from abroad (17 cases). In addition, four business owners borrowed from friends, two borrowed from relatives, and two secured bank loans. Only

two relied on hui for raising starting capital.

Clearly, personal savings and capital brought from outside the United States are the two most important resources for these new immigrants' business. Twelve people have used both personal savings and capital from outside the United States. Another twelve relied only on personal savings. Five depended completely on capital brought from Taiwan. As immigrants, the Chinese expect to work hard, and many work twelve or fourteen hours days, six or seven days a week. They are motivated to save in order to acquire a business of their own. As the figures indicated, savings are important even for most of those who bring capital with them from Taiwan, and who were business owners there. In one case, a small businessman drew upon not only capital from Taiwan, but also the money he had invested with his sister-in-law in a Queens' apartment building before he came to the United States. This possibility of capital flow from Taiwan to the United States before people themselves immigrate clearly differentiates the "new" immigration from early periods of Chinese settlement in the United States.

The portraits we turn to now are of three businesses, a candy store, a bakery, and a restaurant. They demonstrate how Chinese business owners in Queens may move downward as well as upward, and seek to capture the experience of being an immigrant small business proprietor.

Mr. Lou's candy store.

Mr. Lou and his brother-in-law bought this Elmhurst store from its Indian owner in the summer of 1983. Like other neighborhood candy stores, the goods for sale include candy, chocolates, bubble gum, ice cream, soft drinks, newspapers in several different languages (Chinese, English, Spanish, Italian, and others), detergent, toilet paper, batteries, stamps, drugs, film, cigarettes, coffee, cakes, magazines, gloves, notebooks, toys, lottery, and video games.

Mr. and Mrs. Lou ran a restaurant in Taiwan before they came to the United States. Mrs. Lou's sister is an American citizen so she applied for resident visas for her family members, including her mother, brothers and sisters, and their spouses and children. Mr. Lou, Mrs. Lou and their three children came to the United States in February 1982. They lived in an apartment building in Flushing belonging to Mrs. Lou's family, and in which Mr. Lou had a share. Before they came, Mrs. Lou's sister agreed to let Mr. Lou work as superintendent in this building, but he did room-cleaning, garbage-collecting, and room-painting for three months before he became the superintendent. He was not a success in this job, however, mainly because of the language barrier. "My English was poor. The Black tenants wanted me to repair almost everything all day long. How could I stand it? Therefore I quit."

After considering their options, they decided to go back to Taiwan. They could live off their money without

working, including the income from their share of the apartment building. They went to the travel agency to buy five tickets and packed their luggage. When Mrs. Lou called Taiwan to tell her brother that they were going back to Taiwan, he stopped her.

You have already sold your house and car. You have nothing here. You have to rent a house if you come back. The rent will not be cheap because you have three children. Besides, you will have to find jobs. What kind of job can you find and how much can you earn? How can you survive? You'd better think about it carefully.

They hesitated. They called a friend and told her about their dilemma. The friend said that she would try to help them, and asked her husband to find Mr. Lou a job with a Chinese newspaper publisher where he was in charge of the printing department. The Lous returned the tickets to the travel agent, who charged them a \$200 service fee. Mr. Lou went to work as a printer. The work pace was very busy, and he had to stand up to do it. "Pa! pa! pa! The papers came out one by one just like the bullets came out from the machine gun." There was little time to stretch, or to rest after lunch. He thought seriously about quitting.

Mrs. Lou's younger brother had arrived from Taiwan after they had, and with another hand, they decided to run their own business. They read the advertisements in the Chinese newspapers and found the candy store. The advertisement

was written by a Chinese for the Indian owner. After negotiations, a deal was made, and they took over the business.

Each day, early in the morning, Mr. Lou and his brother-in-law drove from Flushing to their new business in Elmhurst. The brother-in-law was not accustomed to this kind of life, working long hours. He owned two houses in Taipei from which he received \$4,000 rent each month; and he also received several thousand dollars a month from his share in apartments and interest on loans in the United States. Mr. Lou said that whenever his brother-in-law thought about night life in Taipei, he wanted to go back. Even though the business was only a few months old, he asked for a vacation. The brother-in-law wanted to go to Japan to see the cherry trees, and departed.

Mrs. Lou now had to help her husband take care of the store. Their children also came to the store every day during this period. To rest during the store's long hours, the children would lie on a mattress in the small back room. The heating was poor, and their son caught a cold. Mrs. Lou lamented, "How could I do two things at the same time. If I took care of the customers, the boy would cry for my comfort. And if I hugged my son, then why should I come to the store?" One month later, the brother-in-law came back from Japan, and problems were solved, temporarily.

When the summer came, the brother-in-law asked for a

vacation again. The Lous decided to dissolve the partnership with him. Mrs. Lou said,

Financial matters should be settled, even among brothers. Therefore I suggested we both bid it again. Whoever offered the higher price would get the store. We had to make it fair, especially since my brother was married. I did not want his wife to have any misunderstanding or suspicion.

She never came to the store to help so she did not know anything about the business. We each wrote a bid. I offered a higher price and I got it.

At that time I felt a little regret because I wrote a bid much higher than he did. But my husband said it would be alright. Now our problems are past.

Our business is stable and much better than before.

When they ended the partnership with Mrs. Lou's brother, the Lous still lived in Flushing. They were unable to find a reliable helper to work in the store, one they could trust to handle cash. Mrs. Lou thus continued to work in the store, and they tried in vain to find a housekeeper to work in their home, whether Chinese or non-Chinese.

Finally, with a customer's help, they discovered a house just one block away from the store. The Latin American landlord said he would like to rent his house to Chinese because the Chinese were quiet, clean, and paid the rent on time.

Again through a customer's introduction, they found a

Latin American housekeeper to take care of the children and do some housework. But Mrs. Lou said that the woman did not know how to cook, and had problems taking care of the children due to language differences. When she asked for a raise, they fired her. In their experience Chinese housekeepers would ask for permission to do additional work, such as knitting, in the house. This was unsatisfactory to them, so they looked for a non-Chinese. They found another Latin American woman, but communication difficulties with the children followed, and instances of theft, such as Mr. Lou's stolen watch as well as small household items, forced them to dismiss her.

They eventually decided to send their two daughters to a nearby private school, costing them \$6,300 a year in tuition. Mr. Lou carried lunch boxes to the school for his two girls, and went to pick them up in the afternoon. The son stayed in the store with them, and when Mr. Lou had to go shopping, the son went with him.

They used a rice-cooker and an electric fry pan to prepare simple lunches in the store, and sometimes bought lunch from a nearby Chinese restaurant. Occasionally they would make sandwiches for themselves, but Mr. Lou did not like bread very much. When he had not eaten rice for two days, he complained, "How can I stand this kind of life! Bread! Bread! No rice is not a meal. I'd better go back to Taiwan."

Mr. Lou opened the store at 6:30 in the morning because

some people came to buy newspapers early on their way to work. Next, until about 9:30, school children would come in one-by-one to buy candy, cigarettes, and other items. Some of them would shoplift small items, especially when they came in with a crowd on snowy or rainy days. Mr. Lou said, "We had to watch these students very carefully because they have very bad attitudes and habits. They even wanted to fight with me when I caught them shoplifting something. I had to arm-wrestle with them to show that I was stronger than they were." Mrs. Lou said that the work was tedious but worthwhile.

They sold 240 to 250 newspapers a day, 40 to 50 of these Chinese newspapers. He made seven cents profit on each paper so he earned about \$17.50 a day from selling newspapers. After newspapers, the most important income resources for them were cigarettes, lottery tickets, and video games. They got a six percent commission from lottery machine sales. The profit margin was small, but many people bought tickets. Mr. Lou said that he could do \$40,000 a month in lottery, earning \$2,400 in commission. "When the award reached \$18 million, I did \$7,500 business a day. It was the highlight of the business. People got into a long line inside the store." \$7,500 in business meant \$450 in commission. For this reason, Mr. and Mrs. Lou treated the men sent to repair the lottery machine very politely and warmly. Once when a man came to fix the machine, they offered him a can of soda. The man said that

he did not want to drink, but wanted to buy a cigarette instead. Mr. Lou gave him a pack of cigarettes, free of charge. Mrs. Lou told me, "The income of a lottery machine is enough to meet all the expenses. The others are extra profit. So be nice to them."

There were two video game machines in the store before they took it over. In August 1984, a "Poker Joker" machine was installed. Mr. Lou said that the owner had already come to talk about installing it six months previously. They were afraid because it was illegal and they might be caught and fined if they agree to install it. But the video game store next door had installed one, and nothing happened over six months. So the Lous allowed the owner to put it in the store. The "Poker Joker" profit was shared "50:50", which meant that Mr. Lou and the owner each took half after credit was deducted. In the week after the machine was installed, Mr. Lou received \$175 from it. This business grew as more and more people came to play once they learned there was a poker machine in the store. According to his calculation, Mr. Lou received a monthly average of \$1,750 over ten months from the poker machine alone.

Several chairs could be seen in the rear section in the store where they sold coffee, tea, and cakes. This small food service business was not profitable and caused them much trouble because of Department of Health inspectors. They said several inspectors had come before, but nothing

happened, even when the inspectors wrote something down. This changed after April 1985 when a new inspector came into the store, looking around. The inspector told them that nothing would happen because it was the first time. He asked Mr. Lou to sign his name on a sheet of paper. Then he wrote a list of violations on the sheet, including "no license, dirty floor, soda put on the floor, no exterminating certificate." Mr. Lou felt he was being cheated, but could do nothing about it at that moment.

Next day, he and a friend went to the Department of Health in lower Manhattan. When the judge saw the sheet, he wrote a fine of \$180 on the paper. The judge said that if he admitted guilt, he could send a check without appearing in court; if he denied the charge, he should appear in court at the time written on the paper. The friend told the judge that a female inspector had told him it was not necessary to have a permit to sell coffee and cakes if the cakes were well-wrapped. The judge responded that they needed a permit even if they just sold coffee.

On the day Mr. Lou and his sister-in-law went to court for this case, Mrs. Lou showed me another fine of \$230.

Several days ago, a Black female inspector came. She just looked around and said nothing for a little while. Then she asked why I left the window and door open to attract flies. My husband told her that the door should be open for the customers. But she said no. And she even put a piece of paper

under the door to see if it went through the slot between the door and the floor. This meant that she tried to check if the flies could fly in from there. She wrote many violations on the sheet. We did not want to argue with her this time, because we knew it was useless. They know that they can catch Chinese easily. Why does nothing happen to these Hispanic and white people's stores? Why do they not just say how much they want? They just pretend that they are fair and do everything according to regulations. But are they? No! They just want money from us.

When Mr. Lou and his sister-in-law came back from the court, the sister-in-law was very excited, and said that the fine was reduced from \$180 to \$100 after she pleaded with the judge. Mrs. Lou showed her new \$230 fine and said, "Don't be so excited. Another \$230 just arrived this morning." When she heard this, the smile left her face. She became silent, and could not say anything. Finally, she could only say, "Please, don't ask me to go to court again. Do you know how hard it is to get up at 6 o'clock in the morning?" Mr. Lou replied, "One more time and you will get a dinner of mother lobster. You have already got the baby lobster for this time." She meant that they would invite her out for a bigger dinner than the lobster dinner they had promised for her court assistance.

Mr. Lou was angry and he tore the "luncheonette" sign off the store's outside wall, but the store name

"luncheonette" was still in the records of the Department of Health. Mr. Lou also thought about taking the chairs away to make it take-out only; in this way, it might not be necessary to apply for a license. Then he thought about stocking more daily necessities, such as toilet paper, to replace the coffee business. But Mrs. Lou argued that the coffee still made a profit and should not be given up. Mr. Lou replied that even if it was profitable, the profit could not meet fines of \$180, or \$230. They argued many times without reaching a decision.

Shoplifting and burglary were also troubles for them. The most common form of theft was to hide a newspaper or magazine inside another newspaper. When they stopped a customer, he or she would argue that the other item was already inside. "Once an Hispanic man put a 75 cent newspaper into a 25 cent newspaper, and paid me 25 cents. I already had an eye on him so I showed the 75 cent newspaper to him, and asked him to pay \$1 if he wanted both of them." Shoplifting by school children was also a problem. Though each candy or cake they took might not amount to much, the frequency was high, and the loss overall was substantial.

Losses did not come from shoplifting alone; the most serious one was a night-time burglary. The store was broken into, and they lost more than \$2,000. They had installed an alarm, and bought insurance for the store, but the insurance company refused to pay any compensation for

the loss, offering no reason. After the burglary Mr. Lou installed an iron gate to replace the alarm system, and by certified mail notified the insurance company to cancel the policy.

Instead of sending anyone to investigate the burglary, the company called demanding that they pay the insurance premium. The company even threatened to sue if they did not pay. Mr. Lou could not argue on the phone because he could not speak much English. He asked a friend to call the company. The friend learned that the company claimed not to have received the letter from Mr. Lou. They insisted the company would sue if Mr. Lou did not pay. Mr. Lou's friend told them that Mr. Lou had the certified mail return receipt for his cancellation letter, and would see them in court too. After this the phone calls and letters from the company ceased.

Giving credit to customers was another problem for the Lous. Keeping track of sales of only 10 or 25 cents at a time made it difficult to give credit, but some customers insisted on it. Some would try to show their bank cards as a pledge to pay; some would say "I have no money" after they finished cakes and drinks; and some would open a pack of cigarettes and then ask for credit. Once when a customer asked for credit after he put a cigarette in his mouth, an angry Mr. Lou took the pack from the customer's hand. "To give him a free cigarette was better than to lose the other 19 cigarettes. You know I can still sell

the others as loose cigarettes, ten cents for a cigarette." Some creditors paid quickly. The non-Chinese workers in a gas station across the street would come to buy coffee, snacks, and cigarettes on credit, and pay as soon as they received tips from their customers.

Some Chinese acquaintances got credit more willingly from the Lous. Ironically, however, the creditor who troubled them most was a young Chinese. Mrs. Lou said, "Even though we did not know each other very well, we came from the same country. Since we all are from Taiwan it was hard to refuse. But he became worse and worse over time." The debt started at \$10, doubled to \$20, and soon reached \$180. Then he disappeared. Mr. Lou remembered seeing the man's last name written in his passport. He combed the Queens telephone book for anyone of this last name in Elmhurst, focusing on the nearby streets. When he found the correct address, he went to talk to the man's brother, with whom he lived. The brother told the delinquent creditor that Mr. Lou had found him, and after several weeks, he paid the debt. But "he started it again. This time we do not give him a big amount of credit like before."

Language was one of their greatest difficulties; 90% of the customers were non-Chinese. Among them, many were non-English speaking Latin Americans. As a result, both Mr. and Mrs. Lou learned to speak some elementary Spanish, especially numbers. However, English was more important in

dealing with salesmen and public institutions than with customers. When salesmen came to sell their goods, they were unable to negotiate the price advantages they might have if they could speak English. When they had to call the Department of Health, or the insurance company, they could not do it themselves. I often heard them speak simple English and Spanish phrases to customers. No matter how poorly they spoke, it reduced the distance between them and their customers. They never expected they would have to speak Spanish in the United States; it was English that worried them before they came.

Language also presented difficulties when they sent their two girls to kindergarten in a nearby private school. Mr. and Mrs. Lou, not understanding English, could not supervise their homework. They were surprised that the teachers taught mathematics and gave homework in kindergarten. Only half a year later did they find out that the older girl had been placed in the first grade. "We knew that her homework was different from our other girl and from Mr. Coun's daughter, who also attends kindergarten in that school. No wonder she got homework, and could not catch up with the other students." They considered finding a tutor to teach her English, but could not locate one.

They were by now dissatisfied with the private school the two girls attended. One of their teachers too frequently asked the children to buy things for school

activities. In addition, because of the diverse ethnicities of the students, ethnic celebrations were held often, and each time the students had to buy a different costume. The expenses and shopping time bothered Mr. and Mrs. Lou. They were afraid, however, that their children would be called attention to in public school as "Chinese" or "Asian." In April 1985, they sent the two girls to the entrance examination to a Roman Catholic school in Elmhurst, which they were told was not a bad school.

After 3:00 p.m., all three children were in the store. This was also the time when school children appeared in the store, so they could not watch their children very closely. They worried that they might be abducted or hit by a car if they played outside. Eventually they bought a television for the children to watch after school. When summer vacation arrived, they sent the two girls to the Min Yuan Chinese School in Elmhurst for recreation, not to learn Chinese, and the boy to the Flushing YMCA to learn to swim.

The Lous worked from 6:30 in the morning to 8:00 at night, 13 hours each per day, six days a week, and from 6:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. on Sunday. Their only day off was Christmas when the New York State lottery closed its computer operation. They rarely took time for social activities with friends. After 3:00 p.m. on Sundays, they went shopping at Western Beef supermarket in Flushing where prices were cheaper and variety better than in the Elmhurst

stores. On Sunday afternoons in the summer they might drive to Mrs. Lou's sister's house in Long Island to swim or play mahjong. Also on Christmas Day in 1984 they visited there and spent more than half the day playing mahjong with the sister and her friends. Their only other holiday celebration was to invite the voluntary helper who assisted them in collating the Sunday newspaper sections, an American of Germany ancestry, to a dinner in Chinatown. This occurred around the Chinese New Year one evening after the store closed.

Though they worked long hours, overall they were happy with the harvest of their labors. Mrs. Lou told me several times,

Some people are offering us a good price, but we do not want to sell the store yet. If my husband finds a job, the pay will not be good. I cannot go out to work because I have to take care of the children. Either we find some other business to run, or we will not sell our store to anybody.

The chance finally came. In 1985 when two more of Mrs. Lou's brothers wanted to migrate to the United States, her sister suggested that they all run a business together. The sister knew of a diner in Staten Island for sale, and she encouraged them to sell the candy store and buy it with the two brothers. The asking price of the diner was \$1.9 million, with \$1 million in cash.

Mr. Lou was not so eager to go into business with his

brothers-in-law.

Her brothers do not really want to do business in the United States. They are rich guys who cannot undertake hard work. If they suddenly change their minds, or they ask to split, what can I do then? They are wealthy. They can afford such losses, but not me. They can go back to Taiwan where they still have houses and other properties. But all my interests are here. If I fail, what about my whole family? I already had one terrible experience with her youngest brother, why should I take the risk one more time?

Mrs. Lou felt otherwise.

I think the deal is great because the owners of the diner wanted to sell it out as early as possible. My sister is experienced. If she found that the business is alright, then it should be no problem. But I also worry if my brothers will like to do this kind of hard work. My husband's concern is right. But I think that this is a chance to improve several families' lives. We also can take turns to have a rest. I don't know. Now, it depends on my husband's decision.

Mr. Lou replied, "What! Depend on me? No, it depends on you." Mrs. Lou felt pressured not only from her sister but also from her mother, who now lived with them. She also remembered the bad experience they had had when they

first ran the candy store with her other brother. And she knew best about her two brothers' personalities.

Her mother told her, "I think that my sons know nothing about America. You have to help them. If you work with them, you can teach them. If they do not run a business, how can they live with a small salary? They have big families. So many mouths wait for food." Mrs. Lou said, "Mother, you should not say it in this way. We had five people when we came here. We started from scratch. My husband went to work cleaning rooms, painting rooms in the apartment building. They can do the same thing in the beginning." Mr. Lou said, "Oh, please! Will your sons go to wash dishes in the kitchen? If they just work two or three days and say that they want to quit, what can I do?" Mrs. Lou was sandwiched between her husband and her own family.

At this time, a Chinese couple, Mr. and Mrs. Hou, offered a price for the candy store double what the Lous had paid for it. Mrs. Lou and her family pushed Mr. Lou harder, and he finally agreed to sell and buy the diner. A few months later, they sold their store, although not to Mr. Hou when they failed to reach an agreement, but to Mr. and Mrs. Cou, friends of one of Mrs. Lou's brothers. They also did not buy the diner when its owner delayed the closing date. Two months later Mr. Lou and his three brothers-in-law bought a supermarket on Long Island. In the meantime the first brother-in-law who had been their

partner in the candy store had reappeared to join the new partnership.

Many Chinese immigrants run candy stores like the Lous, often also as a stepping stone to capitalize larger businesses. One run by another informant, Mr. Pong, has even longer working hours, from 5:30 a.m. to 11:00 p.m., and to 12:30 a.m. on weekends. It is managed on rotating shifts between the husband and the wife, and two American employees. Mr. Pong arrives first in the morning. His wife comes to take over about 11:00 a.m.. Mr. Pong comes again after 5:00 p.m., and remains to close the store. The two Americans help, mainly making sandwiches to sell. The Pong children might come to help if necessary. When Mr. and Mrs. Pong went to Taiwan for a relative's funeral, for example, their daughter managed the store.

Another store run by my informant Mr. Lum did good business in the first three years, which permitted him to buy a house for his family. Because he had two lottery machines, he hired a young Chinese man to help. The man, however, stole money from the cash register and was fired. (Instances like this are the reason why Mr. and Mrs. Lou preferred to find a housekeeper rather than hire a helper in the store.)

At first, Mr. Lum's store was opened from 5:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m., seven days a week. He cut back to six days after business was going well because "it is tedious, so we need to have Sunday off to rest." In 1985, Mr. Lum

described a bright picture to me, and said that he would agree to a higher rent if the landlord would extend the lease beyond the current term. But curiously, four months later, I found that the store was open on Sunday, and they were selling additional items such as sneakers. Mr. Lum told me,

What can I do? The nearby stationery store installed a lottery machine, and it sells cigarettes cheaper because the man owns the building too. The wholesale cost of a pack of cigarettes is 98 cents. He sells it for \$1.00. I cannot reduce my price. And another new candy store recently appeared two or three blocks down. So I have to open seven days and have to have more variety (here he pointed to the sneakers and other new goods) to compensate for the loss.

The Lums are now going to sell their store because Mrs. Lum complained that she spent five years in a life of "no day, no night, no rest." Competition from other immigrant entrepreneurs in neighborhoods like Elmhurst and Flushing makes working hours longer. Mr. Cou's store, which originally belonged to Mr. Lou, as is now open till 9:00 or 9:30 p.m. in the summer because a new Korean corner nearby is open so late that it threatens to take business from him.

Four Seas Bakery

The establishment of Four Seas Bakery in Elmhurst is due to Mrs. Chian, a Taiwan immigrant in her 30s. After she graduated from college in 1971 in Taiwan she worked as a cashier in her father's baked goods store. In 1981, still unmarried, she came to the United States to visit her aunt, who introduced her to Mr. Chian. Everything went as the aunt planned, and Mrs. Chian agreed to marry her husband. Later that year, Mr. Chian went to Taiwan for the wedding, and they returned to the United States together. Mr. Chian was a sailor who jumped ship in the United States in 1968. He had married a Chilean American citizen to get his green card, but they divorced, and the son they had went with his Chilean mother. The Chians sometimes invite him to their house on weekends. Mr. Chian found a housekeeping job with a wealthy Greek shipping businessman through a non-Chinese employment agency.

Two days after Mrs. Chian arrived at New York, she went alone to Chinatown. She asked people where the garment factories were, and easily found a job by herself. In the evening she also worked in the Canal movie theater as a ticket-seller because the boss was her husband's friend. In 1982, she also went to work in her husband's employer's house, as a household worker for his wife. "The pay is good. But how many years can I do this work? How can I do it when I become older later on?" She concluded that she should establish her own business.

She had found that the bread she ate here was not as

tasty as in her father's store in Taipei. She decided to open a bakery business here, but wanted first to go back to Taiwan to learn baking. She told her mother, who lived with them at that time, about her idea. Her mother strongly opposed it because it would delay applying for Mrs. Chian's brother and sister to come to the United States. Mrs. Chian told her mother that her lawyer said it would not delay anything, but her mother persisted, and scolded her for being selfish, and ashamed of cleaning bathrooms. Her mother suffered from high blood pressure, and the quarrel upset her. She was taken to Elmhurst Hospital but died that night. They cremated her, and Mrs. Chian carried the remains to Taiwan in 1983.

Her father in Taiwan supported her idea of opening a bakery in the United States so he was pleased when she came to Taiwan to learn the skill. She started at the beginning--from washing baking trays, to mastering the baking process, and controlling oven temperature.

The workers in my father's store treated me just like they treated the newcomers. Nothing special for me. They hoped that I would not lose face for my father in the United States. In the beginning it felt very hard for me to accept the training because the iron tray was too heavy to carry. But I endured with determination because I knew it was the only way I could succeed. I spent almost a whole year to finish this training course. I learned

everything that a newcomer had to learn.

She came back to New York and searched for a location to start her business. It had to be somewhere where Chinese were concentrated. Flushing was ideal but rents there were too high. "At the beginning of establishing a business the rent should not be too high. Especially a bakery which needs a big space for making the bread but not for the customers." She discovered that Elmhurst would be a suitable location to run her business, and rented a store.

According to my own personality, I would like to run the business alone. But if I take care of the bakery in the back, who can do the other things in the front? Business in the front involves cash so it must be someone whom I can trust, or the money would definitely be short. Therefore I asked my old friend, Mrs. Lan, to join the business. But she is 36 years old and still unmarried. Her parents in Los Angeles did not want her to stay in New York alone. Thus I came to talk with Mr. and Mrs. Lang whom I had known ten years ago in Taipei. I have a half-share, they have the other half. I take care of the bakery in the back, Mrs. Lang takes care of the customers in the front, and Mr. Lang goes out as a salesman contacting the stores that would like to sell our bread. He also delivers bread to the stores. Right now the business is not too bad. I feel it almost beyond our capacity to meet the demand.

Besides the retail business in our store, we have a wholesale business for some stores in Flushing. Some stores in Chinatown have asked us to deliver to them, but we cannot do it now.

She latter hired Mr. Yu, a baking master trained in her father's store in Taipei, and he now lives with the Chians. Her father even came to see the business and give her his professional advice.

Mrs. Chian was a Roman Catholic before she came to the United States. A Catholic Father gave her a rosary when she left for the United States, which she keeps. But she has not attended church here. In fact, when she last visited Taiwan, a friend told her that if she wanted to run a successful business she should obtain a huu-ye (虎爺), tiger deity, to worship. She went to Keelung, a city in northern Taiwan, to ask the master of a Chinese folk religion temple for a huu-ye. He told her she did not need one, but her husband did, even though it was her business that had brought her to the temple. She spent \$300 for the huu-ye. She put it in a secret place because she was told that no one else should know about it, or damage it. She does not burn incense before her huu-ye because she does not know the ritual, but she occasionally offers tea. She also brought back a bodhisatva statue which she put in the store. She worships and burns incense sticks for it according to the Chinese lunar calendar schedule.

Mrs. Chian rented the third floor of a three-story

house. Six people live there: Mr. and Mrs. Chian, Mrs. Chian's brother, Mr. and Mrs. Lang, and Mr. Toungh, the master baker she invited from Taiwan, who is housed in a rent-free room. Mrs. Chian's brother, a teenager, sleeps in the living room, where people play mahjong while he sleeps. The rent is shared by the Chians and the Langs.

The bakery opens six days a week at 9:00 a.m. and closes at 8:00 p.m.. Because the customers are mainly Chinese, the store closes on Chinese New Year for three days, and at Mid-Autumn festival for two days. Half of the starting capital came from her two-and-half-years of work savings here, and from money she brought from Taiwan (the proportions are unknown to me); and the other half is from the Langs. They also secured a bank loan for installation of their equipment. Mr. Chian had invested in a Chinatown restaurant several years ago, but withdrew when business became uncertain. He now has regrets because the restaurant turned out to be quite successful. Mrs. Chian said, "Well, maybe it is not our luck. However, let us look to this new business I have now." She was confident when she opened it, and later, when I visited her store several times, business seemed good.

Besides bringing master Toungh from Taiwan, two other women were hired through advertisements in Chinese newspapers. One of them cooks at the bakery so that all staff members eat three meals in the store. Mrs. Chian said that the most important thing for her was to run a

reliable business. A partnership also involves joint decision-making she said. For example, in 1985 when CAVA asked Four Seas Bakery to donate bread for its annual meeting, her answer was that she could not make such a donation on behalf of the partnership, but she could sell at cost.

The Chians (and their staff) celebrate Chinese festival days with Chinese food such as glutinous rice cakes, rice dumplings, and moon cakes sent from Taiwan by her father. Celebrating American holidays would interfere with business. An aunt in New Jersey visits to play mahjong occasionally. Mrs. Chian and her husband do not join any associations because they have no time. She does not think that the Chinese associations can help people very much. She is not even aware of the purposes and functions of the Queens Chinese associations.

Mr. Long's Chinese Restaurant

Mr. Long is a high school graduate. In Taiwan he was first a taxi driver and later a cook on a ship. He jumped ship in the southern United States in 1980. Because he heard there were more economic opportunities in New York City, and also more Chinese, he came to New York, and found a job on Long Island. In the many Chinese restaurants on Long Island, it is common for workers to move from one to another. He worked as a busboy in one restaurant, and then as a waiter.

As a busboy, he assisted the waiters, doing such tasks

as making mustard sauce, putting ash trays and soy sauce bottles into boxes for machine washing, and vacuum cleaning floors. When customers were seated, he served water or tea. After they left, he had to clear the table, bring dishes, utensils, and cups to the kitchen, and replace tablecloths or paper mats on the table. A busboy receives one-tenth of the total tips from waiters, but no wage from the boss. But whether the one-tenth amount was given or not depended on the waiters. A friendly waiter might give several dollars to a busboy for his work; another would give the busboy nothing. "Some would say 'why should we give him money? We give him chance to learn.'" He hoped to leave busboy work as soon as possible.

Mr. Long learned the names and the ingredients of the dishes, some of which were different from his prior experience as a cook. After several months, he graduated to waiter when a waiter left the restaurant. As his experience increased over the years, his income increased too. Waiters or waitresses receive a small salary from the owner, ranging from \$200 to \$480 in 1984. Their main source of income is customer tips. According to Mr. Long, there are two ways of dividing tips in Long Island restaurants. The first is "individual" (打私底) which means that each waiter keeps all the tips from the several tables he served. In the second, or "pool" (打公底), all tips go into a can or box, and are divided into shares after lunch, and after dinner. (These schemes both differ

from London where seniority is counted in dividing tips among Chinese waiters [Watson 1975]).

As Mr. Long sees it, "The experienced waiter would like the first way because he can usually get more money from it. But new waiters prefer the second way not only because they can get more after the division, but also because one can get some help from others if he is in trouble dealing with customers." In some restaurants, the owner will alternate between the two ways, using "pool" on weekdays when customers are few, and "individual" on weekends.

Of course, in the early period for a new waiter, life is not so easy. He might make many mistakes. For example, taking the wrong order or sending the wrong dishes, breaking the dishes or glasses, forgetting to add the tax on the bills. You have to worry about a lot. You would like to have many customers in order to have more tips. But you also know that it would cause you trouble because you don't know how to take care of all of them at the same time. I made these mistakes in the beginning too.

Almost no one can avoid it.

Over several months he became an experienced waiter. He could serve several tables at the same time. He knew how to deal with complaints from picky customers, such as "why was this not 'Chinese mushroom' as it is written on the menu?" He learned to be efficient in carrying trays and dishes. His tips grew, to more than \$2,000 a month, a good

income in terms of restaurant work in the New York metropolitan area.

His wife, whom he married in Taiwan, knitted clothes by machine at home with material supplied from a factory. She worked from early morning to midnight, and she could also earn \$2,000 a month. However, neighbors complained to the landlord about the noise of the machine, and they had to move. At that time, around 1981, many Chinese women were also bothering neighbors because of machine-knitting, and several apartment owners warned prospective Chinese tenants: "No machine, or no room". Mr. and Mrs. Long soon moved to another apartment building where the owner allowed her to knit by machine, but no later than 11:00 at night.

In this two-bedroom apartment, Mr. and Mrs. Long occupied one bedroom, two Chinese restaurant worker sub-tenants shared the other, and their two children slept in the living room. When Mr. Long's parents came from Taiwan to live with them, the sub-tenants moved out. Mr. Long's father found work washing dishes in the restaurant where his son worked, but after only one week was laid off because he could not work fast enough.

During this period, Mr. Long had an affair outside his marriage, and then divorced his wife. Mrs. Long, who assumed her maiden name, Chun, took the two children, and rented a private house. Mr. Long and his new wife now lived with his parents, and his sisters.

Realizing that Chinese restaurant owners made good

profits, Mr. Long thought about opening a restaurant of his own. Besides his father, who had run a small food business in Taipei, he could use other family members as his workforce. After finding a location for the business, he opened his restaurant in Flushing.

I was brave at that time. I had only \$6,700 in my account. I got a loan from the bank. And I also organized a hui rotating credit club for the capital I needed. I worked several years, and so had friends to join this credit club.

Seven out of the ten restaurant staff members were from his family. Mr. Long's father was a cook, and his mother helped to fry appetizers, and to make Chinese desserts. One sister assembled ingredients for orders. His new wife washed dishes, and wrapped dumplings. I even saw her carrying her infant on her back while working in the kitchen. At first, only one kitchen worker was not a family member. The cashier was a brother-in-law, and Mr. Long's other sister was a waitress. He hired two more waitresses through friends' introductions. Mr. Long worked both in the kitchen and as host in the front.

He told me that he paid close attention to operations in restaurants where he had worked once he decided to start his own restaurant. Now that his was opened, he had even more incentive to study, and to improve his skills, because purchases came from his own pocket. He soon became a better cook. He learned to take care of the customers too,

especially if a waitress could not handle problems, or if they were busy.

Yet, Mr. Long complained about being a boss. He lost several pounds through worry.

When the sky becomes dark in the daytime, I worry if the rain will stop customers from coming. When many children greet the coming of snow, I know that I will have damn lousy business at that time. I have to worry about whether customers like my dishes. If I only see two or three orders before seven, then I know I had a difficult night. When I have to come out to solve problems for the waitress, I have to stop my work inside the kitchen. And so many problems of management also occur because there are too many family members in the work force. It would not be a problem if I order a hired waitress to do something, but that will not be the case in a family business. Everybody supposes that he or she has a right to do something according to his or her own way. They do not recognize the limits of their experience. I have to spend a lot of time in the back but I have to worry about what is going on in the front too. I had a day off every week when I was a waiter but now I have to work 7 days a week. I spend not only labor and time as those guys do here, but also the effort to think about management, to worry about everything that could happen to my business. I had time to go out with my

friends, or to play mahjong with them when I was a waiter, but now I have no more fun. However, I have no way to stop now unless I can find a good buyer.

"Burning incense will bring blessings" is a proverb which many Chinese business owners practice, as we saw in Four Seas Bakery. In the front part of Mr. Long's restaurant, one can see a statue of Guan Gong, a general in the Three Kingdoms period, and deified in later generations as China's god of wealth. Mr. Long's mother would worship it in the morning. Mr. Long said that increasing competition among Chinese restaurants in Flushing made profits lower than before. He tried to sell in 1984, but his price was too high, and nobody was interested.

Before they were divorced, Mr. Long spent all his time and energy in restaurant work, and his wife devoted all her attention to knitting. They did not know English, and their two children had trouble in school. The boy did not pass the first grade, and remained there for another year. Mrs. Long had to ask friends to read notes sent from the school. After the divorce, the two children did return to their father for about a year, but now live again with Ms. Chun.

As a cook Mr. Long applied to change his immigration status under the sixth preference. Although he was approved, and he was instructed to return to Taiwan for an interview there, he was afraid that he might be denied by the AIT after several similar cases were turned down. One

strategy the AIT used was to ask, "Now that you have come back to Taiwan for an interview, how can the restaurant operate?" If the answer is, "Someone is working in my place until I return to the United States," then AIT would say, "Since someone can replace you, it is not necessary that you work there." Application denied. Mr. Long said he preferred to await the outcome of the debate over the immigration bill in Washington, D.C. When the new law passed in 1986, Mr. Long felt he had a chance to change his status without going back to Taiwan because he qualified for amnesty.

From these case studies, we see that earning big amount of money is a very important motivation that pushes many Chinese to pursue business careers. Therefore we see many workers working to save enough money to open their own businesses. The Owners are, today, dependent not only on relatives, but also, and probably more so, dependent on non-relative employees. Because of the short history of these new Chinese immigrants we cannot yet identify any pattern of father-son business succession in these small businesses. Many business owners do not want their children to succeed them in businesses because, though they can make money, they think that small business is a poor future for American-educated children.

In earlier research, scholars called these business owners middlemen minorities and described their

characteristics, such as long working hours and frugality, but they overlooked other problems, such as burglary, extortion, and fines which have become real experiences for many Chinese business owners today.

It is suprising to find that hui, the rotating club, is not as important as described for earlier immigrants. This might be related to the capital that new immigrants bring with them when they come to the United States, or their substantial savings while working in the United States. I expect even more capital will enter this community in the future because some Queens Chinese real estate agents advertize in Taiwan.

These new immigrants' enterprises have added some new cultural elements into Queens and New York City. For example, people now venture beyond Cantonese to other regional cuisines, such as Peking, Hunan, Szechuan, and Taiwanese. But the most important outcome spurred by the influx of new immigrant enterprises has been the resurgence of declining business areas such as Flushing, in this reseach, and other parts of the city (Sassen-Koob 1981; Orleck 1987).

CHAPTER 6. THE PROFESSIONAL CLASS

The "professionals" or "new middle class" fall between the working class and capitalists. They do not own capital, as the capitalists do; and like the working class, they are employed, and (with a few exceptions) they are not employers. However, they are highly educated. Their employment depends upon their special knowledge and not their physical labor. Some professionals may establish their own businesses such as law firms, clinics, or accounting offices. In my research of 36 professional households, 32 are employees, two are self-employed and two are self-employed with hired assistants. Most of them receive substantial, or even high incomes, compared to the workers in the working class. They are respected because of their educational and professional training. The people in this class include medical doctors, lawyers, civil servants, accountants, professors, and administrative secretaries.

As we have noted, the early Chinese immigrants were mainly illiterate and could only work as manual laborers. After World War II, the experience and image of Chinese in the United States began to change, as Chinese gradually entered the professional ranks. The increase in Chinese professionals can be attributed to several factors. The young second generation received higher education in the

United States so that they were qualified in many specialty areas. During World War II, the scarcity of skilled labor gave those highly-educated Chinese a chance to find jobs in business and professional occupations (Melendy 1972).

After World War II, job opportunities for professionals grew 60% by the 1960s and more since then (Lipset 1959; Szymanski 1983). The new immigration policy in 1965 provided slots for professionals from abroad, including Chinese.

Many students came to the United States for advanced studies after they finished their college studies in Taiwan, and many of them changed their status to permanent resident after finding jobs here. Several such cases occurred in my study. Before 1980 in fact, students from Taiwan were the second largest national group of students in the United States, after those from Iran. They are now the largest group of foreign students.

In 1974 some 22,366 college graduates were produced in Taiwan. Of these, 2,285 went abroad to study, and only 486 returned after finishing their studies. Through 1986, an average of 4,632 Taiwan students went abroad each year, but only 793 came back (World Journal 1/26/86). According to the Ministry of Education, 87,574 students left Taiwan to study abroad between 1940 and 1983, 90 per cent to the United States (Ministry of Education 1985).

Oh (1973) studied some 657 Asian students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, and the University of

Minnesota at Minneapolis-St. Paul, focusing on the brain drain phenomenon. Only 16 per cent firmly intended to leave the United States upon graduation. This intention varied from 47 per cent for Japanese students to only 18 per cent for students from Taiwan (Oh 1973). The rest were prepared to stay temporarily or permanently in the United States. Chang's work (1973) showed that the annual return rate of students from Taiwan between 1962 and 1969 varied from 6 per cent to 2 per cent.

At the same time that Americans object that foreigners take away jobs, the home countries also complain that this manpower loss results in a drain on social and economic resources. In Taiwan, many people criticize the government for spending money to train highly educated students who stay in a foreign country after finishing their degrees, and not coming home to serve their own people. In an effort to correct this, the government encourages students to come back to Taiwan by giving them a higher salary and larger housing allowance than other government employees. In recent years, the government has even sent high-ranking officials and university professors as "recruiting teams" to give speeches and seminars in the United States to convince students to come back to Taiwan.

Such meetings attract many students. In 1987, there was a seminar on "Migration Law and Students Going Home," held in Flushing. An official from a government institute that helps students locate jobs in Taiwan explained how to

apply for a job in Taiwan through his organization. He also told the students what their extra salary allowance would be if they returned to a position in Taiwan. Because of declining job opportunities in the United States, more and more students now consider careers in Taiwan. But, ironically, when an early draft of the Simpson-Rodino immigration bill required that all foreign students return to their home countries after graduation for two years before reapplying for new entrance visas to the United States, the Taiwan government was shocked. When this provision of the bill was dropped the Taiwan government was relieved; Taiwan would not in fact be able to provide suitable employment for all its students in the United States.

Many of the articles dealing with the brain drain problem speak about the effects on both home and host countries in terms of the necessary cost of training, and the assumed value of manpower contributions (Adams 1968). Much of this does not involve interviews with these professionals, and their motivations to stay or return remain unstudied (Glaser 1978). Watnanabe (1969) used statistical data to analyse the dimensions of the brain drain and several facts identified by him do approach the reasons why Queens Taiwan professionals remain in the United States. These include the high demand and better salaries for their services here, and the poor facilities and research environment, and political uncertainty, in

their home country (Watanabe 1969).

In my research there are 36 households belonging to the professional class. More than half of the persons from these households whom I interviewed came to the United States with student visas. The portraits of a medical doctor, a federal agency worker, and New York City municipal employee provide examples of these professionals' experience in Queens and the United States.

Mr. Tou, a medical doctor

Mr. Tou is a mainlander who received his master's degree from the Biochemistry Department at the National Taiwan University in 1966. He came to an American west coast university for his Ph.D. in the same year. His wife, a classmate in Taiwan, joined him in the same department a year later. In 1969, Mr. Tou received his Ph.D. and Mrs. Tou, a master's degree.

Between 1969 and 1972, Mr. Tou held a post-doctoral fellowship at a hospital in the South, and Mrs. Tou secured a medical research assistant position in the same hospital. Mr. Tou then became an assistant professor in a university in Illinois in 1972. Between 1973 and 1980 he was an assistant professor at Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York City. At the end of this period he began studies for a M.D. degree, which he attained in 1982. Between 1982 and 1983, he held a training scholarship at a research foundation, and since then, he has worked at a hospital in New York City.

Mrs. Tou stayed home to take care of their new daughter while they lived in the South. From 1973 to 1979 she held a position of laboratory supervisor in cancer research at the Sloan-Kettering Institute in New York. She and her daughter go back to Taiwan once a year. On her 1982 trip, she took accounting courses at the China External Trade Development Council for six months. She then got an accounting job in a textile import company for two years after she returned from Taiwan. In 1984 she gave up this job to go back to Taiwan again. She did not return to work immediately after coming back from Taiwan. Because the Tous financial situation is comfortable, she has decided to study for a real estate license, and then work on her own, buying and selling houses and managing the apartment buildings they now own.

For them, life in the United States is not hard. Mr. Tou earns a good salary in the hospital. On vacations, they go to Taiwan or to other countries. They have been to Taiwan three times as a family, once when Mr. Tou was invited to participate in a meeting held by the government in 1976, and for summers in 1981 and 1982. In addition, Mrs. Tou and her daughter usually go back to Taiwan once a year.

Their daughter was 12 years old when I interviewed them in 1984. She took dancing lessons, and played guitar, piano, and ping-pong. She attends the Ming Yuan Chinese School in Elmhurst on Sunday mornings. Her parents admit

that she can have almost whatever she wants. Under their influence, she is interested in biochemistry. "She may pursue the same subject as we did in the future," Mrs. Tou said, "but we don't want to push her. Her future depends on her own interest." When Mrs. Tou and her daughter go back to Taiwan, she hires physics and mathematics tutors for her daughter. They are proud that she is "number one" in her class.

Their daughter is a "latchkey child" (鑰匙兒童), a term used by Chinese immigrants to describe children who carry house keys to let themselves into their homes because their parents both work. Mr. Tou told me, however, that his brother, a computer science student, lives in the basement, and his mother visited in 1983. Both of them could take care of the daughter if there were any problem. The Touts do not worry about their daughter's safety. His mother, in fact, travels back and forth between Taiwan and United States quite often. She went back in 1984, and planned to come again in 1985. When I met Mrs. Tou in 1986, she told me that her daughter was in Stuyvesant High School and a member of several science clubs there. It seems she is following in her parents' footsteps. However, she was also avidly reading Chinese novels, and her mother said she had to stop her from reading too much.

Sometimes the daughter invites classmates or neighborhood friends to do homework or play with her in the house. The Touts' daughter has good relationships with

children in the neighborhood, but her parents do not have much contact with adult neighbors because "everyone minds their own business", as they see it. One friend, Mr. Chong, visited quite often before, but now since he opened a coffee shop, he rarely comes.

During the first five years after her arrival from Taiwan, Mrs. Tou wrote letters once a week to her family. Now that their financial situation has greatly improved, she uses the telephone. Mrs. Tou says it is more convenient, and easier, to talk and discuss things immediately.

Mr. Tou's brother, as noted, lived in the basement, so they could see each other often. A sister of his also lived in Elmhurst and they call each other once every week or two. Another sister, in Oklahoma, is in touch by phone every month or two. A third sister was also in the United States, but they never called or saw each other. Mrs. Tou said, "The communication among brothers and sisters depends on the character of each one. Some do not have contact with any part of their families. For example, the last sister we mentioned, I do not even know where she is."

They usually buy food in Elmhurst at such stores as the A&P, Shopwell, and two Chinese grocery stores, Five Continental, and Shin Guang. Sometimes, they step in Mei Lien and Kam San Chinese stores in Flushing, too. Furniture and appliances are purchased at department stores in Elmhurst or Manhattan. They do not think it is

necessary to buy things from Chinese businesses. They point out there are very few Chinese selling furniture, or electric appliances. Except for Chinese food, they have no ethnic preferences in shopping.

In the evening, they watch TV and listen to music. On weekends, the daughter has piano lessons at home on Saturday morning, and attends Chinese school on Sunday morning. Mrs. Tou goes to aerobic dance class in a non-Chinese club, and gossips with friends on the phone. Weekend activities include meals out in Chinese restaurants, apple-picking trips, movies, and driving to the suburbs or upstate. Mr. Tou's old friends from the west coast university he attended try to get together three times a year, on July 4th, January 1st, and Labor Day. Usually they meet in some friends' homes on Long Island, where the houses were big enough for a large group of people. Occasionally they meet in a restaurant.

American holidays are enjoyed more by the Touts than Chinese holidays because they are vacation days from Mr. Tou's work. On Thanksgiving, Christmas, and the American New Year, their daughter receives gifts from her parents. But the most important celebration remains the Chinese Lunar New Year. They eat in a Chinese restaurant for this special occasion. The daughter enjoys it because she receives a red envelope with money inside. October 10, "Double Tenth," is the national anniversary of the Republic of China, and they sometimes go to the "Double Tenth" party

held by the Chinese Student Club of which his brother is president.

Although they are professionals, they nonetheless feel that they have some difficulty in communicating with non-Chinese, not only because of language difficulties but also because of different cultural backgrounds. Other than some lunches she had with her non-Chinese colleagues, and some parties held at work, Mrs. Tou had very little social contact with non-Chinese. "Generally speaking", she said, "I contact non-Chinese only when work requires it."

Mr. Tou has joined the Ho-nan Chinese Association, and Mrs. Tou the Manchuria Chinese Association, both groups of mainlander Taiwan immigrants. They both are members of the Chinese-American Voters Association (CAVA) in Queens which Roger Ong (see Part III) invited them to join. Mr. Tou is zip code representative in CAVA; his duties are to call members and to remind them to vote at election time. In a CAVA board meeting I attended, one member said that some zip code representatives were responsible, and others were not. Mr. Tou belonged to the first group, who did call CAVA members to go and vote. Mr. Tou, as a medical doctor, was also invited to be a judge in the annual "Healthy Baby Contest" held by the Federal Women's Association in the United States.

Mr. Tou invests in stocks, buying and selling often. If the price goes up, he sells, but he keeps stocks whose price falls. He does not want to lose his investment, and

does not care how long he has to keep them. Besides stocks, the Tou's own rental properties, and land in Florida bought as a long term investment.

The Tous live in a three-family house in which they rent one floor to an American family, and one to an Indian family. Mrs. Tou said that in the beginning everything went well, but in the month before the Indians moved out, they not only told her to keep the security deposit as rent but broke the furniture, and left the walls dirty. After they moved out, through a non-Chinese real estate agency, a Cuban woman was introduced and moved in. Mr. Tou helped her move some of her possessions because she did not have a car. Some days later, Mrs. Tou found out that she was pregnant. "No wonder she wore a heavy overcoat coming to look at the house with the real estate agent." A few days later, the real estate agency called to ask if they cashed any checks from the woman, because the checks the woman gave them had bounced. She called her new tenant's bank and found that her account had closed several months ago.

The Cuban woman had told them that only she and her two children would live there. Now, in addition to the baby on the way, her mother, brother-in-law, and a large dog moved in next. Mrs. Tou said that she would rather have the woman and her family move out, and lose what she owed them, but the woman refused to move. The Tous had supposed that non-Chinese would be better tenants than Chinese because they would keep a cleaner kitchen--Chinese

used too much oil in their cooking. Now they think they have made a mistake.

Mr. Cee, an IRS staff member

Mr. Cee graduated from the Chengchi University in Taiwan. He came to United States for his master's degree in 1974. Under his brother's application, he became a permanent resident of the United States. After he received his master's degree in 1977, he came to New York. He got a job as account clerk in a Chinese shipping company through an employment agency advertisement in the newspapers. In 1980, the company went bankrupt and he was out of a job.

He thought about opening a store of his own. He spent \$20,000 to buy a candy store in Flushing in the early part of 1981, but several months later, he sold it to a Chinese woman for \$9,000, losing \$11,000 in the deal.

I did not concentrate my own time and spirit on this business. I ran it just like a civil servant's job, therefore it failed very quickly. I opened about 7:00 in the morning, and closed at 5:00 in the evening. This was not the way to run the business. I should work hard, like some owners who work for 13 or 14 hours a day. But I did not like to do that. When the stock ran short, I did not reorder quickly enough. Sometimes, I did not even order at all. My English was also not very good and it was difficult communicating with non-Chinese customers.

Mrs. Cee said, "He was scared when he saw Black customers coming into the store." Mr. Cee told me that there was a Jewish candy store nearby which sent Black youths to bother him.

I did not know how to handle it. The business was not as easy as I thought it would be. Although it was a small store, it was not a one-man job. It needed at least two or three persons. Loitering was a major problem. You need one man to take care of the customers, one man to watch for people who just fool around in the store, and one man may rest while the other two are working, but I worked alone. My wife knitted in the factory and my children were in school. I was depressed and was not capable of the basic functioning of a business, such as reordering stock. Shoplifters were being sent from another store to bother me, and my spirit was very low at this point.

People came in, touched and stole. The newspapers were not so profitable. I lost my interest in the business. Though I know that long hours, cheap labor, and good service were the advantages of small businesses, I could not do it. I became very impatient and scared because of shop-lifting and other disturbances. I even closed the door before these black kids came in to bother me because they were so strong and spoke

English so fast, just like a machine gun.

Therefore I sold the store for \$9,000 about four months later to a lady who then sold it for more than \$110,000, two or three years later. I knew this kind of store would have been a good business if I had spent the time and energy needed to run it, but I was scared and too lazy to open for long hours like others did.

After this business failed, he and a friend opened an ice cream store. Mr. Cee backed out about six months later. Then a friend, a manager in a Chinese bank, helped him to find a position in the bank, but he quit again six months later, this time because the pay was too low. In 1984 he saw an advertisement for a job with the Internal Revenue Service in an English newspaper. He applied, and was accepted. He held this job at the time I interviewed him.

The other members of Mr. Cee's household came to the United States separately. Mr. Cee as the first one. He went back to Taiwan in 1977 with the intention of bringing two of his daughters to the United States. His eldest daughter did not want to come at first, but Mr. Cee persuaded her that the pressure of school was too heavy, and with the competitive college entrance examination, she would feel ashamed if she did not do well and secure admission to a good college. This worked, and these two daughters came with their father in 1977. At the time,

Mrs. Cee did not want to leave Taiwan because she had a good paying, "golden rice bowl" (金飯碗) job, working in the Bank of Taiwan. She was also afraid that she could not adapt to the unfamiliar environment of New York City.

She waited until 1979 when the American Institute in Taipei (AIT) informed her that her valid date for visa application would expire soon. The American government cut its diplomatic ties with Taiwan the same year. This announcement shocked many people in Taiwan, and raised fears that now without protection from the United States, Taiwan would be taken over by mainland China. Many people tried to leave Taiwan at that time. Mrs. Cee, for this reason, decided to come to the United States. She and the other three Cee children arrived in 1979.

Mrs. Cee was unsettled,

I regret very much my migration to the United States. I had a good job and a house in Taiwan. We were so familiar with the environment there. After I came here I could not find a good job due to my language problem. I became like a deaf and a blind person. I needed every source of help from my friends. Through a friend's help I have been working in a knitting factory these past few years. The pay is no good, and we are paid by the hour. How much can I earn in this case? You know that there are more and more knitting factories here, and more and more Chinese are looking for a

job, so the wage does not rise, though inflation does every year. On the contrary, wages sometimes go down. If you do not like the job, the boss does not mind if you leave because there are so many candidates after you. I see some workers who could not even earn a dollar an hour in some jobs in the knitting factory. It is really sad. However, there is also no way for me to go back to Taiwan because I have nothing there now. I cannot find the same job again, and I have no house of my own in Taiwan.

Mr. Cee, on the other hand, did not feel that he had lost anything in coming to the United States. Instead, he felt he had more freedom here. He belonged to CAVA and participated in some activities held by the Taiwanese Association of America on occasional.

Mrs. Cee is a very pious Buddhist and attends Buddhist temples in Queens. She and one of her daughters had just returned from the Buddhist Ch'an Meditation Center in Elmhurst during my second visit to their house. She said that she liked to sit there to think about the meaning of life; she received comfort when she offered prayers to Buddha, or heard the words of the masters in the temple. She said she had no place to go on Sunday, and felt the best way to relax herself was going to the temple.

The Cees celebrate both Chinese and American holidays. Mrs. Cee makes glutinous rice cakes for Chinese Lunar New Year. They eat glutinous rice dumplings on

Dragon Boat Day on May 5th in the Chinese lunar calendar and turkey on Thanksgiving. In their dining room, there is a very large shrine with an ancestor tablet and statues of deities, the largest I saw in my field work in Queens. For Chinese holidays they put out offerings, burn incense sticks, and worship the ancestor tablet and deities.

Mrs. Cee joined two of the hui rotating loan clubs. One was organized by a worker in the knitting factory; another one was organized by one of her best friends. The interest rate in banks was lower than in these clubs so she could get more money from the hui. The first hui in the factory was reliable; collections were made right after the wages were paid. The other was run by a trusted friend. Mrs. Cee treated these hui as a way to save money. Mr. Cee bought stocks. Sometimes he made money and sometimes he lost, but it was usual, he said, to have money coming and going.

They bought a house in 1979 after all the household members had come from Taiwan. The down payment came from money they made selling their house in Taiwan; the rest of the purchase price came from a loan they got from the bank. Mr. Cee said they bought the house in a area where schools are good, transportation is convenient, and the neighborhood is quiet. It seemed his interaction in the neighborhood itself was limited. He knew one neighbor, a plumber who fixed his pipes; another, a retired policeman, who, he had told me, came to complain about a bicycle

theft, and claimed that Mr. Cee's son was friendly with those he suspected of the theft.

Mr. Cee visited in Taiwan in 1977 and 1981. He is in contact with his parents by telephone or letter once every two or three weeks. He said the telephone is too expensive, so he prefers to write letters. He calls his brother in upstate New York about once a month. He talks to a sister in California much less often; he said that everybody had his or her own household and business to take care of, so there is not much time to talk to each other. "Besides, each household has its own problems, so the best way is not to bother each other."

There are many non-Chinese colleagues in his office, but he seldom speaks to them, unless it is necessary, or at an office party. He confines himself to a Chinese circle, including friends he calls on weekends, and classmates from Taiwan he visits sometimes in New Jersey. He has no ethnic preferences in shopping; price is his most important concern.

Mr. Cee had five children. The gender order of these children follows the traditional Chinese patrilineal ideal: the first four children were girls, and the last was a boy, a male heir to carry on the patrilineal line. The eldest daughter graduated in computer science from Buffalo, State University of New York. The second and the third daughters were also students at SUNY when I did my interview. The fourth daughter and the son were in high school in New York

City.

The first daughter has a job and a boy friend who is an American born Chinese, or "ABC". Anyway, he is Chinese. The second daughter has an white American boy friend who is okay. The third and the fourth daughters are seeing I don't know who. The boy, who is 15 years old, has many Black friends. He always brings these Black kids to play basketball in the backyard or football in front of our house. My personal view is that not all Blacks are bad, just that many of them are no good, compared to other ethnic groups. When I talked to him about them, he felt I insulted his friends. I told him that I did not look down on his friends, but they would steal if they did not have money. Later, one of our bikes was stolen, and the retired policeman in the neighborhood came to complain that he lost his bike and he thought that it was probably taken away by the Black youths who were brought here by my son. I told my son about the complaint the policeman had. Now he brings them back less often than before.

Mr. Cee's racial attitudes might also be based on his failed store experience, in which he was bothered by young Blacks.

Mr. Hu, a municipal worker

Mr. Hu is 54 years old. He was born in mainland China

and came to Taiwan because the Communist Party came to power on the mainland. His family was poor so he took the opportunity to enter military school before he finished his high school education. After joining the Republic of China army, he was sent for advanced study at a military school in Virginia in 1955. At that time he was a second lieutenant. After he returned to Taiwan, he worked on a military base in the daytime and went to college in the evening. He graduated from college in 1968, retired from the army, and found an accounting job in a trading company in Taipei. He and his wife earned \$200 a month, a good income for a family in the 1960s. "But it was then the crazy time of everyone going abroad to study," he said. "So, I came to the United States to study a year later, and my wife came a year after me."

He received a master's degree from a college in Texas. The Hsuehs came to New York City because they were informed by a relative that there were job opportunities in New York City. After they arrived, this relative suggested that Mr. Hu find a job in a non-Chinese company. He first got a job as accountant clerk. He later read a job announcement in the newspaper, and passed the examination for a position as assistant accountant in a New York City government agency. A year later, hoping to enrich his experience, he quit his job. But while taking courses at the Manpower Training Center in Chinatown, his former employer in City government called him and asked him to

come back to work.

At that time the whole department staff was white. Many of them were transferred from the Police Department. Mr. Hu said they did not do their work well; they also gossiped with each other that he might be a member of the KMT, or even of the Communist Party. Mr. Hu ignored them, but did experience racism when he was promoted and then demoted to his former position again, several months later. He said the personnel office even wanted him to return the extra money that he had received from his promotion.

In 1981, he applied for a job as a computer analyst in another city government department. This time, most people in his section were Black. There he also suffered discrimination and eventually he resigned.

He next found a job in the Grumman Corporation which produced airplanes for the United States and other countries. However, it received a government order of only six planes in 1986, and had to lay off workers. Mr. Hu was among them because he had little seniority. Unfortunately Mr. Hu resigned from the job after hearing of the lay-offs, and did not receive severance pay from the company. At that point, he received only \$180 each week in unemployment compensation.

During this period, he sent many resumes and applications to companies advertising through the newspapers. He said that because he was over age 50, he

did not dared to fill in some items on the application forms. He even dyed his gray hair black. He became so nervous about finding a job that once when he received a call from a company and did not have a pen nearby to take down the address he was unable even to ask the person on the phone to wait until he could get a pen, and did not remember the address.

He told Mr. Hu that he had a friend with two stores and three houses who still felt he did not have enough.

But what do I have? I do not even have a house of my own. I have some friends who started in business after they graduated. Now they have money, houses. I did not think to go into business at that time. I just wanted to have a job in an office. If I wanted to buy a candy store, it would only have cost \$3,000 at that time. But I did not have this intention. If I compare them with me now, they were right to make the decisions they made.

Because of his personal experience he felt strongly that belonging to a Chinese political organization was necessary. He joined CAVA when it was established, hoping that this kind of organization could help the Chinese resist and protest discrimination. He and his wife invited the Cantonese family on the third floor in his building to join CAVA too.

Mr. Hu is a Christian, and attended Christian Testimony Church in Elmhurst quite often in the past. He

said that sometimes tears would come while singing hymns because it reminded him of the discrimination and travails he had gone through in this strange land. Now he attends church infrequently, but watches religious programs on television on Sunday mornings.

Mrs. Hu did knitting work after she first came to New York City. She later went to the Chinatown Planning Council in Chinatown for job application assistance, and has worked in a non-Chinese insurance company since 1978. The pay was not high but it was a stable position. Mr. Hu's brother helped them to apply for permanent residence and now they are applying for Mrs. Hu's family. However, they are ambivalent about whether to stay in the United States or go back to Taiwan. Mr. Hu is now unemployed, but if they return to Taiwan, their son will not be able to adapt easily. On the other hand, their daughter preferred to find a job and live in Taiwan after she went back to visit in 1986.

Mr. Hu lived in Brooklyn when he first came to New York; the family moved to Elmhurst in 1975. His landlord was a friend and rent was inexpensive. Mr. Hu did not consider buying a house ten years ago, and now it is impossible for him to do so. He said, regretfully, that if he had gone back to Taiwan after he received his MBA in 1971, he would have been able to get to an important position because one of his colleagues is an army officer and cabinet member.

The Hs celebrate both Chinese and non-Chinese holidays. Rice cakes are eaten on Chinese Lunar New Year, and money is given to the children in red envelopes. They eat moon cake on mid-Autumn Festival day. They also enjoy Christmas decoration at home, and giving presents to the children. Mr. Hu said that they now follow American holidays, but they do not think of them as their own holidays.

Mr. Hu has some contact with his neighbors. He talked to a Cuban neighbor often, and after the Cuban man died, now speaks with his son occasionally. He was also invited to a barbeque by a Cuban neighbor in the summer; this man has a Chinese aunt, and he likes to make friends with Chinese. Mr. Hu is also friendly with the Cantonese and Filipinos in his building.

Mr. Hu buys lottery tickets occasionally, and considers winning a matter of luck. He also has a friend read his palm to find out his fortune, but he does not treat this palm-reading seriously.

Housework is done by Mr. and Mrs. Hu. Their only demand on their children is to study. Mr. Hu finds it was very difficult to give his American-raised children any advice. The only advice his daughter accepted from him was to take an electrical engineering course at City College. She makes up her own mind about how to dress, and she makes long distance calls without concern for how long they last. Mr. Hu feels that she is now old enough to make

decisions for herself, and he is somewhat surprised that she would like to go to Taiwan to work. Their son is still young, and hard to deal with. They sent him to a Chinese school for Chinese language class, but he quit after two weeks.

Compared to workers and small business owner households, the daily life of the professional class is more their own. They have time to spend with spouses and children, and take vacations as families. More people in this class join associations, including CAVA, alumni, women's and professional associations. Nevertheless, because they are not living in their home country, they experience discrimination and insults from Americans. Although New York City presents less discrimination than other cities, it still exists here. The most serious case in my research was Mr. Hu who was insulted and discriminated against by both white colleagues and Black fellow workers. Promotion, also, is not easy to achieve for Chinese professionals in the United States (See 1977).

Mr. Cee's case is interesting in that when the company he was working for went bankrupt, he attempted to run a small business, and then returned to professional employment with the IRS. This demonstrates the reality of flow between classes not examined in Thompson's discussion (Thompson 1980). In Queens we find more and more such shifts from professional to small business employment

today. In another case, a person with a Ph.D. of "E.E." (electrical engineering) bought a liquor store with his brother when he was laid-off by his company. He spent most of his time in the store because the brother had a jewelry business. He then found another professional job a year later. Instead of selling the store, he employed a brother-in-law to manage the business and himself came to take care of it on Saturdays. In many cases, however, people do not go back to professional work after they enter small business.

According to Wright (1979), professionals do not have their own class interests; they rather align with either the working class or those who own the means of production. Poulantzas (1974) argued that professionals are more inclined toward the bourgeoisie than towards working class interests because they value capital more than labor power. He further argued that social workers and lawyers generally represent the political ideology and interests of the bourgeoisie; only some promote the interest of the proletariat. It is evident that professionals can represent differing class interests. We see Chinese professionals in Queens working hard to earn money to invest in buying houses and in their children's education. But the professional class is also the critical group in Chinese immigrant communities. The associations they organize and join are the principal means of struggle so far for the welfare of the Chinese community.

PART III. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES.

The focus now turns to community activities among Chinese immigrants in Queens. I discuss voluntary associations, social service agencies and religious activities. The associations are quite different from the traditional ones first formed in Chinatowns one hundred years ago. Most of these traditional organizations were based on either kinship or district origin. These principles of voluntary association have not been very compelling to Taiwan immigrants in Queens. The short history of immigration, dispersed settlement among non-Chinese, and diverse class backgrounds are perhaps reasons for this, but a close analysis of these associations suggests other reasons for the associational pattern we find in Queens. A few clan and district associations have emerged in Manhattan recently, but there are many more alumni, political, women's, recreational, and business associations formed by the Chinese immigrants of the 1970s and 1980s.

In Queens, the Flushing Chinese Business Association (FCBA), Chinese American Voters Association of Queens, New York (CAVA), Queens Chinese Women's Association (QCWA), Chinese American Women's Association (CAWA) and Chinese American Parents' Association, Inc. (CAPA) are the most important local organizations today. Certain other

associations occasionally hold activities in Queens, and some, such as the Taiwanese Association of America (TAA), Taiwanese Merchant Association (TMA), and Taiwan Welfare Association in New York City (TWA) even have offices there, but are organized on a New York City-wide basis, and are not active in Queens community affairs.

In addition to these five major Queens associations, social service institutions, Chinese schools, and churches have formed to serve the Taiwan immigrant population in the borough. I will describe the activities of several of these, including the Queens branch of the Chinese-American Planning Council, a Chinese language school, and the largest of the Queens Chinese Protestant congregations.

Several concepts guide my analysis of these associations and their leadership, and I will return to them in the Conclusion. They include entrepreneur, broker, patron, and empowerment. Usually, entrepreneur is applied to economic activities, as in Belshaw's classic treatment (1955:147), where four characteristics of entrepreneurial activity are identified: management, profit making, innovation and risk taking. The concept of entrepreneur, however, is not necessarily limited to economic activity (see Barth 1963:7; Hart 1975:5). I will attempt, like Barth, to "see the articulation between activities of the entrepreneur and the social organization within which he is active, and which he is instrumental in creating and changing" (Barth 1963:7).

Patron and broker are two other concepts related to individual political activity. Patron-client contracts, as Foster argues, "tie people ... of significantly different socio-economic statuses (or order of power), who exchange different kinds of goods and services" (1963:1283). Thus, a patron is a person who can distribute favors to other people. The broker is "a middleman who attracts followers who believe that he is able to influence the person who controls the favours" (Mayer 1967:168). The broker role functions like a bridge between people in two different groups. A broker is usually someone who has some connections outside his or her own community, and who can bring resources through these connections into the community. Wong (1974; 1988) has adopted these concepts to describe the roles and the conflict between the old kiu ling leadership and the new social workers in New York Chinatown.

In anthropological research, politics is no longer viewed only as "the activities of elected officials and the workings of government, enterprises out of the reach of ordinary people"; it is also seen as "those activities which are carried on in the daily lives of ordinary people and enmeshed in the social institutions and political economic processes of their society" (Morgen and Bookman 1988:4). My research deals with how Chinese immigrant leaders and their followers seek power both in the Queens Chinese community and beyond the Chinese community. In

their endeavors they seek both personal and group empowerment, a process according to Morgen and Bookman (1988:4) aimed at consolidating, maintaining, or changing the nature and/or distribution of power in society.

CHAPTER 7. SOCIAL SERVICES AND WORSHIP WITHIN THE CHINESE COMMUNITY

In this chapter I first describe a major social service agency organized within the Chinese community to serve the immigrant Chinese population of Queens--the Chinese-American Planning Council (CPC; before 1988 its English title was Chinatown Planning Council). I also discuss a small "hot line" information and referral program that developed several other activities, and a Chinese language school. In the second half of the chapter I turn to Chinese religious institutions, analyzing one Chinese Christian church in detail, and more briefly examining three others.

CHINESE-AMERICAN PLANNING COUNCIL (CPC)

The CPC, a non-profit social service agency, was established in 1965 and funded by several government sources. Its headquarters in Manhattan Chinatown provides a multi-social service center, employment and job training programs, a day care center, and housing and senior programs. As more and more Chinese moved to the city, especially to Queens and Brooklyn, CPC expanded work to reach these new Chinese settlements. Branch offices were established in Queens in 1975 and Brooklyn in 1984. The work in Queens began with a multi-social service center; in

1979 a Hotel Service Careers Training Program was established, and other programs followed thereafter.

The CPC Multi-Social Service walk-in center aims to meet a variety of needs of the Chinese in Queens. Several bilingual staff members work on:

Information and referral: medical, immigration, education, legal, and general social services information, and referrals to appropriate agencies and services.

Government entitlement programs: information and application assistance for Medicaid, Medicare, HEAP, food stamps, reduced transportation fare, welfare, Social Security.

Consumer complaints: consumer information and rights regarding public services and utilities; bilingual assistance with New York Telephone, Con Edison, Brooklyn Union Gas, and other utilities.

Translation, interpretation and escort services: translation of letters, brochures or pamphlets, and interpretation and escort services to government agencies and offices.

Housing: information on landlord and tenant rights, rent regulations, housing regulations, and assistance with housing applications and complaints.

Counseling: counseling on personal or family problems.

The hotel service program offers 10 to 24 weeks of training. The course includes vocational English as a second language, front-desk office operations, hotel

organization and law, bookkeeping, typing, and operation of hotel business machines and calculators. Individual and group counseling, both career-related and personal, is provided to all trainees, as is a job placement service. Guest speakers from the hospitality industry, and field trips to various hotels are also part of the training.

Trainees attend classes Monday through Friday from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.. The minimum requirements are high school graduation or equivalent, 18 years of age, and either permanent resident, refugee alien, or United States citizenship residential status.

Mrs. Cong, director of the Queens CPC branch, told me in an interview in 1985 that in the beginning, graduates got jobs even before they finished the course because former students had such excellent job records. Employers would even come to ask for people when they needed to hire. But due to economic recession in the hotel industry, the employment rate for graduates of this program by 1985 was only about 85 percent.

Students come from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China. Mr. Hsu, one of my early informants in Elmhurst, attended this program and got a job in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. He got this job because a Chinese graduate of the CPC program did such good work that the hotel asked CPC to send another Chinese when the first worker left. Mrs. Hu, a Chinese-Korean from Taiwan, also attended this program. After she graduated she did not find a job in the hotel

field immediately; so she found a low paying job by herself. A few months later she obtained a bank teller position through the CPC. Her proficiency in Chinese and Korean was of value to the bank due to the ethnically diverse clientele in Queens.

A Senior Citizen program (in addition to the multi-social services) offers recreation and educational programs for persons over 60 years of age. Recreational programs include Chinese movies, tours, sight-seeing trips to museums and historical sites, and parties. On Christmas, Thanksgiving, Chinese lunar New Year's eve, and other festival days each participant brings a dish to share with the others in pot-luck parties. The educational programs include English classes and lectures by experts related to needs of daily life such as opening a bank account, or personal health care problems. English is taught for practical use, such as answering telephones, or asking directions.

Mr. Chou was in charge of the senior program, and also taught English when I interviewed him in 1985. At the class I attended the 23 students included more women than men, and more Mandarin than Cantonese speaking. They were clearly engaged in the classwork; many raised their hands to ask questions. A man who sat next to me told me that trouble will occur if one did not know how to speak English in this country. A woman told me after the class that she wanted to learn English for some time before finding out

about the CPC Senior Citizen program.

The program has grown very fast since 1985. In 1986 there were more than 300 hundred attending, and more than 400 in 1987. The program quickly outgrew the room available at the CPC office. The goal was declared in early 1986 not only to continue classes and lectures, but also to find a large enough space for informal social activities. Financial resources was not the only problem it faced then, but also the CPC's building lease. With its expiration in 1986, the elders were worried about where CPC would move the program. They hoped that it would not be too far from downtown Flushing which was convenient for most of them. It was difficult for most of them to contemplate joining a non-Chinese senior center nearby because of the language barrier.

Although some Chinese elders in Queens did go to non-Chinese senior centers, they were attracted mainly by the cheap lunches there. In one case, however, they were large enough in number to form their own programs. In 1985 about 20 or 30 Chinese went to a senior center in Elmhurst to eat lunch, but not for the other programs. By 1987 there were about 100 Chinese elders, and they had begun their own Chinese opera program there.

On September 25, 1986, the CPC did reopen the senior program in downtown Flushing. Mr. Chou tried to establish regular daily activities for the elders with a planned schedule each Monday through Friday afternoon--English

class (advanced) on Monday, lectures on Tuesday, Chinese (tai chi) martial arts on Wednesday, English class (beginners) on Thursday, and recreational activities such as Chinese chess on Friday. The new center served about 250 elderly persons; some were older than 90. Many felt that the space was too small, and the air circulation was not good.

The most serious event in 1986, however, was the resignation of CPC Queens branch director Mrs. Cong. The branch director was hired by the Board of Trustee. The Board of Trustee wanted to install a former director as a supervisor over Mrs. Cong. Mrs. Cong was so upset about this arrangement that she resigned. The elders tried to keep her, and demonstrated their dissatisfaction to the new director, Mr. Yoi. They also wrote letters of support for her to the Chinese newspapers. Eventually the seniors calmed down, and continued to support the program. To solve the space problem, Mr. Yoi requested financial support for the CPC Queens Senior Center at a budget meeting at Queens Borough Hall. The request was accepted, with the requirement that CPC prove its financial capacities to pay the rent. CPC raised \$4,000 within two months.

In 1985 the CPC youth programs included the Newly Arrived Immigrant Linkage Program (NAIL), the After School Program, and a summer camp. The NAIL program conducted extensive outreach to high school students and their

immigrant families. City government funds accounted for fifty percent of its budget, with CPC responsible for the other half. Mr. Chun, the CPC Youth Coordinator, dealt with more than 200 cases in 1986.

The After School Program provided educational projects, tutorial assistance, and recreational activities. CPC used Public School 20 and Intermediate School 189 in Flushing for this program. The aim was to attract youth to supervised recreational and academic activities after school instead of hanging around on the streets. The PS 20 site offers elementary school children gymnastics and English as a Second Language classes twice a week between 3:00 p.m. and 5:00 p.m. The program at IS 189 for junior and senior high school students provides only gymnastic activities.

The summer camp for youth has operated since 1978. Students learn English, mathematics, and Chinese in the morning, and enjoy recreational activities in the afternoon, including physical exercise, sports, swimming, dances, and field trips to the local parks and zoo. Free lunch is provided through the US Department of Agriculture summer lunch program. In the summer of 1984, 66 students participated in this program. Each student paid a \$65 fee, cheaper than many other camps in Queens. The New York City Youth Board supplied two program leaders, and \$2,000 for rent and field trip expenses. The slots were increased to 120 in 1987.

Ten adult English classes are offered by the CPC to groups of Chinese-speakers at different levels of English language ability. No more than twenty students are in a class, and one can choose morning, evening or weekend classes. Many restaurant workers take morning classes before they go to work. One woman in this program, however, told me that she was frustrated because of the number of students, and the differing levels of English competence in the same class.

Since 1986 the CPC service programs have expanded. New programs, such as services for the Chinese disabled, a day care center, and English classes for legalization applicants, have become available.

CHINESE IMMIGRANTS SERVICES INC.

During the 1980s many Queens Chinese residents also became familiar with the activities of a small private social service organization originally called "Aunty Win's Hotline," and since 1984, Chinese Immigrants Services Inc. (CISI). It was established in 1946 by Mrs. Win, a Chinese-born woman married to an American, and residing in Flushing. When I interviewed her, Mrs. Win told me that she has tried in concrete ways to help her fellow Chinese over the past forty years. In the beginning, she brought Chinese costumes to Flushing schools to introduce students to Chinese culture. Later she intervened with the police when she saw Chinese vendors receive summonses. She went

to court to interpret for Chinese defendants, and to plead on their behalf with judges. She said many judges became aware of her volunteer efforts, and she was able to get them to cancel vendor fines. She also helped Chinese to fill out tax forms and gave them advice. In her early years in Flushing, she said, she regularly invited Chinese students to a Chinese New Year's party at her house.

Before the 1980s, when the Chinese mass media increased in numbers, Mrs. Win's volunteer work had hardly even been reported in the Manhattan-focused Chinese newspapers. She became more well-known when in 1983 she was invited to join the Chinese American Voters Association (CAVA) preparatory committee, and was elected to its board of directors. In 1984 she received considerable Chinese media attention when she was the first Chinese awarded the "City of New York Ethnic New Yorker Award." She told me that she was nominated by her American neighbors who wrote recommendation letters to the Mayor's office. Her friends organized a party in celebration, and within only three days more than 100 people registered for the affair, held at a Flushing Chinese restaurant. These events gave her much publicity in the Chinese community. Soon afterwards she organized a women's association (discussed in the next chapter), and was elected vice-president of a Chinese provincial organization which recruited members from throughout the city.

After the ethnic award and publicity, several Flushing

Chinese community leaders offered to help Mrs. Win make her Hotline better organized, and eligible to accept government funding as well as private contributions. On December 12, 1984, Mr. Cing invited a group of bankers, attorneys, real estate agents, medical doctors, and professors, to a meeting. All those he contacted acknowledged their appreciation of what Mrs. Win had done for the Chinese community. At the meeting, Mr. Cing reviewed the main areas of the Hotline's concern: migration status, rent and sale of houses, employment referrals, investment, business management, citizenship, politics, social welfare, and American customs and manners. He said it was necessary to have two full-time workers and many professional volunteers to work from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. daily, seven days a week. He calculated a required annual operating budget of \$56,000. The English name of the organization was formally changed to Chinese Immigrant Service, Inc., a suggestion of Mr. Cing. This was the name used to later apply for non-profit status, and in the organization's CISI Newsletter.

In February 1985 CISI held its first meeting and eleven members were appointed to its board of directors. Mrs. Win became president, and among the other members were several persons active in organizations bridging the Chinese and non-Chinese communities (discussed in the next chapter): Mr. Kung, Mr. Ong, Ms. Cop, and Mr. Cing. The members, however, did not understand the function of the

board because it appeared to many that only Mrs. Win worked on behalf of CISI. The board members did not deal directly with Hotline cases. Many people in the community appreciated her enthusiasm to help people, but thought operations could be more efficient than to have her continue working alone.

Within four months, following a dispute over an election in the Chinese American Voters Association (CAVA) that involved Mrs. Win and several CISI board members, Mr. Cing and Mr. Ong resigned from the CISI board, and some other supporters also drew away from CISI. When one of these, Ms. Cop, criticized the lack of professionalization at a public hearing in 1986, Mrs. Win replied, "I agree that my hotline is not professionalized enough. I still have more than 500 cases which had been not taken care of yet, but I have my life experience and enthusiasm which could help me to overcome these problems." On another occasion Mrs. Win told me that many people who called the hotline would talk only with her.

Although Mrs. Win lost some supporters, her enthusiasm to help the Chinese community continued. But she now changed her direction from serving individuals to serving groups. In September 1986, CISI received a donation of \$1,000 from some Chinese people, and Mrs. Win presented it to the Chinese recreation club of about sixty Chinese elders at a senior center. The director was delighted because this was the first outside donation the center had

received.

Mrs. Win next directed her efforts to Chinese single men and women. Since July 1986 she has organized several events for singles--indoor and outdoor concerts, dances, and, picnics. The name of this "Single Club" was changed to "Hotline Club" at the end of 1986, and then to "Young Generation Club" in 1987. The membership increased from 80 to 900 in two years. The purpose was to give unmarried Chinese women and men an opportunity to meet each other and make friends. Mrs. Win said that too many of the young generation in this country had little chance to communicate with each other; her events could help them avoid psychological and social problems. As older single persons and even some families asked to join, the club was divided into three sections: young generation, adult, and family. (A minor problem arose when some people complained that men took the telephone numbers that young women wrote on their registration forms, and bothered them with telephone calls. Mrs. Win denied that the men got the numbers from the confidential registration book, and said the women must have given their numbers to the men by themselves. To prevent further troubles, Mrs. Win decided that notices of club activities would be mailed to members, and not listed in the newspapers.)

Through her activities, Mrs. Win now had in her network a women's association, a provincial association, senior citizens, singles, some Chinese community leaders,

and some non-Chinese politicians. All could be mobilized for Queens Chinese community affairs. Her power and charisma among these groups was evident at a party held for her in February 1987 to honor her "Susan B. Anthony Award" for service to Chinese female immigrants over forty years. She was the first woman in New York City to win this award. The party was in a Chinese restaurant in Flushing. More than 300 people attended, occupying 39 ten-seat tables. Several young people who sat next to my wife and me told me they were from Mrs. Win's singles club. The young people came mainly for the dancing, and I overheard several complain that the speeches had taken up too much time. The party ended at 12 a.m., but the dinner, prolonged by the testimonials to Mrs. Win, finished about 10:30, so only one hour was left for dancing following removal of the dishes.

In August 1987 CISI was enlarged to 28 committee members, 22 advisors, and 20 service providers. The committee members took turns working in the office. Only a few worked regularly, however, and the purpose of the reorganization--to apply for government funding--did not result in any announcement of new financial support. At one point after this, I met Mrs. Win on the street in Flushing. She said, "My hotline is poor. On the one hand, I could not find people to write any proposals for it. On the other hand, I feel embarrassed to open my mouth to ask for money from people. In the beginning, when Mr. Sing

proposed the board members should donate money for CISI, I refused. Now I think he was probably right."

MING YUAN CHINESE SCHOOL

The Ming Yuan Chinese School was begun by Reverend Lung in 1978. He had earlier established a middle school in Taichung, Taiwan, in 1952, and schools in Hong Kong and South Vietnam in the 1960s. He came to the United States in 1975.

He visited the homes of his former students after he arrived in the United States, and found that he could not communicate with their children who could not speak Chinese. His students felt very ashamed, but complained that they were too busy to teach their children Chinese. They asked him to begin a Chinese school to teach the younger generation. In 1978 the Ming Yuan Chinese School was founded in Elmhurst. It was not the first Chinese school in Queens, but it is the largest in numbers of students and teachers.

At first there were 70 to 80 students divided into five classes. By 1985, the number had increased to more than 600 children. There were also language classes for adults, so the total number of students was about 700. The teachers were accredited graduates with prior teaching experience in Taiwan. Reverend Lung has a list of more than 100 reserve teachers who can be hired if demand for teachers grows.

At first, Mandarin was the only language taught, but Cantonese parents felt it was not useful for their children to learn Mandarin because these parents could only speak Cantonese. Therefore Cantonese classes were also made available, with around 300 children studying each language. Some parents, impressed with his school, have even transferred their children from Manhattan Chinatown Chinese schools to Ming Yuan. Reverend Lung attributes this to two factors: preferences of Queens residents for a school closer to their homes, and the quality and experience of the Ming Yuan teachers, who even attract children from Brooklyn.

The students are mainly from elementary schools, and the older they are, the more attendance declines. Reverend Lung explains this as a result of more homework in junior high schools, and preparation for entering top-ranked senior high schools. He also notes that interest in learning Chinese becomes less as the students grow up and have more contact with non-Chinese society. This forces them to speak more English, and they become more comfortable expressing themselves in English than in Chinese. Some older students do continue nonetheless. One of my informant's daughter attended this school for several years, maintaining her interest, and developing an ability in the written language to even read Chinese novels.

The three-hour kindergarten classes have instruction in recognizing Chinese characters, and singing and play.

The weekend elementary classes include two hours of Chinese language study, and one hour to sing Chinese songs, practice gong-fu, and other recreational activities. It is commonly discussed in the Queens Chinese community, however, that many children resisted going because they find it difficult to write Chinese. They are required to speak Chinese in the classes, but they speak English during their breaks. On one occasion when I encountered the Ming Yuan students coming out after school I hardly heard any Chinese spoken by them.

There were 400 children who participated in the all-day Ming Yuan summer school in 1984. In the morning they studied Chinese language and culture. They also received free lunch under a government-sponsored program. Recreational activities in the afternoon included sports and trips to the parks and zoo. Summer school is very important to many Chinese parents who work all day long. Although for the regular weekend classes, students come by themselves or with their parents, the school found it necessary to provide transportation for the summer school. It needed not only vehicles but also the drivers, and with not enough of either, students were crowded, and often had long, circuitous trips between home and school. One mother told me that her son did not want to go to summer school because it took him one and a half hours in the bus to come home.

Teaching materials include collections edited and

written by Reverend Lung and his teachers, and other, more traditional sources from Taiwan. The materials prepared at Ming Yuan school reflect the environment the students live in, but the materials from Taiwan include stories which are very unfamiliar to children growing up in the United States. For example, one Taiwan reader of twenty-four filial piety stories extolled a child who laid down on an icy river in winter to catch fish for his sick mother. Such stories probably seem far-fetched to children not only in Queens, but also in modern Taiwan.

The students come from Elmhurst, Flushing, Jamaica, and Bayside in Queens, and from other New York City boroughs, Long Island, and New Jersey. In 1985 there were about twenty students whose parents were not Chinese, or who had only one Chinese parent. (One white student had a Chinese-speaking father who had lived in Taiwan.) The parents who drove long distances to the school often shopped in Chinese stores in Flushing or Elmhurst while their children were in the classroom. Furthermore, the parents had opportunities to talk to one another while they were waiting for their children, and to make friends with each other.

The original purpose of the Ming Yuan Chinese school was to teach Chinese to the younger generation. But gradually other subjects were provided to satisfy Chinese parents who wanted their children to enter Ivy League colleges. In Taiwan there are also many tutoring centers

to provide extra instruction for students. This system is clearly being copied in the United States, and Ming Yuan was not the first to do so. By the mid-1980s, there were classes in English, mathematics, computers, and Scholastic Achievement Test preparation.

There are more Chinese schools in Queens today. The first one was the International Chinese School established by Chinese employees of the United Nations in the mid-1940s when the UN was located in Lake Success on Long Island, and staff living quarters were in Parkway Village in Queens. This school moved to Chinatown later. In the mid-1970s the Best Chinese School was founded by a teacher who received a masters degree in the United States. Like Ming Yuan, it was established to teach Chinese to the young generation, but it later added other subjects. Today there are at least five other Chinese language schools in Queens, established either by churches or individual teachers. They are all considerably smaller than either the Ming Yuan or the Best schools.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

In Taiwan, temples of the Buddhist and Chinese folk religions outnumber Christian churches. (Many in Taiwan do not distinguish Buddhism from Chinese folk religion, and their practices have long been mixed together). More than 65 percent of the population are adherents of Buddhism and folk religion, and only about five percent are Protestants

and Roman Catholics (Chiu 1988:241-242).

In the new Chinese communities in the United States, however, more Christian churches than Buddhist temples have emerged. There are about thirty Chinese Christian congregations in Queens, but only two Buddhist temples. In Flushing there is also one folk religion service in a private home at which about fifteen people attend twice a month. (There are some other private altars in Queens.) Although Chinese Christian churches outnumber Buddhist temples, the total number of Chinese Christians in Queens is small. Most of the Chinese congregations have around 200 to 300 members, which means a total membership of between 6,000 and 9,000. Some of the churches have members who live in Long Island, New Jersey, and other boroughs of New York City, so the number of Chinese Christians in Queens is probably about 5,000. If the number of Chinese in Queens is about 100,000 to 120,000, then the percentage of Christian churchgoers is about five percent, similar to the figure for Taiwan. Several Chinese pastors have said that although the number of Taiwan immigrants has grown, the number of Christians has not increased proportionately. Of the 100 households I studied, 27 households were Christian, but some of these were inactive after they came to the United States, and did not attend Chinese churches in Queens.

For those who are not Christians, the Buddhist temples, and altars in private houses, are two main

sources for them to continue their religious belief. There is a big Chinese Buddhist temple in upstate New York. To some extent, this temple provides not only religious activities for its followers, but also is a place for a short trip on weekends. Some travel agencies use "worship and trip" to attract their clients. A storefront Buddhist temple in Elmhurst is the biggest one in Queens, and its activities will be mentioned in this chapter. Another one in Flushing is a one-family house with its sign in front of the house. People rarely find its activities reported in the newspapers. Some private altars have religious seminars and other activities in the houses of tarn-juu (masters of altar). Some people may go to a temple and also have deities' statues or pictures at home to worship. People also may perform ancestor worship at home according to the annual festival calendar. People may also observe a ba-guah, an eight-angle amulet with a mirror in the middle of it to protect the people inside from evil, in front of some Chinese houses in Queens.

At the time of my research, there were three Protestant and one Roman Catholic Chinese congregations, and one Buddhist temple in Elmhurst. Of course, some Chinese also attended English language church services. The three Protestant churches all shared their church building with other ethnic groups. This sharing of space, with services at different times, is a common phenomenon today in the Chinese immigrant community.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

The Lutheran Church offered services in Chinese, Spanish, and English. Pastor Ling, the Chinese pastor, was in his mid-50s when I interviewed him. His Chinese congregation was formed in Jamaica, Queens, in the early 1970s. It has been at this church for about eight years. The congregation has grown from 50 or 60 people, to about 160, including children. The English congregation has decreased from 400 to only 30 to 40 people since the Chinese service began. Its members live throughout the New York metropolitan area, in Elmhurst, Flushing, Bayside, New Jersey, Brooklyn, and other places. Some who originally lived near the church later moved away, but "they come back to join the congregation here," pastor Ling said. The members include medical doctors, professors, engineers, businessmen, and workers (cooks, waiters, female garment workers). Generally all household members come together--adults attend the Sunday service, and children go to Sunday School.

In order to satisfy all its Chinese members, Cantonese, Mandarin, and English are used in the service. In addition to the Sunday service, a Bible class is held at the church, and occasionally other activities are organized. For example, on August 19, 1984, "Heavenly Melody," a Christian choir from Taiwan established some twenty years ago performed at the Lutheran church. The

singers were around 30 years old. When it first formed, its members sang only Western music, but the current "Heavenly Melody" group sings its own songs. The six members of this choir dressed in Chinese costumes, and sang in both Chinese and English. About 80 people attended the performance. Pastor Ling introduced the group and conducted a brief prayer. After the performance the audience was asked to offer a donation to the choir. They also sold books and tapes of their performances.

The Lutheran church maintains a library of religious books, audio and video tapes, and movies for the congregation to borrow. There is also an information board for posting notices of items of interest to church members, such as houses for rent, or furniture for sale. Such notices are rarely seen in churches in Taiwan.

Pastor Ling recognizes the complexity of working as a minister in an overseas Chinese church. He said, "I have to give the followers not only the news of the gospel, but also help in secular life, such as job-finding, house-seeking, accompanying patients to hospitals, and sometimes I go with them to the court and Social Security Department, and even try to solve family problems and disputes."

CHRISTIAN TESTIMONY CHURCH

Christian Testimony Church was led by Brother Long. He graduated from a university in Taiwan in 1948, and

worked as an engineer in a shipping company. He came to the United States in 1969. After occasional invitations to preach to a group of worshippers, in 1970 he was asked to become their fulltime minister. At that time the congregation had only about twenty members and worshipped in a small rented room on Case Street in Elmhurst. The number quickly increased. In 1973, when the energy crisis occurred, a group of thirty members who traveled from New Jersey decided to establish a branch church there. The remaining seventy members had moved to the basement of a Baptist church in Elmhurst because the original space was too small. They bought their own building on Whitney Avenue, originally a Masonic temple, in February 1983. Although about 300, including adults and children, attend its services, only about 100 persons were baptised in this church. Half of the membership were originally student visa holders, and the other half are immigrants. Most are from Taiwan, with about eight percent from mainland China.

Brother Long said,

The contribution churches make to the immigrants is bigger than the Chinese student associations. The churches have the following functions. First, spiritual--this means faith in Christ. Second, psychological--security; a sense of belonging, participation, and achievement are the four important aspects of the psychological needs. In the summer of every year, Christian Testmony Church holds a one day

retreat for the followers on the east coast. In 1984 we had about 1,500 people attending.

Sometimes the church invites psychologists to give lectures to its members. For this reason Brother Long also took some courses in psychology. He continued,

Third, family--no family problems occurred in the earlier period of immigration because the wives were conservative and weak. Today it is different; they are more independent after they have obtained jobs. Some problems between spouses occurred after the woman's economic power increased, such as a higher divorce rate since 1975. Though the divorce rate in Christian families is less than non-Christian, quarrels and arguments are not uncommon.

Mr. Long said that he has recently tried to reconcile a dispute between a married couple. He advised the couple that they should have three things in common: interests, goals, and agreement on authority. "Agreement on authority means a couple should transfer the authority from parents to the pastors because the pastors are beyond the parental-children relationship."

The most serious problem of immigrant families is the education of their children. Mr. Long said that he always advised parents not to tell children that they should not do this or that because they are Chinese. Instead they should tell them that the Bible does not teach them to do it. "The Bible is the principle of everything."

The elderly parents who came to the United States to stay with their children have caused problems between themselves and their children and children-in-law. When they see their sons wash the dishes and change the diapers for the baby in the middle of night, they feel very bad and blame all of the problems on the daughter-in-law. However, when they see these same problems in their daughters' houses, they would give credit to the sons-in-law.

Brother Long said that he told them that they were too selfish. The ways of teaching children cause disputes between parents and their adult children. He also advised the young generation that they should always tell their parents that they will take care of them. He said that if it is possible, parents and adult children should live separately, but close enough to see each other easily. "It is not necessary to live together to be a filial child. There are three important things to being a good child: to satisfy the parents' economic needs; to make them happy; and to go with them to some places such as the hospital, or supermarket."

The church offers several social services to its members. It sends people to receive new immigrants at the airport, and to help them translate and interpret documents. A medical clinic is also held every Sunday afternoon after lunch at the church. "Several doctors and nurses in our church voluntarily do this work."

Examinations include taking the pulse, checking the urine, and other tests. Brother Long also said that something the church tried to do but gave up was to build apartments for senior citizens. Their bid of \$1.3 million on a piece of land in New Jersey was not accepted. Brother Long said the church did not begin a Chinese school because there were several in the area.

The church has several services. An English language Youth Fellowship has about forty people who meet on Friday nights. A Mandarin Youth Fellowship also has about forty members who meet each Saturday night; this group is composed of the children of new immigrants who are not comfortable using English. Because of the language differences, these two groups have almost no communication, and no joint activities. A Graduate Fellowship is composed of forty people who also hold their meetings on Friday night; the members are students, but some of them remain after they graduate because of the ties they have established. The Married Couple Fellowship has about thirty persons; its service is held on Saturday nights. A Senior Fellowship of about twenty senior citizen members meets once a month. The Sisters Fellowship has thirty members. About 100 persons attend the Adult Sunday School every Sunday morning between 9:30 and 10:30 a.m. before the main 10:30 worship service. The Children's Sunday School for about thirty students is held on Sunday morning from 10:30 a.m. to 12 p.m.

After the Sunday service the members eat lunch in the church. The medical clinic begins at 2 p.m. Neither Christmas, Easter, nor some other familiar Christian holidays are celebrated. Brother Long explained that these holidays are not mentioned in the Bible. Using Christmas as an example, he said that when Christianity was brought to Europe, the Europeans changed their sun deity festival to Christmas. So Christmas is not a Christian holiday, but one created by the Europeans. This church has only regular Sunday services, various kinds of gatherings for fellowship, and a retreat once every year, but no celebration of Chinese and Western holidays at all.

The church rents space to a City-funded senior center for \$3,500 per month, plus \$1,000 for electricity. This amount covers its monthly mortgage payment of \$3,200. The senior center activities are held on weekdays in the daytime only. About twenty to thirty Chinese participate in the senior program, but only four or five of them are members of Christian Testimony. The Chinese elders come only for meals and not for the other activities. The Church also rents space to a Korean congregation. In Elmhurst, Christian Testimony is the only Chinese congregation that owns its own building.

REFORMED CHURCH OF NEWTOWN

The Reformed Church of Newtown is located at the corner of Broadway and Corona Avenue in Elmhurst where it

has stood for more than 250 years since a Dutch congregation began worship here. The church offers Sunday services in English at 10 a.m., in Taiwanese at 11:30 a.m., and in Tamil at 6:00 p.m. every Sunday. The Taiwanese group joined the church in 1980, with its first members coming from Winfield Church in Woodside, Queens, where space was insufficient for the increasing numbers.

Before I discuss the Taiwanese group, I will explain how a Taiwanese group was chosen to join this Reformed Church. The parent body, the Reformed Church in America (RCA), understood that large numbers of Asians were immigrating to metropolitan New York. (A New York Times article in 1979 reported more than 400,000 Asians in this area.) In 1980, a "Council for Pacific and Asian American Ministries in the United States" was established, the fourth Council initiated by the RCA concerned with ethnic minorities, after those on Black (established in 1969), American Indian (1972), and Hispanic (1974) ministries. For this new project, the General Program Council, through Dr. John Hiemstra, the Executive Secretary of the New York Synod, allocated \$96,000 for the Queens area committee.

"Asian" was understood to refer to people from different Asian countries, who speak many different languages. The question was whether to divide the funds among several different ethnic congregations, or to select one or two groups. The Queens committee decided to concentrate on one language, and invited several local

Asian ministers for a consultation. They included Reverend Lo, Stated Supply Minister of Winfield Reformed Church in Woodside; Reverend John Lee, pastor of a Korean church; Reverend Justin Haruyama, pastor of the Japanese-American United Church in Manhattan; and Reverend Simon Chang, pastor of the Korean Lutheran Church in Bayside.

These pastors' consensus was that: (1) Most Japanese residing in Queens were employees of Japanese companies on temporary assignment in the United States; it was doubtful they would stay long enough to build up a church congregation. (2) There were many Korean Christians in the Queens area, and there was a good chance of success in starting a Korean ministry. There were already many Korean churches in existence, but they tend to become independent churches. The chance of their joining the RCA was remote. (3) There were many Mandarin and Cantonese churches in Manhattan, especially in Chinatown. There was no need to start another in Queens. (4) The time was not right to start Filipino, Indian, or Vietnamese congregations because the populations were not large. Moreover adequate missionaries for these language groups were not available (Tseng 1982:49). The committee concluded the Taiwanese were the best candidate for an Asian ministry in Queens. The next questions were those of site and pastor.

Reverend David Boyce, the white American minister at the Reformed Church of Newtown since 1969, soon reported

that the Consistory, or church council, had great enthusiasm to invite a new Taiwanese group to worship there. Reverend Boyce said that the Reformed Church of Newtown was the first church in the area to share its space with other groups of worshippers. For several years a largely Filipino group, with a Filipino pastor, Terry Reyes, worshipped there on Sunday evenings; Newtown also shared its space with a Korean Methodist Church which grew from twenty-four members to over 500 in nine years.

The RCA Queens committee realized that a new Taiwanese service needed a pastor with experience in missionary work. They asked Reverend Lo to serve in this role as "Missionary to the [RCA] Classis of Queens" because he had missionary experience in Taiwan, Okinawa, and Japan, and could speak Taiwanese, Mandarin, Japanese, and English. This new project was to start in May 1980, but Reverend Lo accepted the appointment under the condition that he could finish his term as Stated Supply Minister of Winfield Reformed Church. Accordingly, he came to the Reformed Church of Newtown on August 17, 1980. Forty-some members of Winfield Church came with him to begin this new mission, and joined the two congregations already coexisting in the building: Pastor Boyce's English-speaking RCA congregation, and the Korean Methodist congregation under Reverend Chou.

As newcomers, the Taiwanese group had to begin their worship in the Faith Hall, a room without windows in the basement. It looked more like an oversized kitchen than a

place for worship. On one end was a stove, a refrigerator, and a sink. The other end was used to store folding chairs and tables. The space between these two ends was used by this new congregation to worship, for choir practice, and for social activities. "It was small and dark", Reverend Lo said,

but it was the best time the congregation could remember because at that time all the followers were so excited, so warm in their hearts, and so willing to worship God without any complaint. It is always so in the initiation of a congregation because people are so warm. After the establishment people will become cold and attend less.

As attendance increased, the Taiwanese group moved upstairs to the Fellowship Hall, today's dining room. The space was bigger and the light was better than in the basement. Finally, when the Korean congregation moved to their own new church, the Taiwanese could use the beautiful main sanctuary, now sharing the space with the American congregation.

The amount of \$96,000 was budgeted over three years for this new mission. Only seven months after the Taiwanese service was started, however, it reached partially self-supporting status because of the rapid growth in membership. During Easter of 1981 many of the Taiwanese in attendance formally joined Newtown Church as a congregation integrated within its budget. Only the salary

of Reverend Lo now came from the \$96,000 mission subsidy. The Taiwanese congregation also promised to contribute monthly to the new Immanuel Korean Reformed Church, to be started by the same Queens RCA Asian Ministry committee in September 1981.

In May 1982, Newtown Church moved to hire on its own Reverend Lo as co-pastor with Reverend Boyce. Since then Reverend Lo's salary has been paid by the Taiwanese group alone, which also became totally independent of the Asian Ministry financially. It took only twenty months for this rather than the three years as originally planned. By May 1982, the Taiwanese Sunday service had about 140 attendants, plus children in Sunday School. When I first started my fieldwork at the church in 1984, attendance at Sunday services was between 220 and 250. It maintains this size today, even though a New Jersey branch church took some followers when it separated from the Newtown Taiwanese Sunday service. The growth of this group has been viewed with jealousy by some other Taiwanese churches, and I heard repeated more than once the criticism that "the Reformed Church of Newtown always steals the other shepherds' sheep."

The Taiwanese service begins at 11:30 a.m. Several minutes before it starts, a member will lead the congregation in practicing the hymns. At 11:30 Pastor Lo, the female English-language interpreter, and the choir enter the sanctuary in the processional. The attendance is

family and household oriented, as is typical of most of today's overseas Chinese churches. Parents and older children sit together during the service, while younger children attend Sunday school. Pastor Lo recognizes the difficulties that new immigrants encounter, and he often asks in his sermon that the more established members provide assistance to newer arrivals. In his prayers he also asks God to help these immigrants.

The sermon is delivered in Taiwanese, and is interpreted into English for those younger members who do not understand Taiwanese very well. As more Mandarin-speaking members have joined the Reformed Church of Newtown, a section in the balcony for them provides a second interpreter who translates from Taiwanese to Mandarin.

There are two choirs at the Reformed Church of Newtown, an adult and a youth choir. Usually the adult choir sings in Taiwanese and Mandarin, and the youth choir sings in English. On some holidays such as Christmas, Easter, and Mothers' Day, both choirs sing together. The members of the youth choir also play musical instruments, and perform at the altar with violins and flutes.

Occasionally one may see a few non-Chinese attending the service. Once I saw a young white American girl sitting with her Chinese classmates. At another service two Japanese young women guests were introduced by Pastor Lo. He explained, "Because we have members' relatives or

friends in Japan, we often have Japanese visitors in our service. These two girls have different beliefs from us--they belong to the Unification Church. We welcome them, but I have to remind you that our belief is different from theirs."

After the service, most people go to eat lunch together in the Fellowship Hall. The lunch is prepared according to a rotating schedule organized by about thirty households. The food, Chinese in style, is not free; one dollar per head is the requested donation, and cups are put on the tables for this purpose. After a hymn and a prayer, the lunch begins. People eat and talk in a crowded scene where tables are even placed on the stage overlooking the hall, and some people eat in the kitchen.

Not all attending each Sunday join the lunch, but most of them do. During this relaxed period, many practical, secular matters are discussed. Where should Mr. Li's daughter go for piano lessons? Where can one buy a good second-hand car? What is the housing situation like in Bayside? What is the reputation of Mr. Lin's children's school? After lunch, people work together to put the tables and chairs back in their original places, and some sweep the floor with brooms. Then the ping-pong tables are set up. As some play, others watch and talk to friends. This is purely social time.

On the first Sunday of each month, and on some holidays, there are "united services" for the Chinese,

English and Tamil congregations. The American pastor usually conducts the service, and Pastor Lo interprets it in Taiwanese. The Chinese are the majority at these united services. On Easter in 1985, for example, more than 80 percent of the congregation was Chinese, with about twenty whites, five blacks, and two Indians. Communion is served during the monthly united service.

The Reformed Church of Newtown's Taiwanese congregation celebrates non-Chinese and Chinese holidays such as Christmas, Easter, Mothers' Day, Chinese Lunar New Year, and Mid-Autumn Festival, in distinctive ways, as the following brief descriptions suggest.

Christmas service 1984. As one entered the sanctuary, one first noticed the many red poinsettia plants decorating the altar. The combined adult and youth choirs sang a program of Christmas season hymns and carols. Before the sermon, Mrs. Boyce, principal of the Sunday school, led more than forty Chinese and non-Chinese children and their teachers to the altar to sing several selections. After they finished, Pastor Lo asked all in attendance to stand up and say "Thank you very much" in English to express their gratitude to the teachers for their work with the children in the past year. Pastor Lo also thanked the conductor, Mr. Ching, and Mrs. Lan, who led both choirs during the last year. He then thanked the women's club who had prepared lunch for the churchgoers.

In his announcements, Pastor Lo mentioned several

special donations made by Newtown Church. These were individual scholarships to five theological schools in Taiwan, including Taiwan Theology College and Yu-san Theology College; and a monetary gift to the son, studying in the United States, of Pastor Kao, who was arrested in Taiwan for political reasons several years ago. Pastor Lo also reminded members of Pastor Lin in Taiwan, who suffers from a very serious physical illness. "He worked for God for several decades and he has four children. Some people sent him money before. If anyone would like to continue to do it, please write a check and either send it to him directly, or through the church." At the end of service, people placed gifts wrapped with white paper on the floor in front of the altar. These were to be sent to American Indians, a Christmas tradition at the Reformed Church of Newtown. In the afternoon when lunch was over, there was a Christmas performance by the Sunday School and church youth groups.

Easter 1985. The service was led by Pastor Boyce and interpreted by Pastor Lo, and attendance was again about 80 percent Chinese. During the service several baptisms, confirmations, and transfers from other churches were included, and Communion was presented, with five Chinese and one white Deacons and Elders assisting. Four baptisms were announced, and three infants were held by their parents for the ritual. A Black American young woman had requested Baptism by immersion, and Pastor Boyce told the

congregation, "Because we do not have such facilities here, I have to use another church nearby for this ceremony. I will let you know when the arrangement is made." Those being confirmed or transferring from other churches to Newtown were all Chinese.

Mothers' Day 1985. As people entered the church, they were offered either a white carnation, indicating their mother was dead, or a red carnation, which more people took, meaning their mother were still alive. All the songs sung by the choir were about mothers. This choir of about thirty adults and youths was accompanied by a piano and seven violins. The music and response were quite spectacular. As the choir and congregation sang one song several times, a number of women used handkerchiefs to wipe their tears. This day the lunch was prepared by the fathers, and the children cleaned up afterwards. Two cakes were presented after the lunch; the first cut was made by one elderly mother. Then the fathers carried pieces of the cakes to the mothers. The congregation also presented a gift to Mrs. Lo, Pastor Lo's wife. It was a stuffed toy octopus, its many arms representing how busy a mother is.

Chinese lunar New Years' Eve and banquet for elders. In 1985, there was an shou-sui (守歲) midnight prayer service on Chinese lunar New Year's Eve. (Shou-sui connotes "to see the old year out and the new year in by staying up on the night of the lunar new year's eve.") The Taiwanese group conducted this service to thank God for

protecting them in the past year. Then on February 24, the first Sunday after the Chinese lunar New Year, Pastor Lo announced that the Taiwanese group would hold a banquet at Tung Shing House Restaurant on Queens Boulevard to celebrate and pay their respects to those over 60 years of age. People younger than 60 years would pay, and the elders would be guests. This banquet is an annual event at Newtown Church.

Mid-Autumn Festival Day. In China, Mid-Autumn Festival Day is a time for family members to gather at home. The moon on this day is said to be the most round and most beautiful moon of the year. "Roundness" symbolizes the whole family being together, and is celebrated by eating moon cakes and other special foods. The Taiwanese group celebrated this Chinese holiday by gathering at night to enjoy the moonlight, and sharing moon cakes in the churchyard. Although only a few attended, those who did seemed to enjoy themselves. (On another Chinese holiday, Dragon-Boat Festival Day, people ate special rice dumplings prepared for lunch, but no service or gathering marked the occasion.)

What kinds of problems does a multi-ethnic, multi-language church like Newtown face? Although all three groups belong to the Reformed Church in America, and worship the same God, tensions among Americans, Taiwanese and Tamils have surfaced. I will use the Annual Meetings

and Consistory elections of 1985, 1987, and 1988, which I attended, to explore some of these tensions and their resolution.

The Annual Meeting of January 27, 1985. The Annual Meeting is held to report the past year's activities, to make plans for the new year, and to elect new members of the Consistory, the church council. All three congregations and their ministers may attend. In 1985, however, I only saw one Indian family (two parents and a girl), a Black woman, and about ten white Americans. The other 200 in attendance were all Chinese.

The first item was to remember those who had died in 1984. Pastor Boyce read a passage from the Bible in their memory. He then addressed the meeting with a sermon entitled "You/I are the Body of Christ". His theme was the need for the different ethnic groups to accept each other. He said,

We need to move past language and cultural backgrounds to become one congregation in fact as well as in name. So far, except for a few Tamilians at the 10:00 a.m. worship, the Sunday School at 11:30 a.m., and the continuing interaction of the Consistory, the pastors and to a lesser extent, the Tuesday luncheon, prayer and Bible study, we tend to move past one another in these buildings, more like three separate congregations than as members of one congregation.

This is not bad; it is better than many other churches

are achieving, but it falls short of the ideal. I have a vision and a hope: that the time will come ... that we become in fact Brothers and Sisters in Christ, Brothers and Sisters who know one another by name, who care for one another, who can worship together, who support one another in prayer, who make a difference in one another's lives and in the world because we are members of the The Reformed Church of Newtown. And to God alone shall be the glory (Reformed Church of Newtown 1985 Annual Meeting Report).

Obviously, Pastor Boyce's message pointed to only limited communication among members of these three services. He did emphasize the arrival of the Tamil congregation--first formed in New Jersey in 1982, and moving for the convenience of its fourteen families and other single members in 1984--as a step closer to meeting the ideal that God established--"a house of prayer for all the nations." But I suspect that he was most worried that the huge numbers in the Taiwanese service might soon take over the Reformed Church of Newtown.

After the sermon, discussion of the budget was opened to the floor. Those attending had two brochures which listed all activities and expenses of the three groups for the past year, and goals and proposed budgets for the coming year. This included the Taiwanese Preaching Station congregation established at Saddle Brook, New Jersey in April 1984.

A Taiwanese man asked, "We had investment income for several years, but why don't we have any this year?" This question was a sensitive one. In response, Pastor Lo said, speaking in Taiwanese, "This is the first year that the American and the Taiwanese groups combined expenses and budget together, though we are here for more than four years. Before, an American worked as treasurer for more than forty years. He retired last year. Then we, the Taiwanese, started to take care of finances. The investment income comes from the alcoholic [counseling] and other [rental] programs. It is something we should not ask about too much now."

A joint church budget and a new Taiwanese treasurer pointed to the increasing influence of the Taiwanese group in the Reformed Church of Newtown. But to ask about financial details in the first year could cause tensions. The joint budget, in addition, was only for the Taiwanese and American congregation. The Tamils were supported financially by the RCA Classis of Queens, and, though financially independent of the Reformed Church of Newtown, were accepted as members.

After discussion of the budget came the election of new Deacons and Elders to the Consistory. In the Reformed Church of Newtown the Consistory had been composed of eighteen members, from all members in the congregation. Officers serve a three-year term, with one third rotating off each year. This meant that the church elected six new

Consistory members each year, although sometimes the number was greater than six because of resignations. The list of names nominated by a committee several weeks ago was distributed for the vote; the results would be announced later.

A month later, when the new Consistory was installed on February 24, 1985, Pastor Lo pointed out in an announcement, that fourteen out of eighteen Consistory members were Taiwanese speakers. From this number the numerical growth and power the Taiwanese group had achieved in less than five years was apparent to all.

The Annual Meeting of January 25, 1987. There were about 200 in attendance at this meeting. As in 1985, the Taiwanese were the majority on this occasion. As far I could see, at least 80 per cent were Taiwanese, with twenty to thirty Indians, ten to twenty white Americans, and one Black man.

In his report Pastor Boyce mentioned that the New Jersey Preaching Station at Saddle Brook had become a self-governing congregation after one year's subsidy. The RCA had now decided to begin a second Taiwanese Preaching Station, in Queens. A new "Taiwanese American Reformed Church of Queens" corporation formed under a board selected by the Reformed Church of Newtown Consistory had begun to solicit funds for this work. He also reported that in November the RCA Classis of Queens installed Reverend Paul Theodore as Classis Missionary to Tamils in the New York

metropolitan area, with his salary paid by the Classis and Synod. The Newtown Consistory, however, had agreed to donate \$5,000 in 1987 to support Reverend Theodore's work.

Next Pastor Boyce read a letter from Reverend James A. Neevel, president of the RCA General Synod, who had preached at Newtown Church at the celebration of its 255th anniversary last December. "The singing, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed spoken simultaneously in the three languages was something we will not soon forget. I was glad to meet Bill [Lo] and Paul [Theodore] also and know that as you continue to work together great things will happen." Pastor Boyce closed his report by saying, "as you continue to work together great things will happen." This underscored, once again, his acknowledgement that language and cultural boundaries still existed in Newtown Church.

The dependent role Pastor Boyce himself now played in the church was itself a source of tension in the meeting. With an undertone of suspicion, Pastor Boyce and Mrs. Boyce on occasion would ask Pastor Lo what he said after his interpretation from English to Taiwanese. Once Mrs. Boyce asked pointedly, "What did you say?" Pastor Lo replied, "I said, because you requested it, I have to let you start first and follow you." She asked because she felt that Pastor Lo's interpretation of her words went on too long. Pastor Boyce later asked, "Why didn't anybody laugh when I talked, but they laughed when you interpreted?"

The main business of the meeting was to elect three

Elders and three Deacons. A comparatively large number of Indians had come for this election. The three-person nominating committee composed of one member from each service nominated two Taiwanese, three Indians, and a white American for the three Elder positions. These candidates had all been recommended by two church members, and had agreed to serve if elected. The results of the election would also be announced immediately, as they had been in 1986. One more Taiwanese candidate was nominated from the floor. The three new Elders elected were all Taiwanese.

Next came the election of three Deacons. Again, the nominating committee's slate included only two Taiwanese, but one more Taiwanese was nominated from the floor. A Taiwanese woman asked if it was possible for a family to have more than one member serve as Deacon or Elder. Pastor Boyce replied, "there is no such regulation to prohibit more than one person from a family to take these positions. It happened once four years ago when two Taiwanese brothers were elected as Deacons. And again two years ago, when Mrs. Boyce was elected as a Deacon and I was the President of the Consistory Board." Pastor Lo said, however,

the congregation was so small before that two or three family members were alright in positions. Now we have more than 200 people, so it is better to spread it around. But I do not oppose it; this is only my suggestion. The most important qualification is that

one should have good conduct and behavior, and also one should attend the meetings often. We had someone elected before who did not attend the Deacon or Elder meetings.

At that point Mr. Tan, who was nominated by Mrs. Lan, said, "Since my wife is Treasurer of this church, it is necessary for her to be in the Consistory to know what is going on in meetings. But I can withdraw from the candidate slate to avoid having two persons from one family in the Consistory." Mr. Lan then said very excitedly that if Mr. Tan was excused because of this reason, he would also like to remove his name from nomination. Pastor Boyce asked to end debate on this trivial matter. Mr. Tan accepted his nomination, and Mr. Lan apologized for his behavior and also accepted his nomination.

The six Elder candidates were now three Taiwanese, two Indians, and a white American. The three Taiwanese were elected. All six newly elected Consistory members were now Taiwanese. Two Taiwanese church members, Doctor Lon and James, expressed their opinion of the results to me. Doctor Lon said,

We vote for the Taiwanese because we know that they would really put in their efforts to make the church function. This is the most important criterion in voting. Before, there was a white elected but he did not attend Consistory meetings. How can we vote for those people whom we are not familiar with? You see,

there is almost no communication among the three ethnic groups. Clearly, the Taiwanese are now the majority in this church, so all those elected would be Taiwanese. But as I said, it is because we know what they stand for.

James said, "Three years ago a white Deacon, who passed away, complained that Taiwanese controlled the church, but what can I say? We cannot help it. We would like to have those whom we know work for the church. That is the way to make the church more successful."

The result of this election was not only that the English-language congregation would lose influence in the church, but also that the Tamil congregation did not reach its announced goal, to "get representation in the Consistory". Pastor Lo was concerned. In a later announcement he said that the church would like to call a meeting to find a solution to the problem of non-Taiwanese representation on the Consistory.

The Annual Meeting of January 31, 1988. This annual meeting was conducted by Pastor Lo; Pastor Boyce had retired in 1987. But something unusual happened as it started. Mr. John Tan, the Vice President of the Consistory, addressed the meeting. He announced,

Before Reverend David Boyce retired, he told the Consistory that Reverend Lo was actually an Associate Pastor instead of a Co-Pastor, because there is no such term as Co-Pastor in the Reformed Church in

America. Therefore we needed a Supervisor from outside to be in charge of the election, recognition, and installation of our new Senior Pastor. After receiving several recommendations from the ministers in the RCA, and holding several meetings, the Consistory elected to recognize Reverend Lo as the Pastor of this church, and to name him President of the Consistory, on January 19, 1988. Reverend Michael Otte, the Stated Clerk of the [RCA] Classis of Queens was in charge of the election. The Human Support Committee of the Classis of Queens accepted Reverend Lo to be called as Pastor of the Reformed Church of Newtown on January 27, 1988. Hereby I, as the Vice President, officially announce that Reverend Lo is the Pastor and the President of the Reformed Church of Newtown.

The title "Co-Pastor" had been used for Pastor Lo for several years. It had appeared on the printed Order of Service each Sunday. I even found that Reverend Boyce used the term "Co-Pastor" for Reverend Lo as early as the Taiwanese congregation's second anniversary brochure in 1981. The term "Co-Pastor" was also one of the Indian congregation's written goals in 1985, "the pastor to become co-pastor in the Reformed Church of Newtown."

If there was no such status, then why did Pastor Boyce use it himself? It was a term he introduced, generously, to indicate his strong welcoming of the new immigrant

members of Newtown Church. Perhaps he also used it to appease the Taiwanese majority, because the American group was shrinking. But when he retired, and the news came, it was a big blow to the Taiwanese group to find that their pastor could not assume the role Pastor Boyce held. They felt that they had contributed much to this church, and knew that Pastor Lo had done the work of God since 1951. Was Pastor Lo not as good as the American pastor? Eventually the Classis of Queens had to accept and recognize that Pastor Lo, on his own, could play the same role at the Reformed Church of Newtown as had Pastor Boyce according to the RCA's Book of Church Order.

As President of the Congregation, Pastor Lo announced his goals for the coming year--to find a minister to maintain the English Sunday service; to hire a Taiwanese youth minister, develop the Taiwanese American Reformed Church plans in Queens, support a Long Island Bible study group, and to enable the Tamil group to become self-supporting. He reported that the English service had about forty attending; a search committee for an English service minister had started its work a few months ago. The Taiwanese group had already donated more than \$460,000 for a Taiwanese American Reformed Church in Flushing, Queens; Pastor Lo hoped that this new church could be established in 1990. The Bible study group in Long Island indicated that another Taiwanese service might be established in the future. The goal of self-support for

the Tamil group was first stated by the Indian pastor in 1985, and I know that some Taiwanese were uncomfortable that the Tamils were still not self-supporting after four years.

The next order of business was the 1988 election of three Elders and three Deacons. As mentioned earlier, all six members elected in 1987 were Taiwanese, though the candidates included white Americans and Indians. Pastor Lo announced that the church would try to develop a system to protect the other two groups. I soon discovered that the plan was to give an Elder seat to the English-speaking group, and a Deacon seat to the Tamil group.

Pastor Lo announced that the election would begin. This year the voting was well organized in each group. I observed the Tamil people going in and out of the room to confer, especially as the man sitting next to me said "excuse me" several times, in order to exit and return. I later discovered he was the single Tamil candidate for the Deacon position. Pastor Lo also asked the people working in the kitchen to come into the main sanctuary to vote.

The atmosphere was tense. People were very quiet, and to Chinese proverbially, "quietness comes before the storm". The larger number of Tamils present this year was also related to the election. About twenty white Americans, forty Indians, and 220 Taiwanese were voting. Head-counting was going on to ensure that each congregation could have its place in the Consistory--if it reached a

certain number of members in attendance.

This year there were seven positions open because one Taiwanese Elder, who attended the English service, resigned so that an additional Elder slot would be available to the English-speaking group. Only seven persons were nominated, and no new nominees were added from the floor. All seven were elected. The English-language and the Tamil groups were, in effect, given their new seats on the Consistory by the Taiwanese congregation.

Some of the white American members felt uncomfortable because this was "their church." They had been here for a long time. How could the Taiwanese now exert so much influence in this church? The Indian members felt they had been overlooked for the past four years. They wanted to have a position on the Consistory; if not, then attending the Annual Meeting was in vain.

One Taiwanese member said that the Taiwanese service could only use the basement and had to pay \$200 for electricity and water when they joined this church in 1980, while the Indian group has been here for four years but paid nothing for any expenses, and they used the main sanctuary for worship. Some Taiwanese members no doubt felt dissatisfaction over the situation, and expected the English and Tamil groups to accept their Consistory seats and be grateful to the new "host" at Newtown Church. Others simply felt that, with five times the membership of the English-language group, the Taiwanese wanted to have a

major voice in the Consistory. They did not try to become a separate church. They only wanted full participation in church affairs.

The Taiwanese group is also concerned with church activities in Taiwan. At one Sunday service in March 1985, an appeal was made for donations for the construction of a Christian hospital in Taiwan. The church mailed a donation envelope to each member, to be brought to church on April 7. On the following Sunday Pastor Lo said,

The Treasurer told me that we did not have enough money for our budget and that we used the American congregation's interest in the bank for our expenses. But I still want to thank our Lord in Heaven because we contribute \$20,000 yearly to those in need, such as theological schools in Taiwan, and individual people. Last week we had a special donation to the Hsing-lau hospital in Taiwan. We gave \$4,000 to it, but we need \$5,000 in order to have a room with our name on it. We are \$1,000 short of that amount, so if anyone can, please put your check in the envelope and specify the purpose on the check.

Pastor Lo is sensitive to the Taiwanese attendants' positive attitude toward the Taiwan Government, and tries not to criticize it. He prefers to separate religion and politics.

I am a pastor and I don't care if you are right, left, or in between. When people ask me, I reply that I

belong to Christ's party. When I preached in Japan, the KMT supposed that I was a pastor of Communists because I did not attend any of their celebrations. The Communists thought that I was a pastor of the KMT because staff members working in the Taiwan Embassy attended my service. However, there were government spies within my congregation. They were Taiwanese and Christian too. They told me that they had to do it because it was their job, though they felt very sorry about it. Today, some attenders of Newtown Church do not want to leave their names and telephone numbers at the church, and leave immediately after the service, because they are afraid of being involved in politics.

Once Pastor Lo announced to the congregation: "There are about 90 people who attend this church quite often but who are not members. Some members have asked me to give them these people's names so that they can contact them. But I know if I do it, they might not come any longer." The church gives a newcomer a sheet of paper to fill in their name, address, and telephone number, but some choose not to do so. The church also rechecks its members' addresses and telephone numbers annually, but protects personal privacy as much possible, and does not freely give such information to other members.

The Newtown Taiwanese group has connections with the seven other Taiwanese churches in New York City. These eight congregations hold joint activities, as the following

examples illustrate.

Ping-pong tournament. Each spring one of the churches organizes the inter-church ping-pong tournament. The location is always a church in Flushing that has enough space for six tables. In 1985 the Reformed Church of Newtown was host, and Pastor Lo asked one male member to be in charge. The Reformed Church of Newtown held a contest to select its male and female adult and youth teams on a Sunday afternoon two months before the tournament. Newtown members bought the year's trophies, and transported the tables to the Flushing church one day before the tournament. Eight people worked till 1:30 a.m. on the day before the tournament setting up. The tournament was divided into a men's A division, men's B division, women's division, and youth division. In 1985 a total of 22 teams represented the eight churches. The women's club in each church prepared lunch for players and spectators. The tournament did not end until 10:00 p.m. The event also provided a social gathering for people who knew each other but attended different churches.

Softball tournament. Every summer there is a one-day softball tournament among the eight churches. I did not observe it, but when I drove some youth home after the ping-pong tournament in 1985, they told me that the day's arguments were trivial compared to what happened at the softball tournament in 1984. I was told that in 1985 Newtown Church and Winfield tied for first place. People

commented that it was better for Newtown Church not to be in first place because some members of the other churches resent Newtown's large membership and many activities.

Cemetery in Long Island. At the February 10, 1985 service Pastor Lo told the congregation,

The Taiwanese Christian Fellowship Association wants to buy a piece of land on Long Island as a cemetery for Taiwanese followers here. It will be divided into 600 units, at \$795 for a unit, with a monthly payment of only \$10. The other churches have many followers registered for plots, but no one told me about it earlier. These arrangements have to be made before the 15th of this month. Therefore if anyone thinks that he or she will live in New York all their life, and is willing to buy a cemetery plot, please come to talk to me.

There are communal cemeteries in some old overseas Chinese communities (Beck 1898), and now we see a similar development among the new Taiwanese immigrants. However, in the earlier cases the organization was done by the CCBA or clan associations; today it is churches that take this initiative.

Attendance at the Reformed Church of Newtown is from all three class backgrounds--professionals, small business owners, and workers. But all dress neatly, in ties and jackets or dresses--I only once saw a woman wear jeans. People from outside may see this church as a middle class

church because all dress similarly. However, the proportion of household composition, according to pastor Lo, "25% professionals, 35% business owners, and 40% working class. Many professionals were in the New Jersey branch church so now its percentage is lower."

Nonetheless, people in the different classes sit with each other during the service and at lunch. Everyone talks, eats, and plays ping-pong together. But, significantly, all the Taiwanese Elders and Deacons are either professionals, such as medical doctors, or successful and rich business owners. I do not know of any Elders or Deacons from the working class.

One informant who attends several Taiwanese churches and is not a member of the Reformed Church of Newtown said, "Have you been to Newtown Church? I have attended it several times. People there give me a feeling of intimacy. That is why so many people like to attend this church. This is why the Reformed Church of Newtown's Taiwanese group grows so fast." However, a member of Reformed Church of Newtown told me, "The bigger the tree is, the more the wind shakes it. The stronger you are, the more enemies you make. This is why Newtown Church should not be in first place in any tournament; otherwise a lot of disputes will result."

Pastor Lo, like other ministers in overseas Chinese communities, is quite clear about the church's role in the new environment. The church not only provides a spiritual

message to the congregation but also offers a range of activities to its followers. In addition to the regular and holiday social activities, and recreational events we have discussed, Reformed Church of Newtown has held forums on small business operations and insurance for the Taiwanese group. There is also a bulletin board for people to post advertisements of houses for rent, furniture for sale, and job offerings.

CH'AN MEDITATION CENTER

At this two-story Buddhist temple in Elmhurst, the door is usually locked; one has to ring the bell before one can enter. People take off their shoes, and the interior floor is paved with plastic tiles, and is very clean. People sit on the floor to listen to the master's teaching. There are some statues of Buddha on the altar, so that one can sit and meditate alone as well. One of my informant's wife came here often to meditate.

After I rang the bell, a young monk who could not speak Chinese answered. After I explained my research, he said he had to go to speak to the master upstairs. A young white American entered the temple after me to worship. Then a Chinese man, Mr. Cheung, who was from Taiwan and now worked in a Chinese restaurant, came down and told me the master was very busy because he was leaving for Taipei the next day, and he would not be able to talk to me. Mr. Cheung told me that there were about thirty members in this

temple. These members were those designated by the master after following his teaching for a period of time. About ten members were non-Chinese.

Mr. Cheung did not think that the temple had much importance in this neighborhood. He said that on Sunday morning people came to worship. In the afternoon, people would sit and listen to the preaching of the master. He said that the number in attendance was only about thirty persons.

Things had changed three years later when I attended the celebration of Buddha's birthday on May 10, 1987. It was a day-long celebration, but I went in the afternoon. When I arrived, I saw a monk preaching to about eighty people, the majority of them Chinese. A young man interpreted into English for about fifteen non-Chinese persons, including whites, Blacks and Latin Americans.

The CPC is a professional and well-organized institution serving the Chinese community and funded by government and other sources. Many Chinese immigrants are surprised when they find out that they can receive an allowance during one's training period, or the cheap lunch provided for seniors. Their work load has become heavier year by year due to the influx of Chinese immigrants arriving in Queens. For example, the senior center has only 3 full-time workers to serve hundreds of elderly people, to help them apply for various entitlements or to

provide escort services.

Compared to CPC, CISI is a private and non-professional service agency, and Mrs. Win has tried to do her best to help Chinese immigrants. She was enthusiastic, but her strategies did not involve many people in her work. She has received very little financial aid, making her work even more difficult.

Bilingual education is important to the children of new immigrants. However, some parents do not want their children to forget their Chinese roots. Many grandparents complain about the lack of communication with their grandchildren due to the language barrier. The main function of these Chinese schools is to help children to preserve their Chinese language heritage.

Protestant churches play an important role in the Chinese immigrant community. They meet not only spiritual needs, but also provide secular activities to their congregations. They try to preserve Chinese tradition when it is compatible with Christianity. Within the churches, we can see the demographic change in this community--whites declined as new minorities grew. Different ethnic groups sharing one church has more and more become a familiar phenomenon, but this may cause tensions or misunderstandings among them. Although this phenomenon is not a new one among diverse immigrant communities, (Tricarico 1980), it is new for Chinese immigrants. In the Reformed Church of Newtown the Taiwanese membership is now

the majority. Other Taiwanese or Chinese services in different churches may not reach this stage, and some might move to rent larger quarters, or purchase buildings for themselves, before they do.

Although there are only few Buddhist temples in this community, I found some private home altars, which provide lectures and seminars for 20 or 30 people. More frequent and larger Buddhist services have appeared in recent years. Fortune tellers and feng shui (wind and water geomancy), both belonging to Chinese folk belief systems, are more popular today. We are doubtless going to see a more variable religious atmosphere in Queens soon, because of the arrivals of the new immigrants.

CHAPTER 8. ASSOCIATIONS AS BRIDGES BETWEEN THE CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE COMMUNITY

In this chapter, I examine those voluntary associations that serve as bridges between the Chinese population of Queens and the non-Chinese whom they live among. One important factor in these inter-ethnic relations is the highly-educated backgrounds of the Chinese leadership, the members of the association boards of directors. They form a large group of persons who can deal with non-Chinese directly. This, however, also allows these Chinese community leaders to be independent of each other. Compared to the highly centralized leadership of the CCBAs of Chinatowns in the past, the association leadership group of the contemporary Queens Chinese population is a larger, less unified, more independent group, and includes both men and women.

My analysis will concern five organizations: the Flushing Chinese Business Association (FCBA), the Chinese American Voters Association of Queens, New York (CAVA), the Chinese Womens Association of Queens (CWAQ), the American Chinese Womens Association (ACWA), and the Chinese American Parents' Association, Inc. (CAPA). The five major organizations discussed here, despite overlap and interaction among their leaderships, operate on their own, cooperating at times, but not as part of one pyramidal structure. As we shall see, they also interact with

leaders of the two social service organizations discussed in the last chapter--the Queens branch of the Chinese-American Planning Council (CPA) and Chinese Immigrants Services Inc. (CISI)--and with Chinese newspaper reporters.

FLUSHING CHINESE BUSINESS ASSOCIATION

The FCBA was founded in 1982. The purposes of this Association are to promote Chinese business in the Flushing area, to establish working relationships between Chinese and other ethnic groups, and to participate in community affairs. In the past seven years, the FCBA has held many activities for its members, such as seminars on insurance, real estate, and taxation. It has participated in activities outside the Chinese community in order to promote mutual understanding between Chinese and non-Chinese. The FCBA has probably the most extensive connections beyond the Chinese population of all the Chinese voluntary associations in Queens.

The 1984 FCBA Annual Meeting. There were about 100 members in its first year, but when I attended the 1984 annual general meeting, I found that only 54 members had paid the membership fee for that year. The meeting was held in August 1984 in a Chinese restaurant in Flushing. There were less than thirty in attendance, including a few honorary members and Chinese newspaper reporters. Of the twenty or so businessmen at this annual meeting, most were

FCBA board members.

Mandarin was used as the language of the meeting. The first item was a report by Mr. Liang, the FCBA chairman; he listed twenty accomplishments of the organization in its first two years.

1. FCBA was a coordination and communication center for Chinese immigrant retail businessmen and professionals.
2. Editing the first Flushing Chinese telephone directory.
3. Producing a street map of Chinese businesses and stores in Flushing.
4. Introducing Flushing to the public through the mass media.
5. Publishing a monthly newsletter to report on business and community activities; the newsletter is free, and is available at some Flushing Chinese stores.
6. Establishing connections with non-Chinese associations.
7. Offering services to new Chinese immigrants.
8. Organizing business forums on law, real estate, and insurance.
9. Holding an annual party in the Christmas season; more than 300 attended the party in 1983.
10. Sponsoring a lion dance group for the first time in Flushing for the Chinese lunar New Year.
11. Holding two picnics.
12. Mediating disputes between members, and between members and non-members, including a dispute between Chinese and Korean jewellery stores on Union Street in Flushing.

13. Helping non-Chinese understand Chinese customs; Mr. Chiu was invited to explain some Chinese customs at a meeting held at the Flushing police station.
14. Selecting board member Mr. Ying to join the Flushing Downtown Development Corporation.
15. Clarifying misunderstandings among non-Chinese about the Chinese in Flushing; for example, explaining that rising prices for real estate were not because of Chinese purchases.
16. Selecting members to represent the FCBA in activities organized by non-Chinese.
17. Visiting new Chinese stores to express a willingness to provide assistance.
18. Helping volunteer policemen distribute pamphlets and leaflets.
19. Offering funds for Chinese community activities.
20. Holding forums on security with lectures by police officers.

Following this report, the main task of the evening was to elect a new board of directors. The question was raised whether an election was valid if less than half the members were present, and a board member who was a lawyer assured the groups that it was. Two days after the meeting the seven new board members were announced in the Chinese newspapers. They were:

Mr. Liang (restaurateur and construction company owner)

17 votes.

Mr. Ong (gift shop owner) 15 votes.

Mr. Chop (lawyer) 12 votes.

Mr. Ying (realtor) 12 votes.

Mr. Chiu (architect) 11 votes.

Mr. Tsang (insurance broker) 9 votes.

Mr. Hop (travel agent) 8 votes.

All of these men were highly educated, and all were immigrants from Taiwan. Six of the seven had received a master or doctoral degree in the United States, and the other was a college graduate.

Problems of Chinese Business Security in Flushing. The next major FCBA activity was a forum on business security held on November 28, 1984, in the basement of a Flushing Chinese restaurant. Several Chinese stores in the community had been subjected to extortion by Hwa-ching (), a Chinese youth gang from Manhattan Chinatown, during the summer of 1984. But those who attended the forum were primarily community leaders, and not the businesses affected. Five officers from the Flushing 109th Police Precinct were joined at the meeting by three FCBA board members and by Mr. Cing, a civil servant and FCBA member; a Chinese lawyer who had recently established an office in Flushing; Mrs. Cong, director of the CPC Queens branch; the non-Chinese chairman of the Flushing Chamber of Commerce, invited by FCBA board member Roger Ong; and three Chinese newspaper reporters.

Two detectives from the Police Juvenile Squad brought

two volumes of Hua-ching gang member photographs for identification purposes, and urged that people make reports immediately after they have been extorted. They emphasized that people should tell the gang members "the boss is not here; come back tomorrow afternoon at five," but some in the audience felt this would not be good advice if too many stores tried it. The officer also said that "people could give up their money first and report it to the police station later."

The 109th Precinct Captain emphasized that it was the businessmen who had to come to the police station to make reports, and not the police who would come to them. However, the Chinese objected to this kind of "bottom-to-top" communication between the people and the police. (In Taiwan, people see the policeman as on top and themselves on the bottom). At this point someone raised a question about the procedure for sending the extorters to court. The Captain said, "If one doesn't want to be a witness in court, the police can do nothing, even if a report is made to the police station, and the extortionists are immediately caught." He added that he hoped people would work with the police to eliminate this kind of crime, and that their efforts would not be in vain. Ironically the Hua-ching extortionists appeared the next day in a Flushing Chinese restaurant, although no money was surrendered.

From this event it was obvious that coordination of

community participation is not easy among the Flushing Chinese voluntary associations. Indeed, the FCBA general secretary told me that his office made more than one hundred calls to invite people to come to the security forum, and none of those called attended. At the next FCBA board meeting a member complained that one association did not keep its word to send its members. "Mrs. Win told me that they had more than one hundred members, and I said sending fifteen was good enough. She said that they would surely come, but none of them showed up last night. I was really upset."

Despite the failure of the security forum, the FCBA decided to hold another one, and to put more effort into having people come. On March 13, 1985, the second forum was held in another Chinese restaurant. This time about thirty attended: the 109th Precinct Captain and Community Affairs officer, eight reporters, eight FCBA board members, and a dozen businessmen and workers.

After a brief introduction, the police officers spoke. They both emphasized that an extortion victim should be calm, and immediately report the crime to the police station. The Captain said, "This is not Chinatown where the gangs are more organized. Flushing is a new area and only the White Tigers have come from outside into this community. This was the first gang to enter Elmhurst and Jackson Heights [in Queens]. The members are scattered around and it is not well organized yet. If you make a

report to the police, the gangs will not retaliate physically."

Mr. Liang, the owner of a Chinese restaurant, said, I had the same experience before. We called the police station and they came to catch them within one minute. Be sure to make a report to the police. I knew a restaurant that gave \$20 to the gangsters the first time, and \$60 the second time, and then the extortionists came to eat without paying the bill. Finally, the boss called the police station to catch them.

Mr. Liang's restaurant was very close to the police station, and as a former president of the FCBA, his call to the police would have certainly gotten a prompt response.

The Captain mentioned that there were at least four reports of extortion in Chinese stores in the last two weeks. He recognized that the number was probably higher because some Chinese might not report the crimes. He also recognized that there was a language problem, and he hoped that some Chinese interpreters would volunteer to help when needed. Mr. Ong asked people to write their names and addresses if they would be willing to do so. Mrs. Win, who was present this time, said she had a hotline that has helped the community in the past, and that she could also help in this case.

In the question period that followed the presentation, a young man told the story of an extortion episode at his

restaurant.

Two young men, about 17 or 18 years old, came to the restaurant asking for money. My father said "no" to them, and they left without taking anything. We have to be very strong to deal with these kids. If you give them money once, they will come back again and again. If you say no, they will not come back because they know that you will make a report to the police station.

Another restaurant owner said,

Once they came to extort me at my restaurant. I offered them \$20, but they refused to take it and wanted me to come out. For my own safety, I gave them \$100. The other experience I had was that a white man came to eat and said that he would pay the next time because he did not have enough money. He does this again and again so how can I deal with this case?

The Captain said, "If you call the police, we will go and catch him." "Can you do it?" the restaurant owner asked. "Sure! He received service; he has to pay for it."

(However, there was a similar case reported in the Chinese press in 1988. A non-Chinese man ate in a Chinese restaurant without paying his bill. The owner and a second Chinese man caught him after chasing him several blocks. A police patrol car arrived, and the officers told the two Chinese men that they should not be bothered by such a small thing [World Journal 2/20/88]).

The topic then shifted to burglary in Flushing. The owner of a large grocery store started complaining that his store had been burgled several times and the police had done nothing about it. The Captain denied they did not investigate burglaries, but several people responded disbelievingly. They said the police arrived late, asked what was stolen, and gave forms to the owners to fill out for the purpose of income tax deductions. The Captain repeated that merchants should make reports to the police and added that the police could give advice on which alarm system to install.

Another Chinese restaurant owner said,

All of you say that the police are always too late to help. I was extorted six years ago and the police caught them immediately. Then no people came to extort me again. I suggest that neighboring stores should look out for each other and install a bell system so when anything happens to one store, the others can be informed, and immediate action could be taken. I was told Korean stores have such installations, and that the results are good.

Mr. Liang added, "We, the Chinese, are too polite, I was told that the Koreans beat the thieves first, and call the police second."

FBCA board member Mr. Chin spoke next. "The Community Affairs officer feels that the Chinese are afraid of going to the police station. I hope that we are not afraid

because the police here are different than in China. The police are here to protect people." Someone in the audience responded,

I heard the Captain say the same thing last time. If the Chinese are afraid of going to the station, then this bottom-to-top system has to be modified. Why don't they provide two-way communication? For example, police officers can go to the stores to tell the owners what they should do when they are robbed. Then, the owners may have more confidence in the police and be comfortable with them if something happens.

The Captain replied, "I hope that we will have enough men to do this. And I also hope that we can find a Chinese police officer to work here. It could help us solve some communication problems."

Chinese-Korean Relations in Flushing. During the same time that the FCBA was dealing with the Flushing police precinct around issues of business security and youth gang extortion, it was also developing a working relationship with the large Korean community. The two important elements in this relationship were joint efforts to solve disputes between Chinese and Korean businessmen, and the tie established between the FCBA and the Korean American Association of Flushing (KAAF).

The first dispute occurred in 1984 when a new Chinese jewellery store opened next to a Korean jewellery store on

Union Street in Flushing. According to Chinese custom, friends and relatives of the owner came to congratulate him and buy something to show their support. Because of this he made an great deal of money on his first day, and alarmed the Korean merchant next door. The Korean was envious, and afraid his business would be taken away by the Chinese store. He came into the Chinese merchant's store, and started to argue violently with him. Through joint effort of the FCBA and the KAAF, the dispute was mediated and both stores stayed. The Chinese owner told me that the Korean bought him a banquet at a restaurant to show his apology to him.

Another case arose in June 1985. The odor from a Korean fish store on Union Street was annoying to several neighboring Chinese stores. Complaints by these stores filed with the Sanitation Department caused the fish store to be fined. The Chinese landlord of the fish store also received complaints from the other stores, and was unhappy about this. He tried to sue the fish store owner after he discovered that he had made an alteration technically not allowed in the lease. The disputes among these parties became so antagonistic that the KAAF asked the FCBA to help solve then.

The communication and joint efforts between the Chinese and Korean businessmen led to the establishment of a "sister organization" [姊妹會] relationship between the two associations. In 1985 two joint meetings were held by

the two associations. At the first, on July 9, the members discussed how to make relations between these two ethnic groups more harmonious, and how to persuade both Chinese and Korean businesses to make English store signs now that more non-Asians were shopping in them. One member proposed that contact between the two ethnic groups should not necessarily be limited to meetings of the two associations; it should involve people from the two groups in as many activities as possible, including picnics, games, and sports. Although many reacted warmly to this sentiment, no such joint social activities between Chinese and Koreans have been organized by the two associations.

After the election for officers of the Korean Business Association in June 1986, however, the FCBA held a party to congratulate the new board of directors. Both organizations reaffirmed a willingness to work together in business activities, and also in political events. In return, the KAAF invited the FCBA leaders to a party at a Korean restaurant in Flushing; officers from the 109th Police Precinct, and representatives of Queens College, located in Flushing, also attended. (The Queens College representatives were two anthropologists studying the Korean and Chinese communities in Queens, Kyeyoung Park and myself.)

Downtown Flushing Beautification. Since 1985, the FCBA and the Korean Business Association have staged an annual downtown Flushing clean-up event to demonstrate their

concern for the community. In the Chinese community, this has received co-sponsorship from the Hongkong Bank, the Asian Bank, City Bank, Chemical Bank (through a board member's connection), the World Journal (a Chinese newspaper), and local Chinese businesses. Donations have included money to provide T-shirts, flyers, and soft drinks for participants.

I joined the 1987 clean-up event. About fifty Chinese and Korean people gathered at the corner of Main Street and Roosevelt Avenue waiting for their assignments. Then the people divided into several groups and, with brooms and plastic bags, started to clean the surrounding streets. The participants wore "I Love Flushing" t-shirts distributed by the FCBA. The Chinese were mainly FCBA board members, their families and friends, and newspaper reporters who cleaned the streets and took pictures at the same time. Some people treated this like a social occasion, and were happy to join their friends in the activity. All worked hard, in a cheeful atmosphere. After seeing them, some businessmen came out to clean the sidewalks in front of their stores, some also thanking the participants. Passersby would also express appreciation of the work done that day.

In October 1986 the FCBA decided to beautify the large and busy Main Street subway station in Flushing. The board of directors presented a proposal to the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), and discussed it with their

staff. At first the MTA objected to the FCBA doing their work for them, and probably doubted the FCBA's ability to handle the job. An MTA spokesperson said that twenty stations would be beautified in 1987, and asked FCBA not to get involved. But the FCBA persisted, and after presenting a detailed plan, the MTA finally agreed.

The FCBA began the work on December 8, 1986. In order to finish as quickly as possible, three companies were asked to assist. For the convenience of subway riders, the work was done at night after ten o'clock. The main job was to paint the station ceiling. The FCBA board members took turns supervising. The MTA and the 109th Police Precinct agreed to send additional officers to patrol the station for the workers' safety. The painting was completed on December 20, 1986.

On December 22 a ceremony was held in the Main Street subway station to celebrate the beautification effort. Dr. Jang, president of the FCBA, announced, "It is our gift to the community for this holiday season." Two plaques commemorating the event, one in English and one in Chinese, were unveiled on opposite sides of the station. Among the invited guests were representatives of the MTA, City Council member Julia Harrison; Ms. Regina Colleta, District Manager of Community Board 7; Ms. Myra Baird Herce, Downtown Flushing Development Corporation director; the president of the Flushing Merchants Association (mainly American in membership); a representative of the Queens

Borough President; and representatives of the Korean Business Association. The work had received financial support from Chinese individuals; Citibank, the Asian Bank, and Hong Kong Bank; Chinese Flushing merchants, and the FCBA itself. The audience learned that the FCBA was the first civic group to clean a subway station in New York City.

The second stage of the station beautification work started on March 16, 1987, and another ceremony was held on March 30. Many of those at the first ceremony returned, and were joined by a special assistant to Mayor Edward Koch; Louise Raymond, director of Immigrant Affairs at Queens Borough Hall; the Captain of the 109th Precinct; State Assemblyman Morton Hillman; and representatives of several Chinese associations.

Another significant step toward community involvement in Flushing through beautification efforts was undertaken by the FCBA in 1987. For many years, the Flushing Merchants' Association had financed decoration of the main Flushing shopping streets with Christmas lights, but in 1987 they announced that they could not raise enough money. After hearing this news, the FCBA president Dr. Yang spoke with other members of the board of directors, and they agreed to join in paying for the Christmas light expenses. After receiving commitments from the Chinese community, the FCBA met with the Flushing Merchants Association to offer their cooperation. The two

organizations agreed to share the cost.

But the FCBA involvement brought changes. The period for hanging the Christmas lights, from Thanksgiving to January 1, was extended until the Chinese lunar New Year in the middle of February 1988. And four strips of lights, each costing \$600, were added along the block extending west to Prince Street from the crossroads of Roosevelt Avenue and Main Street. Eighty percent of the businesses on this block were Chinese-owned. No lights were put up on the opposite block, extending east, where there were only one or two Chinese stores. A street lighting ceremony was held on December 4, 1987, in front of Asia Bank. It was cold, but many Chinese and non-Chinese leaders were invited; most of those at the subway beautification ceremonies were again in attendance.

Some other activities of the FCBA beyond the Chinese community can be briefly summarized. Working with the Downtown Flushing Development Corporation, the FCBA agreed to find Chinese artists to repaint the grafitti-covered wall on Lippmann Plaza, a vest-pocket park in the Flushing shopping area. Two weeks after the painting was completed in September 1987 the wall was again covered with grafitti. The 109th Precinct said it could not patrol that area at night. The painters agreed to try again, and a ceremony was held on December 10, 1987. The second painting was admired by many, and a photograph of it by Miss Lum, a Chinese newspaper reporter, was selected for a

postcard. However this painting now has been defaced again. The FCBA also established a \$1,250 scholarship for a Queens College freshman, with no stipulation that she or he be Chinese. In 1987 when Queens College celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, the FCBA presented a program of Chinese dancing and a demonstration of a traditional wedding ceremony.

FCBA Activities in the Flushing Chinese Community. The FCBA has attempted to balance its developing relationships with the non-Chinese community with activities for the Chinese of Flushing as well. Several events illustrate this.

1. Dragon dance parade for Chinese lunar New Year. The Chinese New Year is the most important festival day in Chinese society, and overseas Chinese continue to celebrate this holiday. To keep its public presence alive in a culturally diverse community, the FCBA has sponsored lion and dragon dance processions in Flushing. In February 1983 the FCBA tried to do it with its own membership, but due to snow, the event did not turn out well. The members also learned it was not easy for amateurs to perform the lion dance. Nothing more was attempted until 1987, when a lion dance team was hired from a Chinese gung-fu center in Chinatown. To celebrate Chinese lunar New Year in February 1988, the FCBA sponsored the first dragon dance group to perform in Flushing. On that day the dragon danced throughout downtown Flushing, on Main Street, Roosevelt

Avenue, Union Street, Kissena Boulevard, Northern Boulevard, and Prince Street. The noise of firecrackers could be heard everywhere. Chinese and non-Chinese people all watched the procession. Chinese stores not only set off firecrackers, but also gave red envelopes of money to the FCBA for the expenses of the celebration. Even some non-Chinese gave red envelopes, sharing the good luck that is believed to derive from this custom.

2. Translating English publications into Chinese. Several members of the FCBA board translated an English-language publication, "Minding Your Own Business in Queens," into Chinese in 1987. This guide provided basic information for people who wished to start their own business.

3. Flushing Chinese population study. At the end of 1986, the FCBA analyzed the Queens telephone directory, and surveyed Chinese businesses in Flushing. The work resulted in an estimate of 61,387 Chinese residents and working people in Flushing. This was only a rough estimate, but it was the first time that the Chinese community attempted to calculate its own population size, knowing that the 1980 Census data were both an underestimate then, and by 1986 out of date.

4. Tracking Chinese business growth in Flushing. To keep track of the number of Chinese stores in Flushing, FCBA board members use commercial advertisements in the newspapers and their personal knowledge about the area. Their calculations show that there were 242 Chinese

businesses in December 1985, 327 in February 1987, 345 in July 1987, 353 in November 1987, and 394 in March 1988 (FCBA 1988:5). These numbers are not exact because some businesses do not advertise, and some operate from houses and are not known to the board members. The FCBA count of knitting factories is only eight; many more such shops certainly exist in the Flushing area.

5. Seminars and lectures for members and the public.

Seminars on insurance, real estate investment, and other subjects are held several times a year. Some members of the board of directors are experts in these fields; they share their knowledge with members and non-members.

As their activities demonstrate, the FCBA works not only inside its own ethnic group, but also across ethnic boundaries. Its economic, social, cultural, and political activities bring it in contact particularly with American government officials, business men and women, the police, and with the Korean community. Inside the Chinese community, the FCBA has increased its membership from forty-seven in 1983 to 203 in 1987. But this is still less than half of the total of Chinese businesses in Flushing. Moreover, the figure includes mainly Taiwan businesses; only a few FCBA member businesses are Cantonese-owned.

CHINESE AMERICAN VOTERS ASSOCIATION OF QUEENS, NEW YORK

CAVA was established in April 1983. Its founders were Mr. Ong and Mr. Cing. They first discussed together such a

political organization at the grand opening of the Grand Pacific Bank in Flushing in 1982. With growing numbers of Chinese in Queens, they felt the time had come for an organization to represent their positions in electoral politics.

Both founders had lived in the United States for many years. Mr. Cing had an M.A. in Criminology from Michigan State University, and worked in the New York City Youth Service Agency for several years. His work concerned youth problems in Chinatown, and he had many contacts with the CCBA and other associations there. Though not a businessman, he was also a co-founder of the FCBA. Mr. Ong received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Illinois at Carbondale.

Both men understood the importance of grassroots political work. At that time, they thought the Chinese were not yet powerful enough to influence national or state elections, but they should be able to exert some influence in local politics. This would require building a strong base in Flushing and in Queens. They said that the Chinese needed two piaws or "tickets"--chau piaw (money) and sheuan piao (ballots). The second piaw would be the aim of the new organization. At the end of 1982 Mr. Cing, Mr. Ong and some friends held a planning meeting at Mr. Ong's house to discuss the goals and organization of CAVA. Next they announced its formation in the Chinese newspapers, and urged Chinese Americans--United States citizens eligible to

vote--to join.

CAVA's First Year. The first CAVA meeting was held in April 1983 at a library in Flushing. Already the organization had a list of 110 members, and around 70 people attended this meeting. Mr. Ong made the opening speech. He emphasized that CAVA was concerned only with politics in the United States, and not with the political situations in Taiwan, mainland China, or any other Chinese political struggles. The organization was dedicated solely to promoting the political interests of Chinese Americans. To Mr. Ong and most of those in the audience such a stance was important; they did not want to involve themselves in political issues that might cause trouble to relatives outside the United States, or be divisive to Chinese Americans. Mr. Ong introduced members of the organizing group. After discussion about finances and rules, the election for offices and board of directors began, and most people left after they voted. Mr. Ong was elected president.

CAVA's first activity was to introduce to its members the three candidates competing in the Democratic State Assembly District 26 (Queens) primary: Julia Harrison, who later won, and her two challengers. CAVA sent information on the backgrounds and positions of the candidates to its members, and asked them to make their own decision. I was told that Julia Harrison had contacted CAVA, asking for support. After she was elected, she promised to help the

Chinese gain representation in local Flushing civic organizations. In June 1983 Mr. Ong and Mr. Chip, a member of the CAVA board, visited the three candidates in Queens Assembly District 14 (Long Island City and Astoria), and introduced CAVA to them. Mr. Ong said, "In this way no matter who wins, the seat will carry the message of CAVA to the State Assembly. They should know how they can help if they want to receive support from the Chinese community." That same month another Flushing politician, State Senator Leonard Stavisky, wrote a letter to CAVA saying that he would like to keep in touch by participating in its activities, speaking at its meetings, and helping to solve the community's problems.

In July 1983 CAVA announced the location of seven community service stations in Queens to help people with voter registration, to distribute pamphlets and flyers describing candidates, and to answer questions about the election process. These stations were located in CAVA members' stores. One was a Chinese restaurant whose owner was a Chinese Korean (an overseas Chinese immigrant from Korea) who could speak Korean, and answer any Chinese Korean inquiries. CAVA also had 17 "zip code representatives" to contact members in their respective zip code districts by telephone to ask them to vote on election day. In August CAVA issued a brochure listing names and telephone numbers of its board of directors and zip code representatives, the addresses and telephone numbers of the

seven community service stations, its bylaws, and maps of Queens Congressional, State Assembly and Senate, City Council, and School Board districts.

In September 1983 CAVA held a meeting of its board of directors, zip code representatives, and community service station representatives. More than 40 people attended. The total CAVA membership had grown to 260 in just six months. Several suggestions were made at the meeting, including printing the CAVA brochure in both Chinese and English so that those who did not understand Chinese could read it. Each board member and zip code representative was urged to visit Chinese American citizens, and to urge Taishan and Cantonese-speakers to join. Contact was also requested with non-Chinese groups in order to broaden Chinese influence in community politics.

By the end of 1983 CAVA President Ong had written 38 letters to elected officials; some had responded that they were willing to help in CAVA's activities, and even to provide job opportunities to Chinese. He was aware, however, of Chinese skepticism about joining CAVA. People were reluctant to join mainly out of concern for its political alignment. Many Chinese attempted to classify CAVA, as they did other associations, either as Kuomintang (KMT)--the ruling party in Taiwan--as Communist, or as pro-Taiwan independence. CAVA members and their political affiliations were questioned. Some people thought that because Ong's brother ran for mayor in Taiwan as a KMT

candidate, Mr. Ong must have KMT ties also. Mr. Cing, a police officer in Taiwan and a mainlander, was suspected of either working for the KMT, or favoring unification between mainland China and Taiwan. Some questioned CAVA's sources of financial backing. (At the first annual CAVA party in 1984, a Taiwanese man in fact stopped several people from joining CAVA when he claimed it was a KMT front.) In addition to these suspicions, many Chinese said they simply did not want to be bothered with American politics.

Some Chinese who were interested in American politics felt it was important to have Chinese members on New York City community boards in order to understand local problems and development policies. Mr. Ong discussed this with Julia Harrison who agreed to recommend Chinese members for appointment to Flushing's Community Board 7 in 1984 if the Chinese community could name appropriate candidates. State Assembly member (later city Council member) Harrison seemed ready to be helpful and cooperative with CAVA, and Mr. Ong next asked her to help a Chinese who had waited four years for a green card in the United States. Ms. Harrison wrote a letter asking Congressman Gary Ackerman of Queens for help in the matter.

Testimonials and Consolidation. In 1984 CAVA held its first annual party on May 12, and its yearly general meeting on May 19. For the party, CAVA hired Chinese actors and singers to perform. Although more than 500 people attended the party, the general meeting had an

attendance of only 50 members. The board of directors was embarrassed by the turnout, especially because many American politicians were guests at the meeting, including Julia Harrison, State Assemblyman Clifford Wilson, Congressman James Scheuer, State Senator Stavisky, and an assistant to Congressman Ackerman. Nonetheless, a much-appreciated present for CAVA's one year birthday was the recognition given it by two Queens Congressmen in their statements published in the Congressional Record.

From Congressman Joseph P. Addabbo:

Saturday, May 19, the Chinese-American Voters Association in Queens, N.Y., will celebrate their first anniversary. The celebration has special significance this year because all Americans are faced with the important decisions of electing their Congressman and the President of the United States.... I feel it is very important to understand and be sensitized to the individual cultural needs of groups within my district. I find that groups such as the Chinese-American Voters Association provide an excellent means of improving communication. As a result, I am able to more effectively represent this constituency in Congress. By exercising the right to vote, we strengthen our democracy. The Chinese-American Voters Association not only strengthen our democracy by encouraging Chinese-Americans to vote, but in the process of

educating and publicizing the need to vote, they inform all Americans about this responsibility.

From Congressman Gary L. Ackerman:

On May 19, the Chinese-American Voters Association of Queens, will celebrate its first anniversary. This remarkable organization serves the unique purpose of educating Chinese-Americans in Queens County, N.Y., about voting and election processes, and the intricacies of local, State, and Federal politics.... The Chinese-American Voters Association strives to help new arrivals in Queens attain greater political awareness of local and national issues.... This group itself conducts massive voter registration drives to add new citizens to the election rolls (Congressional Record May 17, 1984).

An Asian American Heritage fair was held in the Queens Botanical Garden in Flushing on May 27, 1984, and CAVA was the only Chinese non-profit organization with a table there. I saw Mr. Ong and another board member recruiting for CAVA; a total of 18 new members were registered that day. By the end of May, CAVA had 420 members. Also in May, Mr. Ong used his status as president of CAVA to ask Congressman James Scheuer to help a man obtain a green card for his parents. They were needed to babysit so that the mother of the new infant could continue working. Mr. Ong attributed his success to CAVA's growing contacts with non-Chinese politicians.

On June 15 the board of directors elected the month before held their first meeting. The discussion included the following issues for the coming year:

1. Increasing membership to 1,000; in order to reach this goal, every board member had to recruit ten new members, and old members recruit three new members.
2. Using Flushing to experiment with sending letters to all Chinese names in the telephone directory, asking them to join CAVA. If this succeeded, the method could be repeated for other areas.
3. Purchasing the registration books of the Democratic and Republican parties, and sending letters encouraging Chinese voters to join CAVA.
4. Strengthening contact with Queens politicians, especially the Queens Borough President.
5. Publishing a quarterly newsletter.
6. Making contact with other "oriental" ethnic associations.
7. Introducing 1984 candidates to CAVA members before the election.

CAVA soon expanded its local stations in members' stores to twelve, and began a voter registration drive in Queens. Each day they registered more than ten, and some of them joined CAVA. Because of this effort, CAVA's numbers increased to 670 by the middle of October 1984. CAVA had five 5 hotlines on election day in 1984 to answer people's questions. The hotlines received about fifty

calls asking where they should go to vote, or how to vote. Some people even went to Mr. Ong's store to ask for assistance. Mr. Ong had a model voting machine, and showed people how to operate it. CAVA claimed that 90 percent of its members voted on election day.

At a board meeting in December 1984 Mr. Ong reported on recent CAVA activities. He said that the six registration stations for the September 22 drive had registered more than 200 voters; 80 of them were Chinese, and 29 of these had joined CAVA. Mr. Ong had also written to City Councilman Joseph Lisa about the fighting among students of different ethnic groups at Newtown High School in Elmhurst, but there was no response yet. On behalf of CAVA's Public Relations Division, he wrote two background articles for the Chinese newspapers pre-election introducing the Republican and Democratic parties. Two letters to the Honda and Toyota corporations describing CAVA had brought the response that they might consider making donations next year.

Each of CAVA's six divisions then reported. For the Liaison Division, Mr. Cing said that due to the increase in members, another community station was to be established in Jamaica, and seven more zip code representatives appointed. Membership now totaled 698. The result of each board member's pledge to recruit ten members were as follows: Mr. Ong, 69 members; Mr. Tin, 42; Mrs. Win, 35; other board members had smaller numbers, and two or three

had recruited none. For the Election Drive Division, Mr. Li and Mrs. Yip, the report was discouraging:

This is the first year and the time was so short that we could not do what we planned to do. We sent the namelist of members to the zip code representatives, but the names in the list did not correspond with each zip code.... Some representatives mailed the list back to us, so we know how many calls they made, and how many people they contacted, and in some cases we even know how many people voted. Next time we should start our work earlier in order to have a better job.

Information and Development Division board member Mr. Tin said, "Our division has done all that we should do. I wrote an informal article using my personal name instead of CAVA, and a pen name to write five other articles in the newspapers before the election. We tried to introduce all 69 candidates but the materials came too late. It was not our fault." Speaking for the Public Relation Division, Mrs. Win said that she and Mr. Hung did "nothing except write letters to Assemblymen, but there was no response yet." She also complained that other board members did not delegate work to her because they were afraid that she could do a better job than they could.

Division in CAVA. When Mr. Ong mentioned that he wrote articles to introduce the Republican and Democratic parties in the newspapers, it provoked some argument. Mrs. Win stated that she was very proud of her husband's family's

three-generation Republican membership. She said to Mr. Ong, "You used six Chinese characters to describe the Republican Party, and eight Chinese characters to describe the Democratic Party. It was unfair. Because you are a Democrat you use more characters to describe the Democratic Party, and it also shows that you are biased." Mr. Ong responded, "If you read the first article I wrote, you will find out the meaning of these six characters." Mr. Chip, a Republican, replied, "You should not suppose that everybody read that article. For example, I did not read the first one so I could not follow your second article." The question of using CAVA's name in newspaper articles was also discussed. It was decided that all articles had to be sent to the Information and Development Division to be read, and then to the President of CAVA. If all of them approved it, then it would be published either in the name of CAVA, or in the person's own name.

Mrs. Win then said, "The problems with the Public Relations Division are related to the divisions caused by political alignment. I am a Republican and most of you are Democrats; therefore, I have been kept at a distance from politicians who are Democrats." Mrs. Win had already raised this point with Mr. Ong in his store, and now raised it in the board meeting. Mr. Cing then asked people to identify their party affiliation. There were only two Republicans--Mrs. Win and Mr. Chip--and one Democrat--Mr. Ong--on the board of directors. The other board members

were not affiliated with either party.

The issue of raising funds for CAVA came up next. Mr. Cing reminded people, "We agreed every board member was responsible for raising \$200 last time. Why should we discuss it again?" Mrs. Win said, "I disagree. How can you do something like that? Some of you are rich so that \$200 means nothing to you. But what about those poor board members who cannot accomplish this task? Do they have to do it by taking money out of their own pocket? Like me--I have never held a paid job in my life. I have been poor all of my life. How can I afford it? You, the rich men, do not know the poor."

People were astonished after her criticism and were quiet because they did not know why Mrs. Win would speak so loudly to oppose this idea. After a little while, someone said that we should ask the Fund Raising Division to do it. So they talked to Mr. Ping, one of the Fund Raising Division members, to be responsible for this event. The reason that Mrs. Win raised this question was mainly to show her dissatisfaction with the other board members. It had nothing to do with whether she could afford the \$200.

The 1985 CAVA Election. At a meeting at Mr. Ong's house on May 5, 1985, each board member reported on their assigned tasks in preparation for the annual meeting. Mrs. Win and Mrs. Yip were responsible for the reception table, but Mrs. Win did not show up at this meeting. Mrs. Yip said,

Last time we proposed that the women's association

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[Chinese Women's Association in Queens] be responsible for this, but I cannot give you a positive answer because I am not the president. However, I think that we can ask CAVA board members' wives to do it. I can also try to contact members of the women's association, and use my own name but not the name of the women's association.

(I had learned Mrs. Win was unhappy that Mrs. Yip had volunteered to ask the women's association to staff the reception table at the last board meeting.)

Mr. Ong said that the Wei-chuan Company was willing to provide food for several hundred persons at no cost; soft drinks would be available for sale. A movie was being arranged, and also singers and a band, though some people wondered if it was necessary to include dancing at the event. Board member Mr. Li said, "It is easy to hold a dance, and also to make a profit from it. We just need to spend an extra \$46 for John Bowne High School, \$200 for the band, and \$50 for a security guard. Besides, the dance party will attract more people". The meeting also discussed revisions needed in the CAVA by-laws; these were prepared by Mr. Hung. One important change Mr. Hung proposed was that, from now on, a candidate for the board of directors should be recommended by at least two members of CAVA and should be verified by these two members' as well as the candidate's signatures. After much debate, Mr. Hung's proposed changes were accepted.

The 1985 election of a new CAVA board of directors caused a severe split among the organization's leadership. At the annual meeting where the election was held, a free meal, musical performances, a movie, and a dance all accompanied the voting itself. When I arrived at John Bowne High School at 5:15 p.m., there were more than 100 people in the dining room; many whole households had come, with elderly people and young children enjoying the free food. Several women were behind food tables when I arrived, and a long line of people faced them.

The annual meeting did not start until 7:30, an hour and half late. As children were running in and out of the auditorium, Mr. Ong made a brief report about CAVA's voter registration drive, introduction of candidates in the Chinese newspapers, and other activities. He invited the board members to come up to the stage, and introduced them one by one. Then Mr. Hung explained the by-law revisions, and Mr. Li arrived on the stage to preside over the election.

After the vote, the musical performance started. Some CAVA members went out to do the tallying for the election. Inside the auditorium several singers took turns, and the older the songs, the more responsive the middle-aged and elderly audience became. After the singers, a movie began in the auditorium, and those who wanted to dance moved to the basement. As a fundraiser, the dance was a failure; only six tickets were sold. Few middle-aged Chinese wanted

to dance in front of strangers, in an unfamiliar environment. The crowd was not the same as those who attended the FCBA's successful annual dances. Although the band played both Chinese and Western songs, the songs themselves did not prevent the young generation from dancing. The younger generation that Mr. Lou hoped to attract apparently preferred dancing with their peers rather than their parents.

I went upstairs again, and found that several people were very upset. The election tonight appeared to have been swayed by Mrs. Win, Mr. Ong, Mr. Cing, and some others were totally unprepared for this. Mrs. Win had complained that the board did not give her work to do, and opposed her positions. She had told me several times that she was going to organize a women's association to show these men women's power. Tonight her power was evident. (I will discuss the women's associations later in this chapter.)

After all the board members were introduced on stage by Mr. Ong, Mrs. Win had left with the excuse that she had to pack for a trip to mainland China. She was not there when the votes were tallied. Mr. Ong and Mr. Cing had thought that she might ask people to vote for her, but they said they were wrong this time. Instead she had asked her people--the members of her women's association, and of a provincial association (a province in China is like a state in the United States) of which she was the vice president--to vote for her recommended list of candidates.

While the vote-counting was going on, Mr. Hung, who was tabulating the results, told me that it was possible that Mr. Ong would probably not even place third. When Mr. Ong saw me, he said,

What the hell is up with Mrs. Win? I did not know she would play such dirty tricks. She instructed her people to vote for her candidates. Okay--she is in first place. But you see people from these two associations who have more votes than Mr. Cing and me. Who knows these people? She backed Mr. Chop, the lawyer whose wife was a member of her women's association, so he is in second place. Mrs. Shong [of the women's association], and Mr. Loop [from the provincial association] have more than 60 votes. Mr. Hung also had more than 60 votes. Ms. Tung [of the women's association] also received 40 votes. Mr. Cing and I had only 50 votes. Are these people better known than us?

Clearly Mrs. Win did not like Mr. Ong and Mr. Cing, and she had her own reasons. Probably the most serious one was that these two did not support her "Ethnic New Yorker Award" nomination (see Chapter 7), but disputes at CAVA board meetings were probably also involved. It was not unexpected that members from the women's and provincial associations might win a seat on the CAVA board, but no one anticipated that they would receive more votes than Mr. Ong and Mr. Cing, who came in ninth and tenth in the election.

The results left several people quite upset, including some former board members who had not been reelected.

Mr. Hung told me, "I knew that I would have more votes than last time because I invited some people to come, but I did not know that I would have more than 60 votes." His vote total was no doubt due to Mrs. Win; Mr. Hung did almost everything she asked him to do, as both of them had told me. Even his membership in CAVA and service as board member were due to Mrs. Win's encouragement and help. He said that his contact with members of CAVA was through Mrs. Win. When Mr. S. B. Woo campaigned for Lieutenant Governor of the State of Delaware, he came to New York to hold a fund raising party in Queens, which was sponsored by CAVA and other associations. Mr. Hung said, One can say that Mr. Woo was one of my teachers in the United States because I received some help from him for my thesis' writing. So I joined as a member of his campaign party in New York. Through this I came to know Mr. Cing, Mr. Ong, Mrs. Win and others. I helped to do something in the fund-raising party. Mrs. Win was appreciate and invited me to join CAVA. But I told her that I would get involved in politics only after I retire from my civil servant job and earn some money by establishing a business. Politics is one of my interests, but if one has no money then it is nonsense to play with politics. Mrs. Win talked to me about joining CAVA three times, so I joined reluctantly and was elected as a board member in the last term.

The aftermath of this election was evident in the election of CAVA's board president. The next day Mrs. Win called Mr. Ong's wife and told her she had ten board votes in her hand, so it was hopeless for Mr. Ong to be reelected CAVA president. Mr. Ong said that he did not want to be president again, but now had to be a candidate to save face. He said,

Mr. Fing called me and said that he would vote for me. After he reached the other board members the situation was balanced between Mrs. Win and me, seven votes each. The swing vote was Mr. Hung. Mr. Fing asked Mr. Hung whom he would vote for. Mr. Hung said that he could only make the decision when the time came. Mr. Cing was very angry with Mrs. Win. He called her and quarreled with her on the phone, and angrily hung up twice. The first time he said she had offended too many old friends, and nobody would help her with her hotline. The second time he said that unless she voted for me, he would not help her any longer. Think about it--she needs people to help with her hotline. Mr. Li and Mr. Tu have helped her before, but now their blood runs cold after she did this to them. [Neither Mr. Li or Tu were reelected to the CAVA board of directors.]

Before the vote for board president, Mr. Ping, a CAVA board member, stopped at Mr. Ong's store. Mr. Ping said that Mrs. Win had called him and asked for whom he would

vote. Mr. Ping answered that he thought Mr. Ong was better than Mrs. Win because Mr. Ong had spent a lot of time doing good things for CAVA. A few minutes later, Mrs. Win herself came by Mr. Ong's store. Her first words were,

Mr. Ong, you are okay. You will be re-elected. You said that I brought some new faces against you, but why shouldn't these people be elected? Ms. Shong is a member of the women's association, and runs a real estate business. Mrs. Cop is head of a branch library, and many people know her. Mr. Loop is a member of the provincial association, and Ms. Too is a vice-president of Chinese Human Rights. All of them have their own resources. I did not control the election. One woman came to me several times and asked who she should vote for, and I gave her about 30 names. I would never give just my own name.

Mr. Ong said that some rumors and misunderstandings should be clarified. Mrs. Win replied,

What are the rumors? There are no rumors. All because of you, Mr. Ong. You said that you did not want to be re-elected as president, so I asked other people if anyone was interested in it. But this person said no, that one said no. Finally I asked your fellow countryman, Mr. Hung, who is a Taiwanese also. I support him because he did everything I asked him to do.

Mr. Ong said, "There are many rumors. For example, someone

called yesterday and said that Mrs. Win brought some people into CAVA in order to make factions inside this association...." Mrs. Win interrupted and said loudly,

What do you mean by factions? I am not leftist or KMT. To tell you the truth, my family was real KMT. My mother died under the Communist's hard-pressed persecution and my brother was put into jail under the Communist regime. General Cheng in Taiwan is my friend who asked someone to bring me some jewelry last time. The commander-in-chief of the navy in Taiwan is my relative. All of you guys think that I do not have any friend in Taiwan. In fact, I know more guys in the KMT than you guys do.

Mr. Ong said, "See! This is a misunderstanding. I did not say anything related to right or left." Tears appeared in Mrs. Win's eyes, and she used a handkerchief to wipe them off. She said,

I am 63 years old--what I am struggling for? What should I compete for? I just want to do something for the Chinese. Last year I asked many people to vote for all of you. Mrs. Yip came to ask me for a favor, so I helped her too. Why did she lose this time? Because she was very selfish. For example, she only wrote her own name in the board member election of the women's association. She did not even write my name. Therefore I did not promise to help her this time when she came to ask for my help. So she lost. Mr. Ong,

stop worrying about it. I will give you my vote. But you have to remember that if I want you to be elected, you will make it. You won't make it without my support.

Then she left.

Later a woman who had been at the CAVA meeting came to Mr. Ong's store. She said, "I just knew four names [for the election], and I was busy serving food. So I asked Mrs. Win to write out a list of names for me to vote with. She wrote this list--I should have it in my bag." The list had 22 names on it; Mr. Chop, the lawyer, was first; Mr. Hung was second; Mrs. Win was third ... and Mr. Ong was eighteenth. Mr. Ong said that someone else saw a xeroxed name list at the CAVA election meeting; therefore there were at least two copies of it. He told me,

Mr. Li received a letter from Mrs. Win which said that since Mr. Li was the principal of a Chinese school for more than ten years, he should have no problem being elected, and therefore she did not help him to get votes from the members. And Mr. Tu also received a letter from her explaining why she did not help him either. Mr. Li was very unhappy; he told me that his heart was cold after this.

On June 9, 1985, the first meeting of the new CAVA board was held. The most important business was to elect the president of CAVA. At the meeting Mr. Cing said, "I think that we'd better have speeches by those who are

interested in the presidency. It is said that there are at least two persons who would like to run for president. One is Mr. Ong, and the other is Mr. Hung. Anyone else?" Mr. Hung said, "Where did you hear this news? I am not interested in this position. I have things to attend to at home." Nonetheless the result was nine to six in favor of Mr. Hung. Mr. Ong told me, "Mr. Hung definitely voted for himself." He commented that it was strange that someone who declined the nomination would win.

News about the CAVA elections was published in several Chinese newspapers for several days running. Mr. Hung, the new CAVA president, criticized the reporters for working against unity in the Chinese community, and destroying the image of CAVA. He told Mr. Ong and others that he did not like the situation, but Mrs. Win's side was now the majority. "How many people could write down fifteen names? So why was it wrong to help someone write the names down? This is a voluntary job without pay. Why are people so picky? How many people are willing to sacrifice themselves to do this job?"

CAVA Activities 1985-1987. On July 19, 1985, president Hung called the CAVA board of directors to order. The ten men and five women were all holders of B.A., M.A. or Ph.D. degrees. The organization now had 851 members. The new president proposed to increase membership to 1,000 during his term, immediately raise \$5,000 for expenses, and obtain tax-exempt status for CAVA. Among his other goals were to

strengthen contacts with other ethnic groups, and with organizations, politicians and officials in Queens. He advocated that CAVA not only be active in the 1985 election by encouraging its members to vote, but also that it support politicians who are concerned with benefits for the Chinese community. Most board members, however, thought that endorsements were not appropriate for CAVA; the strategy would need more discussion before adoption.

In September 1985 Mr. Michael Woo, a Chinese City Councilman from Los Angeles, met with CAVA members to brief them on the political experience of Chinese in Los Angeles. Queens politicians asked CAVA for support in their campaigns; for example, Congressman Addabbo wrote CAVA for their endorsement in December 1985. In summer 1986 CAVA and other Chinese leaders held a "candidates night," inviting sixteen Queens candidates running for office that year including Queens Borough President incumbent Claire Shulman and her two challengers. Only a few candidates came, and less than fifty Chinese attended. Many criticized CAVA's board of directors and members for their poor support of the forum. In fact, Mr. Tsui, vice president of CAVA, received a letter from five board members calling for an emergency meeting to discuss this situation, a sign that some on the board were not pleased with president Hung. Due to scheduling difficulties, the emergency meeting was not held. At the next regular board meeting, some members suggested that the president should

have board approval before spending CAVA funds for social occasions, something the prior president had not done. This added to their sense of dissatisfaction with his handling of the candidates night.

The 1987 CAVA Election. Because of the bitterness caused by the 1985 board member and president elections, and with new CAVA elections scheduled for the spring, an atmosphere of tension was apparent by the beginning of 1987. The board was divided into two groups--one led by Mr. Ong and Mr. Cing; the other by Mrs. Win and Mr. Hung. Each side worked on a strategy to win the election. By the end of April, there were 26 candidates, fifteen allied with Mrs. Win's group, and eleven with Mr. Ong's. Only seven of the candidates were current board members.

In early May, Mr. Ong and Mr. Cing mailed their slate of eleven recommended candidates to CAVA members. With their list, Mrs. Win's side placed the following advertisement in the Chinese newspapers on May 11 and 18: "Mrs. Win wholeheartedly supports the following candidates. Please vote for them." A few days before the election, however, one candidate from Mr. Ong's side dropped out, and four candidates from Mrs. Win's side switched to Mr. Ong's group. I was told that these people were afraid they would not receive enough support from Mrs. Win's side.

On May 16, the annual meeting was held at Intermediate School 189 in Flushing. When I arrived at 4 p.m., I saw

posters for the two groups' candidates on the wall outside the school; two teenagers, one Chinese and the other Latin American, were distributing lists of the candidates nominated by Mrs. Win's group. I went to the school basement where the voting had not yet started. Amid much whispering, the candidates present greeted people whom they knew. At 4:45, a line of 70 or 80 people formed, and the voting began. In a disorganized scene, people rushed into the room and wandered from one table to another, unfamiliar with the system of registration by alphabetical order. Inside the voting room there were tables on the right side where about eight women gave out ballots; on the left side were six private areas for people to circle candidates' names on their ballot, and a box in which people were to deposit them.

I went upstairs. Mr. Cing called me and said, "We lost! They played tricks again. Some people voted more than once." I asked, "Why didn't they cross out voters' names as they received their ballots?" Mr. Cing said, "The preparation for voting did not go as smoothly as planned. The delays in receiving the ballots and getting started made Mr. Fing abandon the original idea of checking members' identification. This was the trick used--to delay in order to block checking ID's."

I went downstairs and a man told me that several people had voted more than once. He pointed to two people who had already voted, and asked Mr. Fing to watch them.

When Mr. Fing checked whether the names of these two people were on the membership list, he found they were not, and asked them to leave. They did so, without any protest. Because of the delays, many people just wrote their names down at the registration table, without showing any membership identification as originally planned. The election committee said they would check names later, but with anonymous ballots there would be no way to separate valid and invalid votes.

In the Queens Chinese community this election was the first time in which open name lists were distributed to organization members. Despite the irregularities and disruptions, Mr. Ong received the highest number of votes, 153; the lowest number among the fifteen board members elected was 112. Six of Mr. Ong's original candidates were elected, and five of Mrs. Win's, as were all four who switched from Mrs. Win's side to Mr. Ong's. Mrs. Yip, who had crossed Mrs. Win (and received only 23 votes in the 1985 election, and was off the board of directors), was elected this time with 148 votes. Six out of ten female candidates were elected, a sign of women's growing involvement in public affairs. Yet only 280 ballots were cast among a CAVA membership of 1200.

CAVA 1987-1989. The board of directors meeting to elect a new CAVA president was held on May 21, 1987. Surprisingly, Mr. Cing, and not Mr. Ong, ran against Mr. Hung. Mr. Cing was elected by one vote. The first thing Mr. Cing did was

to check the number of qualified members, i.e., members who were American citizens. When CAVA was founded in 1983, the qualification for membership was one that should be an American citizen. However, this regulation became loosely later on. Some board members wanted to cultivate their own power so they asked people to join without checking their status. Once Mr. Cing checked the rolls (I was invited as a witness) he found that several people filled out application forms twice or more, and some were not American citizens. Therefore the number of 1,200 members in 1987 was in doubt. Mr. Cing sent letters to CAVA members about this matter, and the final result was that qualified members numbered only 684. CAVA decided to call these 684 "basic members", and the others "sponsored members". CAVA's 1989 project, directed by Mr. Cing, is to identify the growing number of Chinese voters in each Queens Assembly District.

CAVA is the first political educational association in the Queens Chinese community. The board members tried to encourage Chinese to register and vote in elections. Unfortunately, the split among board members had diminished its image in the Queens Chinese community. Many were aware of the personal disputes between 1985 and 1987 that resulted in the emergence of two groups among the board members, one led by Mrs. Win and Mr. Hung, and the other by Mr. Cing and Mr. Ong. (No detectable difference in political ideology marks these two groups.) Besides that,

the shortage of financial resources also limited several planned activities. CAVA has never had a full-time or part-time secretary. In its first two years (1983-1985), the office was Mr. Ong's gift shop while he served as president; the next two years (1985-1987), the office was in a real estate agency owned by a board member when Mr. Hung became president. Next the headquarters was the FCBA office, when Mr. Cing took over the presidency of CAVA in 1987. Only in 1989 did CAVA, along with the American Chinese Women's Association, move into space offered rent-free by real estate developer Mr. Hing, who also became CAVA's president later that year.

QUEENS CHINESE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION (QCWA)

Women were the silent majority in traditional Chinese society (Wolf 1972). But today in Taiwan women are engaged in public activities, clubs, folk dance classes and other organizations; under KMT encouragement, women's associations are found in cities and rural counties. In Chinese American communities of the past, women were few in number, and in a similar situation to that of the past in China. After the birth of a new generation and the arrival of new female immigrants, more Chinese women are actively involved in formal and informal political and social activism. For example in California, March Fong Eu was Secretary of State for many years, and Lily Lee Chen, elected to the City Council of Monterey Park in 1981,

became the first Chinese American woman mayor in the United States (Young 1986:104-111).

In Queens there are two Chinese women's associations; they began as one group, and later split into two. The Queens Chinese Women's Association (QCWA) was founded by Mrs. Win, a woman now in her late 60s. Mrs. Win was born in mainland China and married an American soldier there during World War II. They returned to the United States, and have lived in Queens for forty years. Mrs. Win was probably the first non-Cantonese Chinese immigrant, but not the first Chinese, to live in Flushing. She established her hotline to assist Chinese immigrants, now CISI, in 1946. Her husband worked for a telephone company, and supported her work financially. Before 1980, however, she was not well-known in either the Chinese or American communities.

In 1981 or 1982, a mutual acquaintance introduced Mrs. Win and Mr. Cing, a Taiwan immigrant working in a City government job. Mr. Cing heard for the first time about Mrs. Win's hotline as he drove her to dinner, and later, back to her house. When Mr. Cing, Mr. Ong, and several Queens Chinese men organized CAVA in 1982, they invited Mrs. Win to join the planning group because of her record of service to the Chinese. Mr. Cing also thought she might be able to help to recruit members. Mrs. Win was elected to CAVA's board in 1983, and was responsible for public relations, which put her in contact with non-Chinese

American politicians.

Mrs. Win was not satisfied with her treatment by the male CAVA board members. She said that they had assigned her to make contact with American politicians in the beginning because they did not know anything about American politics, but they later squeezed her out. She was a Republican, and also assumed that most of the other board members were Democrats, although she found out in a CAVA board meeting that only one of the fifteen board members was a Democrat.

Following her early experience with CAVA, Mrs. Win told me several times that she wanted to organize a women's association to show these men the power of women, and also to demonstrate to them that women could do better than men, and did not need their help. About the same time, early in 1984, she became a co-founder of a Chinese provincial association, and was elected its vice president. She received her B.A. degree in the summer of 1984 from York College in Queens. Then in September 1984 she became the first Chinese to receive the New York City "Ethnic New Yorker Award," and more than 100 people attended a party in her honor. With the attendant newspaper publicity, this award made her more famous than any other Chinese in the Queens community.

Following the award, Mrs. Win began the women's association, calling its first meeting in October 1984, in a Chinese restaurant in Flushing. Of 108 women on the new

group's membership list, 71 attended. The level of excitement was high, and a smile of victory was on Mrs. Win's face as the women squeezed together in the restaurant room. In her speech, Mrs. Win said, "About forty years ago, I and my son could not find any Chinese on these streets. Today I am very happy that we have so many women here together. We can cooperate with each other to do something very great. We can let the men know what our strength is, and what we can accomplish."

Twenty-one women were elected to form the board of directors of the new association. Mrs. Win received 70 votes and her co-organizer, 40 votes. This woman, however, objected to her assignment to the fund-raising committee, which was made at a meeting she did not attend, and sent a resignation announcement to the Chinese newspapers only a few days after the election. Other resignations, and a split in the organization would follow two years later.

QCWA's first activities included a talk by a lawyer (the husband of a member of the board of directors), visits to museums in Manhattan, and a party in December 1984. Another party was held in March 1985 for International Women's Day, with 150 members of QCWA and their families buying the \$15 tickets. At this event, Mrs. Win made her speech in English. She urged Chinese women to plant their roots in the United States, and to ask other Chinese associations to help the new women's association. Members then translated her speech into Mandarin, Taiwanese, and

Cantonese. Entertainment by Chinese singers followed Mrs. Win's speech.

The first demonstration of the strength of Mrs. Win's women's association to her male opponents was in the election of the CAVA board of directors in May 1985. She mobilized members of the women's association (and the provincial association) to vote for her candidates. The result of the election surprised many people. In addition to Mrs. Win, three women from QCWA were elected and two men from the provincial association, as were another two husbands of QCWA members. The top eight vote-getters of the fifteen board members elected were Mrs. Win's candidates, and her opponents Mr. Ong and Mr. Cing were in ninth and tenth place. Her next victory was to place one of her men, Mr. Hung, in the CAVA presidency. The power of her women's association was now evident.

In July 1985 about ten QCWA board members accompanied Mrs. Win to an informal party held by Mrs. Cong, director of the CPC Queens branch, for Virginia Kee, a City Council candidate for the Manhattan Chinatown seat. Mrs. Cong had invited about twenty people, including Mrs. Win, to the party. However, Mrs. Win and the ten QCWA board members who appeared with Virginia Kee in a picture in the Chinese newspapers made it look like QCWA had sponsored the event. This also gave them additional publicity.

A few days later QCWA endorsed Julia Harrison for the Flushing New York City Council seat, thus moving the

organization into non-Chinese political affairs. In August 1985 QCWA held a fund-raising party for Julia Harrison in a Chinese restaurant; more than one hundred Chinese people attended. After Julia Harrison won the primary election, Mrs. Win presented her with \$2,600 from a QCWA fundraising party. Because of its support of Julia Harrison, QCWA attracted other American politicians and officials to its activities. Its 1985 Christmas fundraising party was held in an American restaurant; not only Chinese community leaders came, but also Julia Harrison and representatives from Queens Borough Hall and City Hall. QCWA raised \$4,500 from an auction that night.

In February 1986 QCWA decided to support three Chinese women running in Queens school board elections, including Mrs. Yip, a QCWA member. Only one of them, Mrs. Can (not a QCWA member), was elected. For International Women's Day in 1986 QCWA selected seventeen "model women" from the Chinese community, the majority of whom were professionals, and honored them at a seminar on "family and marriage," attended by more than 100, including many aides of Queens and City elected officials. In May 1986, QCWA members traveled to a senior citizens' home on Staten Island to celebrate Mother's Day with Chinese elders.

Mrs. Win's image in the Queens Chinese community was damaged in the eyes of some after her role in the 1985 CAVA elections. It received a second blow in the summer of 1986 when QCWA split, and a second women's association was

organized by Ms. Cop and Mrs. Ying, two members of QWCA's board of directors.

In a public hearing at City Hall, Ms. Cop testified that "City Hall should pay attention to the problems of Asian communities which had accompanied the rapid increase of their population. The city should, under bilingual professionals' supervision, train non-English speaking Asian professionals to establish social service agencies." When she read news of Ms. Cop's statement in the Chinese newspapers, Mrs. Win took it as a criticism of her hotline. At a June 1986 press conference, Ms. Cop and Mrs. Ying called on the Chinese community to apply for funds to establish a professional hotline. Ms. Cop said, "If Mrs. Win suspects that I have any intention to attack her, she should first look at the operations of her hotline, and she should accept my suggestions to improve it." Both women strongly criticized Mrs. Win; Ms. Cop stated that she would resign from Mrs. Win's hotline board and also organize a new women's association. (The American Chinese Women's Association will be discussed later in this chapter.)

In September 1986, QCWA celebrated its second anniversary with its fourth party for Chinese senior citizens. At its board of directors election that month, more than 170 members voted and Mrs. Win again received the highest number of votes. But one member accused Mrs. Win of controlling the election by stacking the votes and the board with senior citizen members whose names were unknown

to the community. When news of this appeared in the Chinese newspapers, Mrs. Win and her elderly members were unhappy. One said, "We are free. We have more time to do community service so why shouldn't there be some old people on the board." Like the CAVA election, this QCWA election brought Mrs. Win notariety. Again she innovated, cultivating a new basis of support--this time senior citizens.

Nonetheless, at a meeting in October 1986 Mrs. Win was named honorary lifetime president of QCWA. She announced that QCWA would publish a newsletter and also a woman's magazine, written by QCWA members to share their daily life experience. As of September 1986, however, only one issue of the newsletter, and no magazine, has been published.

More fundraising events and parties for senior citizens followed in 1986 and 1987. In April 1987 QCWA established an affiliation with the Chinese Women's Federation in the USA, no doubt to make a tie with this national organization before Ms. Cop's American Chinese Women Association did so. In April 1987, just before the upcoming CAVA election (in which voting irregularities would occur), the QCWA board of directors decided to form a "political committee"; this resulted in more women from QCWA voting in CAVA's election, supporting candidates allied with Mrs. Win. In early May, at a QCWA Mother's Day party at an Elmhurst Senior Center, Mr. Hung, president of CAVA and Mrs. Win's ally, was invited to speak. At the end of his speech, he

asked the Chinese senior citizens to vote on May 16 in the CAVA election.

In July 1987 Mrs. Win accepted the offer of Louise Raymond, Queens Borough Hall's Immigrant Affairs coordinator, to send someone to help Chinese senior citizens for three hours a week at QCWA's office. This was to counter Ms. Cop's women's association, which had received a similar offer from City Hall several months before. About 200 attended the December 1987 fundraiser and Christmas party, about the same number as the year before. The March 1988 celebration of International Women's Day, however, was smaller than in earlier years, and was held in QCWA's office. Some twenty women, the majority elderly, attended. It seemed that not only was the scale smaller, but spirits were not as high as in previous years.

AMERICAN CHINESE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION (ACWA)

On June 13, 1986, Ms. Cop and Mrs. Ying held a press conference to announced that they were forming a new Chinese women's association in Queens, with "democratic and fair methods ... to provide substantial service to the community," and "no gossip at all." Ms. Cop said that she did not want to be president; she just wanted to change the impression, she said, that "women can only spread rumors, and fight with each other".

ACWA was formed because Ms. Cop, Mrs. Ying, and other

Chinese women in the community shared the same negative feeling about Mrs. Win. Mrs. Ong, whose husband Roger Ong was a principal opponent of Mrs. Win in CAVA, was also a co-founder of ACWA, and was elected to its board of directors. Other women also left Mrs. Win's association to join ACWA. In September 1986 ACWA held its first meeting at the YM-YWHA in Flushing. More than 100 women attended and joined; most of them were Queens residents. A fifteen-member board of directors was elected, and met one week later. Ms. Cop was elected president of ACWA, despite her previous statement. The other members considered her family background (her father was a high ranking official in Taiwan) and her position as a Community Board member to be in her favor, and voted for her.

The Daily News, a major New York City English-language newspaper, featured the first meeting of ACWA in an article titled "Political Pull Urged for Chinese Women." It reported that Ms. Cop "encourages Chinese women to join the American political mainstream to fight for our rights. We intend to improve our image and unite ourselves in order to upgrade our status and image as Chinese in this country." In the Chinese newspapers, Ms. Cop was reported to emphasize social and recreational activities among its members as the first task of the association; social and community services could begin only after ACWA had a stable membership.

At any rate, the Daily News story did connect ACWA with

government agencies. After reading the article, Richard Mei, the Asian Special Assistant to Mayor Koch, came to Flushing to talk with the board of directors of ACWA, and discuss their financial needs. In November 1986 a City government official concerned with family services met with Ms. Cop about family problems in the Chinese community. Soon Mr. Wu, a bilingual Chinese worker in the City Human Resources Administration was posted in ACWA's office on Wednesday afternoons to help Chinese fill out various forms, and provide other assistance with social welfare benefits.

Ms. Cop said that the other Chinese service agencies in the community needed to understand that there were many government agencies that they should take advantage of to solve problems. This was clearly another criticism of Mrs. Win's hotline, like the one in the public hearing that had led to forming the new women's association. ACWA also established a male advisory council of two medical doctors, two attorneys, and a government employee. Although some ACWA members disagreed with the need for any "all male" advisory council when there were many talented women, it could be seen as a demonstration to QCWA that ACWA was more cooperative with male community leaders.

ACWA's cultural and service activities were similar to that of Mrs. Win's women's association. Its November 1986 Chinese cultural performance at the Taiwan Center in Flushing, however, received nearly three pages, with

photos, of coverage in The Daily News. In December 1986 ACWA started a drive to donate clothing for the homeless women's center in Flushing. Ms. Cop connected this effort to combatting anti-Asian sentiments which had become stronger recently among low income groups in the City. Food and clothing collected by ACWA was distributed to churches in poor Black neighborhoods as well.

In March 1987 ACWA held a Chinese lunar New Year party at the Chinese Cultural Service Center in Flushing. The program was organized by the senior committee of ACWA, and all the performers were elders. Several American politicians attended, and one could see the competition between the two women's associations. That same month City Council member Julia Harrison sponsored a "We Are the World" program to promote harmony and mutual understanding among different ethnic groups following the murder of a Black man by a group of white men in Howard Beach, Queens. ACWA was invited to perform during the program, offering a historical presentation on Chinese costume, and a Chinese classical dance. In short, ACWA had entered the arena of non-Chinese community activities. A purely social event was its April 1987 trip to New Jersey to see the cherry tree blossoms.

In September 1987 ACWA gave Judge Eng of the Queens Criminal Court an award as "Outstanding Chinese American of 1987." The award, made at a dinner in a Chinese restaurant in Flushing, was an attempt to help Judge Eng in

the Democratic Party nomination for the Supreme Court. The women's association also sent letters supporting Judge Eng to 66 Queens Democratic district leaders, but he failed to win the nomination.

On November 14, 1987, ACWA held an anniversary party in the Taiwan Center. More than 200 Chinese and non-Chinese attended. When State Senator Stavisky was introduced, he said that he was very pleased to see that different ethnic immigrants could share each other's culture, contribute their knowledge and could get together peacefully. He also hoped that ACWA would grow stronger day by day. The president of the Queens Central Democratic Regular Club; Ms. Tan, the special Asian Assistant of Mayor Koch; and some Chinese VIP's were also invited to join the party. ACWA raised \$2,300 from the audience for their budget.

If the establishment of QCWA was Mrs. Win's challenge to the male leaders of the Queens Chinese community, the establishment of ACWA is Ms. Cop's challenge to Mrs. Win. The main reason for Ms. Cop and some others to leave QCWA was because they were not satisfied with Mrs. Win's control of the election of the board of directors and other activities of QCWA. According to Mrs. Win, Ms. Cop left QCWA because she could not win election to its presidency.

The activities of the two women's associations mirror and compete with each other. After Ms. Cop received assistance from the City government in social service counseling at ACWA's office, Mrs. Win asked Queens Borough

Hall for similar help at QCWA's office. Both groups hold parties for Chinese elders. They both maintain contacts within the Chinese community, and also with non-Chinese politicians. So far there has been no open conflict between the two women's associations, and perhaps their competition stimulates each to do more for the Chinese community.

CHINESE AMERICAN PARENTS' ASSOCIATION, INC.

The establishment of the Chinese American Parents' Association (CAPA) was an outgrowth of the New York City District School Board elections of May 1986. Mr. Li, a CAVA member, had run unsuccessfully for a three year term in District 25 (which includes Flushing) in 1980 and 1983, but decided not to run again. Instead, in December 1985 he and other Chinese community activists organized a committee to encourage Chinese candidates to run in this district. One of the members was Mr. Can, whose wife decided to run. Although she was then working in a furniture company, Mrs. Can had graduated from the Department of Educational Psychology at Normal University in Taipei, Taiwan, and had received a master's degree in the United States. Later three more Chinese women joined the campaign with support from the committee--another in District 25, and two, including Mrs. Yip, in District 24 (covering Elmhurst).

Only Mrs. Can was elected. After her May 1986 victory, she stated that she would like to begin a hotline to deal

with educational issues and school problems. Mr. Li and others suggested they and she organize an association for Chinese parents, a more powerful vehicle than a one-person hotline.

In July 1986, about forty parents attended the first meeting of the Chinese American Parents' Association of Queens at the Chinese Cultural Service Center in Flushing. Nine women were elected to its board of directors, all mothers of school children. Mrs. Can was elected president. At this meeting, the principal of Public School 20 in Flushing, Sheldon Karnilow, discussed the problems of immigrant students, and the procedure for transferring from one school to another. He told the parents to encourage their children to join extracurricular activities, such as Boy Scouts, in order to improve their English, and urged them to provide a quiet environment for their children to study, and to speak to their children in English. He reminded parents to stay in contact with their children's teachers.

In September 1986 CAPA held a seminar in Flushing featuring eight Chinese teachers and educators who discussed drugs, sex, and other problems immigrant students might encounter in the public schools. The speakers emphasized the importance of homework, and noted that children who took part-time jobs were likely to lose interest in studying when they found they could earn their own money. (This was also confirmed in my fieldwork).

Following the seminar CAPA held a fundraising garage sale.

The next CAPA event, in October 1986, was a public hearing on school problems. Among the issues raised were the need for schools to notify parents when a student is absent; the need for school bus service for children above third grade; Chinese translation of notices in schools with large Chinese enrollment; and the objection to Spanish as the compulsory foreign language in the sixth grade. On this last point, many parents felt their children already had problems dealing with English, and that Chinese, Korean, or "Indian" also should be offered as foreign languages to sixth graders.

During the next month, in November 1986, an alliance was made with a Korean parents group. An Asian American Parent's Council was formed; Mrs. Can was elected president, Ms. Li (president of the Korean Parent's Association) was elected vice-president, and the board of directors consisted of three Chinese and four Koreans. The alliance went to work immediately. When Ms. Li could not get action as president of the Korean Parents Association--to help a Korean child transfer from one school to another, for example--she asked Mrs. Can to intervene as a member of School Board 25. Ms. Li, in turn, offered funds from her budget to support the Asian American Parent's Council.

That same month CAPA held a seminar on adult education. Marilyn Schaffer, director of adult education in School

District 25, was the main speaker. The most important result of the seminar was the attendance of State Senator Leonard Stavisky, who mentioned his contributions to education in Queens, and suggested that Chinese parents should become more actively involved in politics. He noted that State Senators and Assembly members could make budget recommendations for items of their own choosing. His message to CAPA in fact led to summer English classes for Chinese adults in 1987, under funding sponsored by Senator Stavisky.

CAPA was given free office space by a Flushing Chinese lawyer, H. M. Hsieh, who had also created a foundation for the Chinese disabled. CAPA and the foundation held a joint Christmas party in 1986, with a children's talent contest, and attendance by more than 300 parents and children. Chinese and non-Chinese community leaders, including Senator Stavisky, State Assemblyman Morton Hillman, District 25 Superintendent Joan Kenny, and Mr. Lung, principal of Ming Yuan Chinese School, were invited guests. In January 1987 CAPA held a party to celebrate Chinese New Year, and invited parents and children, who brought food, and danced and sang. District 25 principals and school board members also attended, and shared these examples of Chinese culture. For many of these educators it was the first opportunity to see how Chinese celebrate their New Year.

CAPA's activities since the beginning of 1987 have

included programs for the Chinese population in Queens, activities with non-Chinese, and intervention in situations of inter-ethnic conflict in Queens high schools.

Programs for the Chinese Population. In June 1987, CAPA announced a \$10,000 grant to hold English as a Second Language classes that summer, secured through the help of State Senator Stavisky. Following the oral examination and application procedure, 18 adults and 44 youth enrolled. The teachers were Chinese women long resident in the United States, and several were also school teachers. The adult course concentrated on communication between teachers and parents. At the graduation ceremony, the youth sang in English and the adults spoke in English on stage to show their progress.

Early on Ms. Can and CAPA's board realized it would be valuable to hold after-school classes to help immigrant students with homework problems that their parents, who spoke only limited English, could not help with. The class began in October 1987. Its 16 students ranged from third to sixth grade; it was conducted by a Chinese teacher who received his high school education in the United States. Several CAPA members, including Mrs. Can, also worked with the students. CAPA charged \$20 per week for two-hour sessions, five days a week. The tutoring program was intended to be a model for later extension to other school districts with heavy Chinese enrollment.

Another CAPA forum for parents featured speakers from

the New York City Volunteer Corps who stressed the importance of volunteer experience in college applications. Most Chinese parents still had the idea that, as in Taiwan, only grades are considered in college entrance decisions. They push their children to study hard, but do not allow them to participate in extracurricular activities, which they see as a waste of time. CAPA tried to make Chinese parents aware of the more rounded student profile colleges look for.

A CAPA forum on "How to select high schools in New York City" was held in December 1987 at Queensborough Community College. CAPA recognized that many Chinese parents encouraged their children to take the entrance exam to the three top high schools--Stuyvesant, Bronx Science, and Brooklyn Tech--but that not everyone could be accepted by these schools. The forum featured teachers and students from other high schools. Mrs. Can and other speakers encouraged parents not to place undue pressure on their children, or to be so disappointed if they went to high schools other than the top three.

Activities with non-Chinese Groups. In February 1987 the joint CAPA-Korean parents' Asian American Parent's Council held a forum to explain the school entrance procedures and regulations to immigrant parents. Many Chinese parents did not know, for example, that it was necessary to make an appointment to see a teacher; they also did not understand that some elementary schools had only five grades (from

first grade to fifth grade), and others went through sixth, and the similar differences between the grades included at particular intermediate and high schools.

CAPA and the Korean Parents' Association sponsored a joint celebration of the Asian holiday "Children's Day" in 1987. In Taiwan it is celebrated on April 4th, and in Korea on May 5th; the compromise date was April 25th. More than 120 Chinese and Korean students entertained an audience of 400, which included the Superintendent and eight school principals from District 25, City Council member Julia Harrison, and Chinese community leaders were invited. The program was printed in Chinese, Korean and English.

In May 1987 CAPA was invited by the Community Center of Starrett City, Brooklyn, to present a "Chinese Culture Day" program, CAPA's first opportunity to have Chinese children perform for a wholly non-Chinese audience. CAPA organized more than sixty parents and children for the event, and they presented traditional Chinese dance, a costume show, a tea ceremony, and a demonstration of Chinese calligraphy for about 300 people who attended the performance.

Inter-ethnic conflict in Queens high schools. In February 1987 two Chinese female students were struck physically by two black female students at a high school in Flushing. People said that Chinese students had been insulted by non-Chinese students because of their small size. Although it also happened at other schools in Flushing, parents kept

quiet because they did not find any help from teachers. With the establishment of CAPA, the situation changed. This time the parents complained to Mrs. Can, and she went to the school to talk to the principal. She also talked to Assemblyman Morton Hillman to ask for help. She said she wanted to hold a seminar for parents of different ethnic backgrounds to promote mutual understanding.

Two more incidents of student ethnic conflict occurred in December 1987 and January 1988, one between Chinese and non-Asians, and the other between Chinese and Koreans. CAPA became a mediator again. The first was in Francis Lewis High School in Flushing where more than ten Chinese and non-Asian students fought with each other. The instigators were two Chinese brothers and two white American brothers. These four teenagers fought after school, and other students joined in. A teacher made a report to the Police Precinct, and officers arrived following the fight. The next day police came to school again. The white students accused the Chinese of carrying a gun. The Chinese students denied it, but one of them was blamed for the attack, and put into police custody for three days, with a bail of \$500. The student's family complained that the school did not inform them immediately, but the school said it called and no one answered.

The parents asked the CPC Youth Program and CAPA for help. This case went to court on December 11, 1987, but was postponed twice when the American side did not show

up. Mrs. Can was invited to court as interpreter. Finally both sides agreed to settle out of court. Both sides also felt that the school should have attempted to settle the problem in the beginning. CAPA sent a letter to the school to protest this passive attitude, and the white students' father agreed to sign it.

The other incident was a clash between Chinese and Korean youth in January 1988. Eleven Korean students robbed a Chinese student of about 40 dollars, and took his identification. This time, the school solved the problem itself, and would not even give the students' names to Korean community leaders who called to ask for details. Chinese and Korean community leaders felt the incident was very serious, and was harmful to relations between them. A meeting was held in the office of the Flushing Chinese Business Association. Though Mrs. Can attended, as did the Korean Parents' Association, the meeting was called by Dr. Jang, president of the FCBA. At the meeting people admitted that fighting between Chinese and Korean youths was not new, and had existed for a few years. People were also worried about the possible involvement of youth gangs in the fighting. The meeting resulted in a five-person council to consult after similar incidents, and to work to prevent them in the future.

On August 1, 1987 CAPA celebrated its one year anniversary, with guests including the director of the Taiwan Coordination Council for North American Affairs,

City Council member Harrison, State Assemblyman Hillman, and Louise Raymond, director of Immigrant Affairs at Queens Borough Hall. For the occasion, CAPA published "Next Generation," a journal featuring information related to the family and education, application for scholarships, selection of colleges, and activities of CAPA. By issues 5 and 6 (in 1988), some articles were in Korean, with part of the publication budget from the Korean parent's group.

The final CAPA event I will mention was its party for the Year of the Dragon in Flushing in February 1988. CAPA rented a large hall, the Taiwan Center, and the ticket price was \$7. The hall was filled, with 200 people in attendance. Again non-Chinese politicians, teachers, principals, and school administrators were invited. A Chinese chorus and dance group performed in what was agreed to be CAPA's most memorable holiday celebration in its short history.

This chapter shows that these new Chinese immigrant associations have very different goals and characteristics from the traditional associations of Chinatown. These include the outreach initiatives towards the non-Chinese community, the high education level of the boards of directors, and the independent nature of each association. We see the roles of entrepreneur, patron and broker played by these leaders, bringing reputation in the community, and success in their careers. Because of

differences over strategies (not over ideology as yet), disputes and fission have occurred. When, for example, Mrs. Win was unhappy with male CAVA board members, she adopted a "pragmatic" strategy (Bailey 1969) in the 1985 election in order to win. A similar move was taken by Ms. Cop and Mrs. Ying who formed a new women's association to show their dissatisfaction with Mrs. Win. In these organizational histories we see empowerment of some actors inside the Chinese community in their efforts to change the distribution of association power.

We also see involvement outside the Chinese community, for example, Chinese appointed as community board members, and elected as School Board members. However, this happens without any central association or leader recognized by the whole community. When there is an approach from outside the Chinese community to the Chinese people as a single group, the questions arise: what kinds of strategies will the Chinese associations take; who will voice their desires; and what will be the aftermath? The next chapter will examine the strategies adopted in the Chinese community toward such an event, an Queens-wide activity organized by the wider non-Chinese community.

CHAPTER 9. THE CHINESE AND THE QUEENS FESTIVAL

In the last chapter, we saw that in Queens a group of Chinese voluntary association leaders has emerged who link the Chinese community with non-Chinese organizations, political figures, and resources. In most cases, these Chinese leaders initiated contact with the non-Chinese community. In this chapter, we turn to another side of these emerging Chinese/non-Chinese relations by examining the reaction of the Queens Chinese associations to direct contact from the surrounding American society. As we will see, the invitation to the Queens Chinese community to participate in the massive annual Queens Festival in 1985, and its participation each year since then, provoked a high level of contact and cooperation among the Chinese associations, and indicates the lack of any over-arching, hierarchical structure, or organizational equivalent to the CCBA of traditional Chinatown communities.

The Queens Chinese voluntary associations, as we have seen, are largely independent of each other. Although some overlapping of board membership or membership occurs, they are independent in terms of administration and authority. In the invitations to represent "the Chinese community" that come from non-Chinese, leaders of an association are contacted due to their office as president or member of a board of directors. Their relationships with other leaders

or organizations are not understood by the non-Chinese who approach them, and these non-Chinese may have no idea of the range of Chinese associations and their individual areas of concern. In the case we examine in this chapter, two questions for the Chinese leadership arose. Which association should represent the Chinese community in accepting the invitation from the Flushing Council on Culture and the Arts to organize a Chinese Pavilion for the Queens Festival? And, if one association accepted, would it receive support from the others? These issues reveal both the individual strengths of the key Chinese associations in Queens, and the loose-linked nature of the network of relations among them.

Queens Festival 1985. The celebration of Queens Day in 1985 became significant to the Chinese because it was planned to include an "Asian Village." This was the first time that different Asian ethnic groups in Queens would have an opportunity to share cultural activities with large audiences from other ethnic groups. Before 1985 the Queens Festival was mainly an event drawing non-Asians, although notices asking for volunteer Festival workers were published in the Chinese newspapers in 1984. For a few years before 1985 there was an "Asian American Heritage Festival" held in the Queens Botanical Garden in Flushing each May. At this event Asian ethnic groups were invited to present cultural exhibits by the co-sponsors, the Flushing Council on Culture and the Arts, and the Botanical

Garden. It was much smaller than the Queens Festival in June; and in 1984 an admission of \$2 for adults and \$1 for children was charged, while the Queens Festival was free. A small stage featured cultural performances; tables from Chinese book stores, toy stores, and some associations were present. CAVA had a voters registration table at the 1984 festival at the Botanical Garden.

In 1985 the Flushing Council on Culture and the Arts decided to merge the Asian American Heritage Festival into the Queens Festival program. It planned to have four Asian tents, representing Chinese, Indian, Japanese, and Korean cultures. As a participant-observer I followed the events leading to the formation of the Chinese tent committee, and attended its cultural performances during the two-day festival.

When I read the announcement of the Queens Festival plans in the Chinese newspapers, I waited to see which organization would take the initiative. In 1985 several Chinese organizations were already active in the Queens community, including the FCBA, CAVA, QCWA, and CPC. I soon learned from Mrs. Cong, director of the CPC Queens Branch, that she was the only Chinese who attended the meeting called by Joann Jones, executive director of the Flushing Council on Culture and the Arts (FCCA), to discuss the Queens Festival Asian Village plans. Mrs. Cong said that she herself informed several Chinese community leaders about the Festival after the meeting, but none of them

attended a second meeting called by the Flushing Council. At that point Mrs. Cong had agreed to be the coordinator of the Chinese tent for the event.

Mrs. Cong said that she asked her own CPC staff to help as volunteers in the festival work after office hours. The most urgent requirement for the Chinese tent was fund-raising. This was a task beyond Mrs. Cong's control. She had taken the CPC position in Flushing a year earlier, but she did not have many contacts in the Queens Chinese business community because of the amount of work she had to do in her office. In June 1985, only eight days before the festival, she was still unable to raise enough money. At this point the Chinese newspapers asked for donations from their readers, but I learned this brought only ten dollars. People seemed indifferent to the event; and the other associations still did not send any representatives to planning meetings, nor did they join the fund-raising work.

Finally Mrs. Cong went to see Mr. Ying, president of FCBA, to ask for help. Since the FCBA board of directors had not decided to participate in the festival, Mr. Ying could only help by using his personal contacts. He took Mrs. Cong to Chinese stores in Flushing, and to friends of his, to ask for donations. With Mr. Ying's help, the goal of \$2,000 for the tent was reached.

On June 29-30, the 1985 Queens Festival was held, with its first Asian Village. As in previous years, many

American organizations and companies, civic groups, and public officials and agencies had booths, tables, and tents at the Festival. The Asian Village consisted of four pavilions, large tents representing China, India, Japan, and Korea. In the Village grounds there was also an outdoor stage used for performances by these groups. Inside the circle of tents, there were booths rented by vendors. Among them were several Chinese booths selling food, jewelry, toys, and Chinese decorative items and furniture.

A sign reading "Chinese Folk Culture Pavilion" stood in front of the Chinese pavilion. The atmosphere inside the tent was cheerful. Around three sides of the tent, some 13 or 14 Chinese organizations occupied tables, and the remaining side was a stage for performances. Each association had a sign with its name on the tent wall behind its table. The space for visitors to negotiate was small, limited to narrow aisles between the tables and the rows of chairs facing the stage. Sometimes people had to squeeze by each other to find a way to pass through. Because of an extensive performance program and large audiences, the tent at times seemed disorderly and chaotic. The program included Chinese folk dance, Taiwanese aboriginal dance, a traditional Chinese costume show, and demonstrations of Chinese paper-cutting, painting, opera, and gong-fu. The audiences who passed through the Chinese tent, like those in the other Asian

Village pavillions, included people from many ethnic groups, Asian and non-Asian.

The Chinese pavilion brochure listed the events in the tent for both festival days, the names of eleven supporting commercial and social service organizations, and the Chinese pavilion committee members. Each organization had contributed \$200, this being the money that Mr. Ying had helped Mrs. Cong raise from the Chinese community.

Inside the Chinese tent CAVA recruited seventeen new members on the first day. The FCBA table, staffed by a female secretary, distributed the organization's newsletter, and Flushing Chinese business telephone directory and map; these materials ran out by 4 p.m. One table was occupied by the Taiwan Christian sect Zion, which showed a video program during the day. The Zion members were very active; they left the table to talk and to distribute flyers to people. Later, many Zion followers wearing white outfits on which Chinese, Korean and Japanese characters appeared, paraded with banners through the festival area. Their main message was the accusation that the Taiwan government oppresses follower of Zion; as a result of this politicization of the Chinese pavillion, Zion was barred from participation in following years.

The outdoor stage in the Asian Village was used for performances by Korean, Indian, and Chinese dancers and musicians. Before each performance began one could see many people pressing close to the stage to watch members of

their own ethnic group perform, but like the events presented inside the tents, the total audience was a mixed one. On this stage a Chinese lion dance was performed by the Y. Y. Chinese gong-fu group from Manhattan Chinatown. Two Chinese dance groups from Chinatown also performed. I asked Joann Jones of the Flushing Council why she recruited the lion dance group from outside Queens. She said that it was the best one she could find in New York City, and the best was what she wanted for the festival performance.

The food booths at the festival did a good business. Each booth paid \$750 for the two days, but earned it back very quickly. One Chinese food stand sold 1000 eggrolls on the first day--their entire supply--which was not expected. There were four Chinese food booths, three of them from Flushing restaurants, the other from Manhattan. They sold out almost all of their food by about 3 p.m. Again, the customers included Chinese and non-Chinese.

As I circulated through the Festival, I met Mr. Cing, the CAVA member, who was holding a campaign poster for Mayor Edward Koch; the mayoral election would be held in November 1985. He said, "Mayor Koch will be here very soon. I am the captain of Mayor Koch's campaign in AD [Assembly District] 27. There are 47 persons under me here, including Asians and Black Americans." Just then Mayor Koch's campaign parade passed, circulating through the Festival. A band played music in front and the mayor and his campaign staff followed. Supporters outside the

march, directed by Henry, held up posters to welcome him:
"Keep Mayor Koch", "Koch + Queens Together."

On the second day the events were the same as the first, but more people attended on Sunday than on Saturday. Newspapers and Queens Festival organizers estimated that, cumulatively, more than two million people came on these two days, and some people in fact attended the festival's many events, performances, and booths on both days.

Queens Festival 1986. The success of the Asian Village made the Flushing Council on Culture and the Arts ready to organize it again in 1986. This time the sponsorship and planning of the Chinese pavilion became a serious matter to the Chinese community, and several problems arose. Mrs. Cong was invited by FCCA to do the organizing again for 1986.

This year many leaders of the Queens Chinese associations attended the organizing meeting called by Mrs. Cong. The first issue on the agenda was a suggestion to place a flag of the Republic of China in front of the Chinese pavilion. Mrs. Cong opposed this suggestion; in 1985 she had moved the Taiwan government flag from the pavillion gate to a tree about 35 feet away from it. She said that the Chinese tent should have nothing to do with politics. Some people countered that flags of India, Japan, and South Korea were displayed in front of their tents. Some people did agree with Mrs. Cong's opinion, so

nobody mentioned the flag again.

The next problem was that not all people thought that Mrs. Cong and the CPC should play the leading role again this year. Some said this position should be rotated among other Chinese associations. Mrs. Cong said that she would like to have a committee to do the work cooperatively, and she asked the associations to officially join such a group. Mrs. Cong then explained that raising money was the most important activity for the tent committee. In terms of the ability to fund-raise, FCBA was the most capable organization in the Queens Chinese community, but its board of directors said that the by-laws restricted its activities to business-related matters only. In 1985 at an FCBA board meeting, some members had scolded Mr. Ying, the president of FCBA, for helping Mrs. Cong with fund-raising. Mr. Liang, a former FCBA president, was invited to organize the fund-raising work, but he later withdrew over the problem of a separate Taiwan Pavilion, to be discussed below. So Mr. Ying, the man who did it in 1985, finally took on this task again. Besides money, the problem of manpower was important; as before, the CPC staff was ready to volunteer after office hours, but this would be easier for them if the funds raised could also generate some financial support for their work.

The most serious problem was that the Taiwanese Association of America (TAA) made a request to have an independent Taiwanese pavillion in the Asian Village,

separate from the Chinese pavillion. The president of the New York Chapter of TAA insisted that the Taiwanese should have a tent for themselves. Of course, many Chinese in Queens opposed this idea, and some newspapers and associations tried to block it. The reason people opposed it was that Taiwan culture was part of Chinese culture; if a separate Taiwan tent were permitted, then the Chinese presence would be split into pieces, and regional (and political) differences emphasized. The Flushing Council had ruled that any Asian group could ask for a tent if it could meet the financial requirement of \$8,000. Joann Jones said, "Queens Festival Day is a democratic activity which is open to the public. Any Asian association can participate if it can support its financial needs, and if it can provide cultural activity without political propoganda."

Because of strong protests about a Taiwan tent from some within the Queens Chinese community, Joann Jones tried to mediate, and have the two groups work cooperatively, whether in one tent or two separate tents. Mediation stalled as it became clear that both positions were fixed: one side wanted only one tent, the other wanted two separate tents. Joann Jones gave up and asked Congressman Gary Ackerman, representing Flushing, to take over. In a meeting called by Congressman Ackerman, Mrs. Cong suggested a new title, "Chinese American Pavilion" rather than "China Pavilion." The TAA president objected to this, saying that

Taiwanese here were "Taiwanese Americans," not "Chinese Americans." She could not participate under the Chinese American name. Congressman Ackerman suggested "Chinese Experience Pavillion" to incorporate both tents into one. The TAA president replied that it was "Taiwanese experience" not "Chinese experience" that Taiwan immigrants had. Then Mrs. Cong suggested "Chinese traditional heritage." Again the TAA president objected--Taiwan's culture was a combination of the cultures of China, Japan, the Dutch, Oceania, Malays, and Taiwan aborigines; it was quite different from Chinese culture. It now seemed very clear that no use of "China" would be acceptable to both sides.

Finally, Congress Ackerman proposed "Taiwanese Culture Pavilion" instead of "Taiwan Pavilion," and accepted its separation from the China Pavilion. Congressman Ackerman also suggested that the two tents should be close to each other, with a banner reading "Working Together for Queens" connecting them. The TAA president accepted this, seeing it as not only victory of a separate tent, but also a political victory. People on the China Pavilion committee were very upset, and some even suggested withdrawing from the Festival completely. This did not happen, but the name of the China Pavilion was changed to "Chinese-Americans in Queens Pavilion."

The dispute had been solved, and the next concern was to raise at least \$8,000 for each tent. The

"Chinese-Americans in Queens" committee got a \$1,500 subsidy from the Flushing Council, and Mr. Ying took over from there. By May 19, however, only \$1,220 was raised. Mr. Ying was certain he could bring in \$6,000 by asking Chinese businessmen to buy advertisements in the brochure, but he hoped that individuals would donate money on their own. He attended a meeting of a Chinese Lions Club in Manhattan Chinatown, where he was a member. The group donated \$1,000 immediately, and other donations followed. In all, more than \$10,000 was raised this year. Some people were angry about the presence of a competing "Taiwanese Culture Pavilion," so more people donated money than in 1985. The theme of the 1986 Queens Festival was "migration." Mrs. Cong asked Dr. Roger Sanjek and me to write an article about Chinese immigration history for the pavilion brochure; she also borrowed an exhibit on Chinese laundrymen produced by the New York Chinatown History Project.

The Taiwanese Culture Pavillion raised more than \$18,000 in a very short period. Those who supported the Taiwanese Culture Pavillion were few in number but they had strong feelings about a "Taiwanese" identity, and they were even more likely to donate money for a "Taiwanese" tent when it was in competition with a "Chinese-Americans in Queens" tent. But the situation of two tents had negative effects as well. Several Queens Chinese businessmen said that some of their customers did not shop in their store

because they did not support the Taiwanese Culture Pavilion. This political interference was the reason that Mr. Liang, a member of the Taiwanese Merchant Association, resigned from the Chinese-Americans in Queens committee; he was afraid of conflict between these two tents because he had friends in both groups.

Queens Festival 1987. Mrs. Cong resigned from her job at the CPC Queens Branch in the end of 1986, and was no longer active in Flushing Chinese affairs by the time planning for the 1987 Asian Village began. On April 1987 the Chinese newspapers reported that Ms. Soung and Mr. Chiang had called a meeting to discuss the China Pavillion for Queens Festival 1987. Ms. Soung said that, among Chinese, only she and Mr. Chiang had attended the planning meeting of the Flushing Council.

At the Soung-Chiang meeting, Ms. Soung told the fourteen Queens Chinese leaders in attendance that she estimated each tent probably needed \$10,000 to \$20,000 this year. She included on her meeting agenda construction and design, performances, transportation, management, security, food for the staff, and fund-raising. Ms. Soung also said that she wanted to remind everybody that the Taiwanese Culture Pavilion was not as successful as they hoped for last year, but this time they were well-prepared.

One man said, "I think that only two months are left. We'd better decide who should be the person in charge of it." Another said, "I think Mr. Chiang and Ms. Soung

should take this job because they have been involved in it since the last meeting." Mr. Chiang replied, "Thanks, but I think this is too heavy a responsibility for me. You know the person who takes this responsibility should know the community very well, so I think Mr. Ong is the best candidate for this job. I myself can do something else for it." The first man answered, "Yes, Mr. Ong is a very nice person and is responsible. Mr. Ying is also very important because he helped to raise funds. The FCBA is the base to do this work."

The group decided to have another meeting, inviting Mr. Ong and Mr. Ying. Someone said that people should let these two persons decide the meeting date if they were so important, or the meeting would be a waste of time again. But one person then said, "No one is more important than the people who are here today. If they are enthusiastic, they should come today." Ms. Soung added, "To be fair to all, I called all these organizations already. If they cared, they would have come." However, she had announced this meeting only three days earlier. The group then chose a date for the next meeting.

At the next meeting, forty people attended, including Dr. Yang, president of FCBA; Ms. Cop, president of the American Chinese Women's Association; Mr. Hung, a board member of CAVA; Mrs. Yip, a board member of the Queens Chinese Women's Association; and Mr. Yoi, director of the CPC Queens Branch. Instead of selecting one person to be

in charge of the committee, Ms. Soung proposed to elect several as pavilion committee members. One man said that each association should have a committee member. Another said the committee should not be restricted only to associations. A third man said that whoever attended tonight's meeting should be a member of the committee.

At this point, Dr. Jang, the FCBA president, proposed that anyone who wanted to be a committee member should donate at least \$50. He said that people should not get their name in the newspaper without really putting effort into the committee's work. After this, only nine persons signed their names to be committee members. At last people wanted to choose a head for the festival committee. Dr. Jang, Mr. Chiang, Mr. Li and Ms. Soung were nominated. The three men said that they were too busy; Ms. Soung said nothing; and Ms. Soung was elected head of the committee.

At this meeting it was clear that one difficulty preventing all Chinese associations from working together was that those people who represented their associations could not make decisions for their organization. Board members had too many restrictions to decide what they should say or what kind of promise they could make in the meeting, even though they represented their associations. For example, when Dr. Jang proposed that each association should donate \$50 to show their support, some volunteered to pay the \$50 themselves if their organization did not consent, but others remained silent.

By the middle of June, just a few weeks before Queen Festival 1987, Ms. Soung said that only \$8,600 of the \$14,000 promised had yet been received. What was most interesting about the funds raised this year, in my own opinion, was the \$1,050 contributed by the Manhattan Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association (CCBA), and \$500 from a bank in Chinatown. This was the first time the CCBA and any Chinatown business had donated money to support activities in Queens.

The 1987 Queens Festival was held on June 27-28. There were six tents in the Asian Village, including Indian, Filipino, Korean, Japanese, and the two Chinese tents. The China Pavilion committee had spent \$8,000 to construct a big arch in front of the tent with the words "China Pavilion" (returning to the name used in 1985), in Chinese and English. Inside the tent, associations and some craft booths were on the side. The tent was congested, and there were many signs for various associations on the walls. The feeling was like being in a flea market because of the crowdedness.

The China Pavilion programs included Chinese opera, gong-fu, and art demonstrations. Something special this year was the parade outside the China Pavillion of more than ten girls playing the roles of Chinese folk tale figures: the oyster fairy, the monkey king, the eight immortals, and a monk joker. A lion dance was also performed outside the pavilion. The seats inside were

fully occupied all the time. The Chinese opera performance was superior to that in 1985 when people performed without costumes or gestures. This year a different group performed, in costumes and with gestures. On the second day, the director of the Taiwan Coordination Council for North American Affairs visited the China tent, even though there was no Republic of China national flag inside or outside the tent.

Next to the China Pavilion was the Taiwanese Culture Pavillion. There was a banner connecting the two tents, reading "Working Together for Queens," the same banner used in 1986 after Congressman Ackerman's mediation. On the left side of the tent, three large banners were strung. They resembled the large amulets which people get at temples or from shamans in China and Taiwan. The words written on them were quite different from what they should be. The banners stated "Under the order of 'Freedom, Democracy', 'Democracy, Self-decision-making', and 'Democracy, Independence', the Guan-dih-jiun [deity of righteousness and wealth], the Jeou-tian-shanng-dij [nine heaven emperor], and Tay-jyi-shian-ueng [deity of longevity] came to kill the devil on the earth." These words signified opposition to the Kuomintang regime in Taiwan. A wooden wall outside the tent was colored green, the color of the "Taiwan Democratic Progressive Party", a party opposing the Kuomintang party in Taiwan. The flags of this party were used inside the Taiwanese Culture

Pavilion and were carried in the Festival parade each afternoon.

As one entered the tent, a statue of Matsu (worshiped by Southeastern Chinese as a deity of the sea) sat on a table, with a bamboo bottle. The bottle had sticks inside it, with a number on each stick. One or two fortune-tellers sat at the table. A big picture of ba-guah (octagonal diagram) was drawn on the wall behind the Matsu. First one burned incense sticks and prayed to the deity, told her your problems, and then took a stick and a sheet of paper from a booklet hanging on the wall. One should pick up the paper with the same number as on one's stick, and then ask the fortune teller to speak about your luck.

There were pictures, maps and artifacts on the two sides of the tent; one cabinet showed the history of Taiwan after 1895-- the Japanese occupation period (1895-1945), and the National Government period (after 1945). On the other wall were pictures of second generation Taiwanese in the United States, and a map of the distribution of the Taiwanese population in the United States. The singing, orchestral performance, dancing, puppet show, and other programs expressed a strong political opposition to the KMT.

Joann Jones said in the newspaper that in 1986 political and religious propoganda were not permitted, yet it seemed this year that nobody cared. There was not even

any opposition from the China tent. But, when the followers of Zion, the Christian sect that joined the China pavilion in 1985, distributed flyers protesting the KMT regime in Taiwan inside and near the Asian Village, they were asked to leave by the staff of the Flushing Council because political activities were not allowed in the Asian Village. Compared with those persons in the two China and Taiwan tents, the Zion members were very young, and none were known as VIPs in the Chinese community in Queens. They were not powerful and their propaganda was easily driven away.

Both afternoons a parade around the Festival grounds organized by Flushing Council featured the ethnic groups of the Asian Village. The march was led by two white Americans from the FCCA, holding a banner reading "Flushing Council on Culture and the Arts." They were followed by the Chinese lion dance group, with adult and baby lions, and the immortals; a Korean band and dance group; Filipino tent participants; and a Taiwanese band and aboriginal dance group. With its drums, symbols, and other musical instruments, this parade attracted many people. On the second day, an Indian elephant joined the parade.

Following the 1987 Queens Festival Day, the Chinese newspapers reported that many people in the Queens Chinese community questioned the disputes between the committee members and staff. People also asked how it could be called an exhibition of Chinese culture when so many in the

audience were Chinese; because they supposed that the Festival's purpose was to present Chinese culture to non-Chinese.

Serious questions arise in this kind of community activity--Who is both capable enough and supported by the community, to be a leader? Which association is most qualified to represent the Chinese as a whole? From 1985, leadership has been an issue each year, and 1987 was no exception. The independence of each Chinese association and its leaders is evident; no paramount organization or position of overall community leader had arisen in these three years, something made even more evident by the "two-tent policy" of the Queens Taiwan immigrant community. The cultural politics of the Queens Festival had produced the most inclusive arena for Queens Chinese associations, but nothing resembling Crissman's traditional Chinatown model has yet emerged, nor is it to be expected.

CHAPTER 10. CONCLUSION

ETHNICITY AND CLASS

In earlier studies of migration, one influential concept was Park's assimilation theory. Park argued that four processes are inevitable when a new ethnic group enters a society: contact, competition, accommodation, and finally, assimilation (Park 1950). Assimilation means that immigrants and their descendants have merged into the dominant ethnic culture, in other words, to the white Protestant culture in the United States. Clearly, the assimilationists were too optimistic about their viewpoint. They overlooked the drive for separate communal organization present in some minority groups (Gordon 1964:159-160), and they were naive in assuming that all white Americans are willing to accept other ethnic groups into their social structures. Assimilation has never been a certainty if we look at the record of anti-Asian movements in the past. The formation of Chinatowns in the United States was in large part due to discrimination by the American government and people.

Cultural pluralism is another concept that has been adopted in research on immigration. In its most general sense, cultural pluralism means that each ethnic group maintains those social and behavioral patterns which do not clash with the broader values, patterns, and legal norms

common to the wider society (Gordon 1964:160). In other words, immigrants are seen to have rights to preserve their ethnic cultural character while they are learning the new culture of host countries. To some extent, early Chinese immigrants in this country were isolated from the larger non-Chinese community. Most of them were illiterate. They lived in Chinatowns where there was a closed, and hierarchical segmentary social structure as described by Crissman (1967). Under these arrangements, the CCBA was the most powerful organization in controlling and maintaining social order inside Chinatown. It also represented the Chinese in limited contact with the outside world. Due to language barriers and different customs, city governments avoided interfering in Chinese affairs as long as nothing serious happened. This century or more of isolated Chinatown history has been described by many scholars, novelists and film makers, both in distorted and accurate portrayals.

Things changed for Chinese in the United States following the rise of the American-born generations in the 1950s and the arrival of new immigrants after 1965. Now Chinese received higher education, and many of the immigrants--from Taiwan and Hong Kong--brought families, capital, and skills, to pursue their American Dream. Chinese social structure changed with this new immigration. My research focuses on the new Chinese immigrants from Taiwan, speakers of Taiwanese and other

Chinese languages. This new wave of immigrants is not marked by the traditional Chinatown bachelor society. Generally speaking, the household is the most important unit for them, and few are members of any Chinese associations.

Gordon used the term "ethclass" to refer to the social space created by the intersection of class and ethnic group. He defined it as "the subsociety created by the intersection of the vertical stratifications of ethnicity with the horizontal stratifications of social class" (Gordon 1964:51). For Gordon an "ethclass" is a source of group identification; a network of institutions and social groupings within which the individual may establish his or her primary relationships; and a mechanism to maintain and to pass on the cultural patterns of the group (Crispino 1980:10).

Gordon attributed different behavior patterns to each ethclass.

People of the same social class tend to act alike and to have the same values even if they have different ethnic backgrounds. People of different social classes tend to act differently and have different values even if they have the same ethnic background. With regard to social participation in primary groups and primary relationships, people tend to confine these to their own social class segment within their own ethnic group--that is, to the ethclass (Gordon

1964:52).

I have focused on differences among Taiwan immigrants in this study, but I have found more mobility, both actual and desired, between classes than Gordon's scheme admits. Nonetheless, one property of Gordon's ethclass concept does seem to fit my study: "people in the same social class tend to act alike, and people tend to confine their primary relationships to their own social class segment within their own ethnic group." This is also what Gates discovered in terms of class segregation in Taiwan (1981:256). On the other hand, when Chinese in Queens attempt to organize associations they also consider other criteria, such as American citizenship, gender, religion and parenthood. And all these associations appeal to the bond of ethnicity, in this respect reaching accross class lines.

THE WORKING CLASS

In my description and analysis of the working class, it is apparent that the language barrier is the most serious factor for most people who are workers here. Language constrains them to work in their own ethnic enclave. In garment and knitting factories, or while working in Chinese restaurants, one can ignore the need to speak English. Waiters, waitresses and store workers need only very simple English. One of my informants said that his relatives were afraid that they could not adapt to life in the United

States because they could not speak English. Yet once here they found that they could adapt. Many Chinese in Queens cannot speak English even though they have been here for more than ten years. A similar situation was mentioned by Watson among Chinese restaurant workers in London (Watson 1975).

To survive as a member of the working class is to earn a living by physical labor. Wages in this class vary greatly, but in most case, they are low. Being paid by the hour is standard procedure. Some people admire waiters, some of whom earn more than \$2,000 a month. But it is labor-intensive work to run back and forth between the kitchen and tables. Most Taiwan workers in Queens do not need much training because the jobs are usually simple tasks done repeatedly. My research shows that a worker can change his or her job easily, for example, from waitress to metal factory worker to machine knitter. Long work weeks are usual, often six or seven days, and 10 to 12 hours a day.

Downward mobility is a common feature of this class, either temporarily or permanently. Many women who were school teachers in Taiwan sacrificed their education because of downward mobility here. Many school teachers became knitting workers because of the language barrier. Few of them will move up again, despite their determination.

Many people in the working class hold the dream of

becoming a boss in a small business. In her study of the working class in Taiwan, Gates found that to own a small business is desired because it "promises a decent living, often actually provides it, and offers hope that with careful management a really substantial enterprise, or professional career for the children, can be attained" (Gates 1987:77). In my study in Queens, several workers actually achieved this goal after only a few years of hard work. Several Chinese restaurants and knitting factories started in this way. Of course, not everyone can maintain their new position. In Mr. Kang's case he became an owner of a garment factory and a restaurant. The pressure of running a business, however, eventually made Mr. Kang change his mind and accept the position of a cook who did not have to worry about his business.

The language barrier and long working hours affect children's education and family life in the working class. All immigrants wish their children to get a good American education, with less of the pressure they would have to deal with in Taiwan. This dream does not come true for many, however, and especially not for children who arrive late in their school careers. Working parents cannot supervise or help their children adjust either because they cannot speak English, or because they are too busy. Many do not know how their children are doing in school. I found that many children complain about being uprooted to come to this country for schooling. In many cases children

have to interpret for their parents, and some feel embarrassed by this. Parents who work in restaurants have schedules that are very different from their children's. This causes a lack of communication within the family, and may increase the distance between parents and children.

Ethnic preference in consumption patterns is more obvious among workers than in the other two classes. This is mainly related to the language barrier, though some people also say that they can buy goods tax free in Chinese stores, and some mention that they meet their friends there. For all classes, of course, if one wants to buy Chinese foods, one has to go to Chinese grocery stores.

More working class people join hui, rotating loan clubs, than in other classes. Many who work in the same factory form these clubs. This makes it is easy to collect money, because pay day corresponds to hui pay-out. Those who use these clubs treat them as a way to save money, at interest higher than they can get in banks. Many scholars have treated hui as a major source of capital formation for small businesses in overseas Chinese communities. This is not so for today's new immigrants in the United States.

THE SMALL BUSINESS OWNERS

In Chinese small businesses, the adult labor force usually comes from the family of the owner. Relatives are also important sources of partnership members. In today's Taiwan immigrant households, children are in school, and

are not expected to enter the family labor force. Thus labor recruitment from non-family members is more important today. And unlike earlier Chinese immigrants, few today expect their children to succeed them in their small businesses. They regard these businesses as their means of survival, and hope their children will become scientists and technicians. But when they see some professionals who have been laid off, they say, "So what! A Ph.D. is useless, worse off than a small businessman." This kind of uncertainty is very common in the Queens Chinese community today.

The sources of small business capital formation are many-- savings from work, and money brought from Taiwan and other places. Many new immigrants bring capital from Taiwan gained by selling off their properties when they leave. In my research, only two people used hui as a source of business capital. These cases occurred in Flushing where the many Chinese stores facilitate the formation of huiss. Stores are places for people to talk, make friends, exchange information, and organize a hui. The factor of hui in Chinese life in America as mentioned by Light (1972), Myrdal (1944) and others, should be reevaluated today.

The Taiwan government restricts people to a limited amount of cash which they may bring into the United States. This restriction does not apply to the checks one can purchase on the black market (often in jewelry stores)

before migrating to the United States. Stories of Chinese buying houses and businesses in Queens with cash are published in Chinese newspapers again and again. But today, given the good Chinese reputation in business, many banks are willing to provide loans as well. For example, the Four Seas Bakery got a bank loan for its machinery when the owners started their business.

The small business boom in the Queens Chinese community also stimulates people to take risks when opportunities are presented to them. Because so many Chinese would like to be their own bosses, when a business in good shape is for sale, many people become interested in it. The favored examples are knitting factories, travel agencies, real estate agencies, interior decorator firms, and restaurants. This business boom does create job opportunities, but it also bring a vicious cycle of exploitation (Roberts 1978). In order to compete with each other, owners of knitting factories, for example, are forced to lower their prices in order to conduct business, and to survive.

The competition is so keen that low profits lead owners to reduce wages. There are so many new immigrants living in Queens that labor is abundant. If one worker, feeling the wage is too low, quits the job, it is easy for the employer to find a replacement. In 1982, I discovered that some women had learned how to knit the exact styles needed in the United States before they emigrated from Taiwan.

Few Chinese knitting factory owners or workers receive the same profits or wages that people in this business did before 1980.

As the number of new immigrants has increased, real estate agencies have grown like bamboo shoots after a rain. There were only four Chinese-owned agencies in Queens before 1980, but this increased to thirty by 1985. Since demand was high in the mid-1980s, the price of houses soared to levels many could not afford. This resulted in anti-Chinese sentiment among some white Americans in Flushing (Jacobs 1983), especially after the Asian Plaza Corporation bought a piece of land from Green Point Savings Bank in 1982. The people affected included both non-Chinese and those Chinese of little or modest financial means, but not the Chinese large investors. The residential home market has slowed since 1986. Several Chinese real estate agencies closed after 1987; salespeople had to find other jobs. Many non-Chinese complained that the Chinese and other Asians had bought up houses and businesses in the community, making the prices unattainable. Feelings of resentment grew. Chinese renters have also suffered, as housing prices have driven up rents. The people who gained the profits are the Chinese and non-Chinese speculators who buy and sell houses themselves or through Chinese and non-Chinese real estate agents.

Like workers, many small business owners do not have

time to supervise their children's homework, and their English is also limited. Therefore they share many problems with those in the working class. One of my informants said that his son forged his signature on school papers. He did not know how his son did in school; he had to work all day and sometimes at night, and did not have time to talk to his children. He had to ask his daughter for help with anything related to the English language.

In most studies of middleman minorities, the stereotype of the successful small businessman is emphasized. There are many cases of failures as well as successes. Some couples quarrel with each other often because of differences about business management. The wife in one couple who were my neighbors in Taiwan told me that if they did not sell their business, they would end up in divorce because they argued constantly with each other about their business. There are other problems--shoplifting, extortion, burglary, unfair inspections, and competition with other businesses. No doubt these small business owners are frugal, and hard working. They know it is the only way to survive in this country. They resent Americans who receive unemployment benefits when they are out of jobs. With an entrepreneurial spirit, they pay attention to their business before all else. Many of them said nothing was more important than earning money; only then could they enjoy themselves, or join community activities.

THE PROFESSIONALS

The professional people in this study enjoyed a more stable, nine to five, or ten to six daily schedule. Compared with the other two classes, most have less of a language barrier in the United States. They spend more time with their children, at home or in outdoor activities. Their children also have more opportunities than children in the other two classes; for example, they take piano or computer lessons. In this class, most people have regular weekends and vacations with their families, and travel inside and outside the United States.

More people in the professional class own their own homes. White collar workers, such as civil servants, usually own only one house, but medical doctors may own several houses, investing in rental properties. Some professionals do leave their jobs to become business owners because, as the saying goes, "the Asian is the last hired, and the first fired". They do so for other reasons as well. Some professionals see business as an easier way to earn money than sticking to a fixed salary. Some think owning a business means flexibility in one's schedule, and the added benefit of not having a boss to answer to. If they fail in business, it is possible for them to return to professional employment. In this study, I found several cases of moving from professional to small business, and back again.

Due to their professional skills and the nature of

their work environment, Chinese professionals have more opportunities to work with non-Chinese. In more cases, professionals find their jobs themselves, rather than through a relative (Rapp 1978). Most of the communication that takes place between Chinese and non-Chinese professionals results from business interests and co-worker relationships, not from social occasions. Mrs. Tou, who received a master's degree in the United States and worked in an American company, still felt it was very hard to communicate with non-Chinese, not because of language, but because of their different ways of thinking. In communicating with neighbors, people in this class have the advantage of English proficiency, and their free time coincides with the rest of the community. Thus they have many more opportunities for interaction than people in the other two classes.

WOMEN AND MIGRATION

To migrate to the United States has different meanings for different immigrants. To some divorced Chinese women, coming to the United States meant an emancipation from criticism, and sadness, and the chance to begin a new life. Divorce is still very shameful for the women in traditional Taiwan society. Although today more people accept the fact of divorce, and there are more divorced women than ever before in Taiwan, it is still embarrassing when one has to face family members, relatives, and

friends. Although their husbands long ago left home to live with their "little wives," some women in Taiwan did not want to divorce and lose face (Gates 1987:111).

People told me that in the United States you take care of yourself; no one will question your past, and one can re-start life here. Women from Ney-tzay-meei (内社美) households make many sacrifices, mainly for their children's education. These mothers play triple roles as bread winner, father, and mother.

Those women who find job opportunities in the United States pursue economic advancement. Many want to become bosses on their own as do men. Some succeed and some do not. Some wives prefer to stay in the United States because their husbands have few places to go after office hours. No matter what, all women hope their children will succeed here.

CHINESE IMMIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS

At the community level, I have analysed Chinese voluntary associations, social service agencies, and churches. In the earlier study of rural-urban migration, anthropologists and sociologists paid considerable attention to the functions of immigrant voluntary associations. For many peasant immigrants migration meant exposure to the urban environment for the first time. The associations established by them were treated by social scientists as mechanisms of adaptation to new, and often

hostile, urban environments (Little 1967; Mangin 1965; Roberts 1978). Many studies show that associations can help immigrants find jobs, a place to live, and help while they are sick, or out of work (Anderson & Anderson 1962; Leeds 1971; Okamura 1983; Perlman 1976; Sills 1968). Immigrants also join voluntary associations to recreate the "Gemeinschaft" of the village left behind (Georges 1984:7). This can mean an attempt to reproduce the home country's culture (Little 1967; Doughty 1972), or to maintain social order and resolve conflict (Okamura 1983). Sometimes associations become a medium of social change to help immigrants enter the host society (Norbeck 1962; Sills 1968). Some studies also mention the contributions that associations can make to their home countries. In the Chinese case, overseas associations donated money to build bridges, schools, and road constructions (Watson 1975; Siu 1987).

The traditional Chinatown associations, the hui-kuan, clan and other district associations, are examples of the sort of voluntary association studied by anthropologists. Many Chinatown associations even had political connections with the Ching dynasty in the 19th century and with the Republic of China, including support for Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary activity. The overseas Chinese were called "the mothers of revolution" since they donated money for the revolution. They were also involved with their hometowns' social and economic development, such as

building schools and roads (Siu 1987). But they isolated themselves from larger non-Chinese community activities around their Chinatown bases.

Such umbrella organizations that include many possible functions are not characteristic of recent migration history. Georges (1984:22-23) showed that, due to their urban background, Dominican immigrants in New York City organize associations based on specific goals, including recreational, home-based political, occupational and cultural associations. A similar situation marks Vincentian and Grenadian immigrants in New York City; according to Basch (1987:169-171), these immigrants have 38 voluntary associations with different purposes, such as benevolent societies, sports and social clubs, and educational and cultural clubs. Basch also mentions that the migrants' urban, educational, and class backgrounds are responsible for this organizational diversity.

For new Chinese immigrants, associations developed similarly around many different goals. Today they join merchants' associations, alumni associations, cultural and sports clubs, and professional associations. The immigrants from Taiwan are not rural emigrants like the early overseas Chinese. Many come from urban backgrounds. Even those born in rural Taiwan had study or work experience in cities before they came to the United States. Some associations are organized based on the colleges and high schools that people graduated from in

Taiwan.

CHINESE ASSOCIATIONS IN QUEENS

In order to attract all Chinese as members, the Chinese American Voters Association (CAVA) refused any political alignment with Kuomintang, Communist, or Taiwan-independence causes. It announced at its first meeting that "all activities of this association are limited to the United States, and concerned only with the Chinese American's political welfare, and nothing outside of these goals". This is quite different from Georges' findings about Dominican immigrant political associations in New York, where the aim is to "gain political power and/or influence in the Dominican Republic" (1984:26). CAVA's orientation also marks the Queens Chinese women's associations. (Of course, some Taiwan immigrant organizations have very strong home-country political orientations, but these were included in my research only in relation to the Queens Festival. Aside from this event, they are not active in Queens affairs.)

One thing that is clear about the Chinese voluntary associations in this study is that they do not only confine themselves to the Chinese community; they are also active in the larger non-Chinese community. At almost any activity held by one of these associations local American politicians were invited to attend. They also undertook activities to show their concern and willingness to involve

themselves in Queens community affairs. These include economic, political, social and cultural activities, such as beautifying the Flushing subway station, becoming members of School Boards and Community Boards, holding candidates' nights, and participating in Christmas season celebrations.

Although I did not see the formation of any "Pan-Asian" organization in Queens, the Flushing Chinese Business Association (FCBA) did establish a sister organization tie with the Korean American Association of Flushing, and Chinese and Korean parents' groups formed an Asian American Parent's Council. Activities joined by different ethnic groups are one way to promote mutual understanding. The Queens Festival Day is significant in sharing cultures for Queens residents and those who come from outside the borough. To join multi-ethnic activities, to establish relationships of rapport with non-Chinese politicians, and to encourage Chinese to join non-Chinese community affairs are regarded by these new Chinese voluntary associations as ways to help Chinese gain support from American politicians, and to benefit the Chinese community.

When Skinner did his study of overseas Chinese in Thailand, he used the term "interlocking leadership" to describe the overlapping ties among Chinese voluntary associations (Skinner 1958). This also exists in the study of Chinese in Malaysia (Li 1970) and in New York Chinatown voluntary associations (Kuo 1977). The situation is

different in the Chinese voluntary associations in Queens. There is an interlocking leadership here too, but no hierarchical inter-organization ties among these associations as in Thailand or Manhattan. To be a member of the board of directors in two different Queens associations is not uncommon after 1986 when several organizations had emerged. Mr. Ong and Mr. Cing both belonged to the boards of directors of FCBA and CAVA at the same time; Mrs. Yip and Mrs. Win belonged to QCWA and CAVA; and Ms. Cop belonged to ACWA and CAVA. But, each Chinese association in Queens is independent of the others. There is no hierarchical relationship between any of them. Each association has its own connections to the larger non-Chinese community. There is no central CCBA node or single leader as in earlier Chinatown political organization.

Most of the leaders and board members of these Queens voluntary associations are highly educated. For example, the CAVA board members between 1985 and 1987, included six with bachelor's degree, seven with master's degree, and one with a doctoral degree. On the FCBA board of directors between 1986 and 1987, there were three medical doctors, and the other eight held either master's or bachelor's degrees. Similarly, highly educated board members were also found in the two women's associations. These leaders can each communicate with non-Chinese organizations and local community officials. This ability to communicate

with the non-Chinese community on their own is probably an important factor in the relative independence of each other these associations. It clearly differentiates them from the non-English speaking segmentary organizations of past Chinatowns.

We also see a relatively fixed set of faces in the various boards of directors. For example, among the directors of the FCBA between 1985 and 1987, five were elected three times, and four members were elected twice. This situation also occurred in other associations, despite the competition in CAVA, and the women's associations. This is a problem in Chinese communities. First of all, not many Chinese want to join voluntary associations, and even fewer are willing to become the members of boards of directors, an unpaid position. Therefore people reelect the old faces. I often heard board members complaining "Why always us?" It is probably unfair, they feel, for them to give so much of their time to the community; what they receive in return is people seeing their names in the Chinese newspapers several times through the year.

In analyzing the inactivity of the many, and the overactivity of the few, one key point is the interrelation of the factors of class and ethnicity. CAVA claimed it had about 1,000 members in the middle of 1987, but the attendance of its meetings was not great, except in its annual meetings with free meals, entertainment, and active campaigning for votes. Even then the attendance was only

200 to 300. At the CAVA candidates' nights in 1986 and 1987, less than fifty people attended. One sees the same faces very often in these meetings. Almost all of them belong to the professional class.

In the women's associations, recreational activities attract greatest attendance; topics such as law seminars only draw a small audience. People appeal to ethnicity--"we are all Chinese", "we Chinese should unite together, and fight for our benefits"--to form the associations. This use of ethnicity to initiate an organization may be successful, to some extent, in recruiting members. In terms of moving these members to activity, however, ethnicity does not have much power. In dealing with "the Chinese community of Queens," non-Chinese politicians and organizations actually face a small group of association leaders.

CHINESE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

Protestant churches play an important role in the Chinese immigrant community. They meet not only spiritual needs, but also provide secular activities for their congregations. As ministers preach the gospel, professionals are invited to lecture on taxes, law, and insurance. The members try to help each other find jobs, and houses, and provide each other advice and comfort. They are fictive extended families as they address each other as "brothers and sisters." Similar cases of help and

comfort can be found in other immigrant churches, such as those of Korean (Kim 1981:199-200) and Haitian immigrants (Laguerre 1979:16).

Churches definitely help new immigrants adapt to the new environment, but the notion of becoming Christian as an index of total adaptation to the new society (Lee 1960) is an exaggeration. Some churches preserve the customs and languages of their members, as with Samoans on the West coast, who hold traditional dinners with Samoan food in church after funeral ceremonies (Ablon 1970:215); or Korean churches in New York City which teach Korean folk dancing, singing, and taekwondo in Sunday school classes (Kim 1981:195).

Chinese churches also try to preserve Chinese culture. Newtown Church holds a service on the Chinese Mid-Autumn Festival day. Ministers remind parents not to adopt American ways to discipline children because American children are not taught to respect their parents. Some churches also offer Chinese classes for children. Where the traditional culture does not contradict Christian theology, the Chinese churches try to maintain it. Foner argues that because "new immigrants are influenced by the New York and broader American context does not mean that their former traditions and values are replaced by 'American' customs and ideas or that they become homogenized in a so-called 'melting pot' of New York. Immigrants have not wiped out the old nor are they fully

ready to be assimilated or socialized into the new" (Foner 1987:12).

It is also interesting that while some associations have tried to cut their relationships with their home country, some churches attempt to keep up relationships with Taiwan. Newtown church supports scholarships at theological schools in Taiwan, and donated money to a Christian hospital there. But in terms of community activities here, the Chinese Protestant churches show no interest.

The multi-ethnic, multi-language churches emerging in Queens reflects history and demographic change in Flushing, Elmhurst and other Queens neighborhoods. As more and more white Americans have moved out of the communities, and more and more Asians have moved in, roles in churches are changing. The sharing of the church space resulted in misunderstandings and tensions as we saw from the Reformed Church of Newtown. However, in Pastor Lo's words, "Racial tensions, language barriers, and cultural differences are inevitable. We expect this to continue for many generations to come. Yet, if we have mutual love and understanding, we can overcome all problems peacefully."

LEADERSHIP AMONG QUEENS CHINESE

With the emergence of voluntary associations and contacts developed in their arenas of operation, many leaders have become entrepreneurs, patrons, and brokers.

To initiate an association or a church is an entrepreneurial task, like starting a business. It is something new to the initiators. They have to think about how to manage the activities, making decisions on whether to have an appointed or elected board of directors or lay consistory. They have to deal with many problems, such as recruiting members and encouraging them to join their activities, as well as the actual production of these activities. An association and a congregation can be terminated within a few months if the attendance drops, but if they succeed, their organizers get credit for their efforts.

Many people initiate organizations or join them because they would like to help the Chinese and to promote Chinese interests and welfare in Queens. After they start to run an association, they may play a role as patron in providing resources or programs for Chinese to solve their personal problems and understand the outside community. An example would be providing senior citizen services by the Chinese-American Planning Council, or registering voters by CAVA. Activists in organizations may also play the role of broker by bringing outside resources into the community, such as the use of government agencies to provide services at the women's associations' offices, or the security forum held with the police precinct by FCBA.

A leader can play the roles of entrepreneur, patron, or broker at the same time, or in different stages in his or

her career. It is difficult to clearly differentiate these roles. We can treat the people who organize voluntary associations as entrepreneurs, sharing the characteristics of economic entrepreneurship: management, profit making, innovation and risk bearing. To establish an association, requires innovation. The working out of regulations and by-laws, recruiting the membership, and maintaining operation are jobs of management; the factional splits and inactivity in an association may due to poor management.

In the Chinese associations in Queens, one may receive criticism because of jealousy, and friends may become enemies. However, one can also profit from association involvement, politically or economically. For example, some Chinese association leaders have been invited to be board members of the Downtown Flushing Development Corporation; some were appointed members of Queens Community Boards 4, 6 and 7; some were invited to politicians' parties; some have become a Congressman's Asian assistant or advisor. Such association entrepreneurs may simultaneously become patrons and brokers. They may ask local politicians to solve problems Chinese encounter, as when Mr. Ong asked a congressman to get a visa for a person's parent. Similar cases occur among the other Chinese association leaders. Meanwhile they exert pull on government institutions to bring services to the Chinese community as when the two women's associations got social workers posted in their offices.

In terms of the establishment of these associations, and the activities they hold, we may also see movement towards individual and community empowerment. This takes place both inside and outside the Chinese community.

The establishment of the Queens Chinese Women's Association (QCWA) was Mrs. Win's challenge to the male leaders of CAVA. She was upset because she did not think her opinions were listened to by the male leaders. After her name became well-known in the community, she established QCWA to demonstrate women's power and strength to these men. In the CAVA board election in 1985 she mobilized her members, and offered her candidate list to them and others to influence the election. She adopted "pragmatic rules" (Bailey 1969) never used before by the Chinese in Queens. Later Ms. Cop resigned from the board of directors of QCWA and formed a second women's association, the American Chinese Women's Association (ACWA). This was also an action of empowerment. Ms. Cop was dissatisfied with the way that Mrs. Win controlled the operations of the association, and thus the second women's association was formed.

The most obvious example of empowerment outside the Chinese community is joining the Community Boards. As a member of a Community Board, one can exchange information with non-Chinese Board members, and express Chinese opinions about community affairs. Now there are five Chinese on Community Board 7 in Flushing, two Chinese on

Community Board 4 in Elmhurst-Corona, and one on Community Board 6 in Forest Hill-Rego Park. Through some activities it has joined or initiated, the FCBA also has established channels of empowerment for the Chinese community in Flushing's business and political worlds.

Although most of the associations do not become involved with home country politics, this does not mean that members cut their relationships with relatives and friends in Taiwan. On the contrary, many of them maintain contact with their relatives and friends and often visit. From telephone calls and money sent to families in Taiwan, and clothes, moon cakes, and even wedding materials sent to the United States in return, people at the household level do retain close ties with their homeland. Today, with so many Chinese daily newspapers and other media, what happens in Taiwan one day is known in Queens the next day. People are not cut off from relationships with their homeland.

CHINATOWN NO MORE

What is the impact of the influx of Chinese immigrants to Queens in the past few decades? In chapter two, we mentioned that immigrants migrating to New York City have helped the New York City economy by bringing human and capital resources. Immigrants are relatively cheap, reliable and willing workers who labor under conditions that many Americans will not accept. Their direct capital investment in stores and small retail shops should not be

ignored in the recovery of the New York City economy. These immigrants "reverse the trend toward housing abandonment and store closings, and they generate cash and tax flows for the city" (Sassen-koob 1981). In Queens Chinese immigrants have helped the revival of the local economy in Flushing and Elmhurst. Many non-Chinese politicians and local leaders agree that it was Asian immigrants who saved Flushing from becoming a depressed area, and turned it into a booming shopping district.

The Chinese immigrants moved into this area with varied backgrounds, as workers, small business owners, and professionals. They provide the labor market with cheap labor, they renovate abandoned buildings into businesses, they invest their money. The establishment of these businesses not only attracts local Chinese and non-Chinese to shop, but also many Chinese from outside Queens, from Long Island, upstate New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and other states. The businesses are connected with other companies in establishing commercial relationships with other parts of world. Queens Chinese in the import business import goods from Taiwan to the United States. One can find "made in Taiwan" clothes, food, and daily necessities in department stores as well as small retail stores.

This study has shown many aspects of the new Chinese immigrant community in Queens that are not found in the traditional Chinatowns. In the past few years, realtors

have tried to use the phrase "a second Chinatown" to attract more Chinese to Flushing. However, this is not only a false picture but also a dangerous claim. When people talk about "Chinatown," they imagine a "ghetto," a crowded and dirty environment, and a closed neighborhood. When people talk about Chinatown, they envision Chinese, and only Chinese, living next to each, with all the stores occupied by Chinese owners. When people speak about Chinatown, they evoke the historical baggage of its hierarchical and closed social structure and secret societies.

The Chinese in Queens are no Chinatown. People are not homogeneous. They are divided into different classes, with different educational backgrounds, working experiences, household patterns, and social networks. Queens Chinese do not live in a hierarchical and closed ethnic enclave community. Many of them work with non-Chinese, and most live next door to non-Chinese in apartments or houses. People will not find any street in Queens occupied by Chinese alone. There are diverse ethnic businesses co-existing with each other, and some have very close personal relationships with their neighboring shops. The Chinese voluntary associations in Flushing are independent of each other. They put a lot of effort into contacts with non-Chinese associations and politicians, and have become actively involved in non-Chinese community affairs.

With the ethnic climate of today in the United States,

the slogan "a second Chinatown" might well cause non-Chinese to feel the Chinese are "taking over" and produce resentment. Anti-Chinese feeling has indeed been expressed in recent years as people have seen more and more Chinese and Asians migrating to Queens. But no part of Queens is a second or third Chinatown. Queens is a world town for those people who come from many parts of the world to contribute, like the Chinese, their talents and strengths to make this diverse community more prosperous, more beautiful, and more peaceful.

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