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Migration, Social Network, and Identity: The Evolution of Chinese Community in East San Gabriel Valley, 1980-2010

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Yu-Ju Hung

August 2013

Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Clifford Trafzer, Chairperson
Dr. Larry Burgess
Dr. Rebecca Monte Kugel

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The Dissertation of Yu-Ju Hung is approved:

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Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Migration, Social Network, and Identity: The Evolution of Chinese Community in East San Gabriel Valley, 1980-2010

by

Yu-Ju Hung

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History
University of California, Riverside, August 2013
Dr. Clifford Trafzer, Chairperson

American immigration reform, global economic rearrangement, and international migration inaugurated a new era of Chinese American immigration. The post-1960s immigration was characterized by various countries of origin, diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, and residential suburban settlements pattern. The San Gabriel Valley, a vast suburban area of Los Angeles County, is the representative of a new type of Chinese immigration community. Creating an ethnic community in Monterey Park in the 1970s, the Chinese utilized a strategy of northward and eastward migration in the following decades. They expand multiple settlements in the San Gabriel Valley, which was divided geographically and chronologically into three sections— the ethnoburban core in the west, two later-formed ethnic communities in the north and east districts, each populated by various Chinese groups with different residency lengths, socioeconomic backgrounds and distinctive assimilation patterns. The latest Chinese community in east San Gabriel Valley was formed in the late 1980s in four towns, Diamond Bar, Walnut and two unincorporated towns of Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights. This eastside Chinese society was composed of established middle

to upper class Chinese mainly re-migrated from west and north territory of the San Gabriel Valley. As an extension of Chinese suburbanization, the evolution of Chinese community in east San Gabriel Valley was intertwined with the transformation of ethnicity-exclusivity and transnational ties, interracial conflict and reconciliation, ethnic intergenerational accommodation, and Americanization. Their residential assimilation and development of social and cultural organizations enhanced this ethnic community with dual features; ethnic solidarity and awareness, as well as highly incorporated link to the local community. This influenced their local civic activities and political participation. The combination of cultural diversity and ethnic uniqueness in the development of the Chinese community in east San Gabriel Valley provides an ongoing example of modified spatial assimilation and a way to measure interracial tensions and ethnic intergenerational incorporation.

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Chapter I
Introduction

As one of the earliest trans-Pacific-Ocean immigration groups, the presence of Chinese, or *Gam Saan Haak* (Gold Mountain guests), had dates back to 1849 when they arrived as indentured laborers working in the mines, farms and railroad construction fields in the American West. These early Chinese were exclusively male Cantonese-speaking individuals leaving their families in China, and they were often characterized as "sojourners," rather than immigrants. Suffering from serious anti-Chinese violence during the late nineteenth century, and faced with discriminatory laws in subsequent years, Chinese immigration was barred after the passage of Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. These early Chinese immigrants were forced to retreat and self-segregate in inner-city ethnic enclaves, Chinatowns, where they were linked with American stereotypes of filth, diseases, and vice impressions of Chinese clannishness and unassimilability.

The American immigration reform in 1968, together with the global economic realignment and an increasing trend of international migration, brought a tremendous growth in the number of Chinese immigrants to the country. New Chinese immigrants soon became the majority of the contemporary Chinese American society displacing those who had long established residency before the mid twentieth century. Coming from divergent countries of origins, the new wave of immigration included Chinese of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Along with semi-skilled and blue-collar workers, refugee immigrants, others arrived with a large amount of highly-skilled professional and resource abundant backgrounds. Many were entrepreneurs using family-based

immigration patterns. This new wave of Chinese immigration is distinguished greatly from the earlier Cantonese immigration in their residential choices. They bypassed central-city Chinatowns and settled in suburban communities, especially those located in the outskirts of New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Geographer Wei Li termed this an "ethnoburb," which is a Chinese suburban community formed under the influence of a combination of factors: changing socioeconomic and political contexts. These changes are at global, national and local levels. An extraordinarily high proportion of the Chinese population lived and settled in multiethnic suburbs. Among them, the San Gabriel Valley was the representative ethnoburb spotted by a host of Chinese suburban communities.[1]

The San Gabriel Valley is a vast suburban area of Los Angeles County, one of the most significant ports of Chinese immigration to the United States since the early twentieth century. The region extends to a large area geographically: West to the Los Angeles City, East to San Bernardino County, North to the San Gabriel Mountains, and South to Puente Hills. In 2012, the San Gabriel Valley encompassed 31 small-to-medium cities and 14 unincorporated towns, each with populations ranging from thirty thousand to hundreds thousands. In the 1970s, the Chinese first concentrated in Monterey Park, a city in the western edge of San Gabriel Valley, and established it as the first American suburban Chinatown in early 1980s.[2] Expansion occurred from Monterey Park in the following years. The Chinese utilized a strategy

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[1] Wei Li, *Spatial Transformation of an Urban Ethnic Community From Chinatown to Chinese Ethnoburb in Los Angeles* (Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1997); Wei Li, *Anatomy of a New Ethnic Settlement*：*The Chinese Ethnoburb in Los Angeles*, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 35, No.3 (March 1998), pp. 479-501.

[2] Timothy Patrick Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California* (Philadelphia, PA：Temple University Press, 1995); Mark Arax, "Monterey Park, Nation's 1st Suburban Chinatown: Asian Impact," *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1987.

of northward and eastward migration to establish their communities in the San Gabriel Valley. They are roughly divided geographically and chronologically into three large sections: the ethnoburban core— west San Gabriel Valley (centering in Monterey Park); two later formed areas— north San Gabriel Valley or north-district (centering in Arcadia); and east San Gabriel Valley or east-district (centering in Rowland Heights). Each section of Chinese settlement was characterized by various components of Chinese groups with different immigration periods, socioeconomic backgrounds and distinctive assimilation patterns. The latest ethnic community in east San Gabriel Valley is composed of established Chinese re-migrated from the west and north San Gabriel Valley and, is the subject for this dissertation. It contains Chinese settlements in four towns— Diamond Bar, Walnut and two unincorporated towns of Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights, which began to develop in late 1980s.

Theoretical Framework and Analysis:

In the context of international immigration and regional suburban migration, the development of eastern-district Chinese community could be examined from two broader scopes: as the extension phase in the ethnoburb framework; and presently transformative incorporation model in the spatial assimilation structure, interlinked with the process from transnationality to localization.

(A) The extension stage in the "Ethnoburb":

As an ethnic community constituted by post-1960s Chinese immigrants with high socioeconomic attainment and suburban residential pattern in the post-WWII

period spurred the development Chinese community. It was apparently within the broader theoretical framework set by Wei Li's ethnoburb concept, which posited that the immigration community in the context of transnational geopolitical and global economic restructuring attempted to recreate their communities. The transformation through national immigration, trade reforms, local demographic change, socioeconomic, and political changes constructed new communities. This prototype resulted in the ethnic residential relocation, from urban enclaves to suburbs, and provided the transnational migration framework for researchers for tje ethnic suburban phenomenon. Nevertheless, the broader framework of ethnic geographic transformation from urban to suburb, to a certain extent, is insufficient to explain explicit differentiation of ethnic suburban communities. These differences were influenced by differentiated ethnic networks in transnational and local levels that led some to develop as Chinatown-like ethnic clusters. They were locations for ethnic employment, while other locations proceeded to develop as the ethnic communities with different integration patterns and ethnic demands. Although the ethnoburbia profoundly illustrates residential transformation, detaching the currently developing Chinese community in the East San Gabriel Valley as a specific subject is required. Here the established Chinese development demonstrated a progressive immigration pattern in ethnoburban structure requiring a separate treatment.

Conventional wisdom and mainstream public media usually perceives the San Gabriel Valley as a unitary formation of the Chinese suburban community and regards Chinese settlements later-formed in northern and eastern San Gabriel Valley as the fringe areas. It is characterized with undistinguished differences in ethnic residential, economic and social patterns, subordinated to the ethnoburban core. Wei Li's

ethnoburban model, which was instrumental to interpret Chinese American suburbanization in the context of international immigration and localization, reinforced the development pattern of Chinese society in San Gabriel Valley. The model suggests development under the structure of a sole community. In examining Chinese economic and business performance in Los Angeles, sociologists Yen-Fen Tseng and Zhou Yu both treated San Gabriel Valley as one single transnational economic entity although Yen-Fen Tseng had shown that local Chinese exercised strategies of multinuclear development and locational agglomeration among certain industries in different towns in the San Gabriel Valley.[3] However this extrapolation of ethnoburban core as the single model of development for the Chinese society in San Gabriel Valley was gradually countered when the northern, and particularly, eastern San Gabriel Valley was settled by an enormous Chinese population with a distinctive development pattern. That development had unique economic and socio-cultural activities in recent years. In late 1990s, the local Chinese newspapers, *Chinese Daily News*, frequently used "east district" to refer Chinese community in the east San Gabriel Valley. Local Chinese residents also self-developed a collective identity belonging to the "eastern community." Many Chinese American clubs established in the after the 1990s used term of "eastern" to highlight their geographic location and independent awareness.

For instance, the Evangelical Formosan Church (EFC), a Taiwanese-majority Christian group, established their branch in Covina with the name of EFC of East Valley (EFCEV) in 1980s; The Chinese American Association of Southern California, a local Chinese social organization, also formed their chapter in inland suburb with

[3] Yen-Fen Tseng, *Suburban Ethnic Economy: Chinese Business Communities in Los Angeles* (Dissertation: University of California Los Angeles, 1994).

the name of "east San Gabriel Valley" in early 1990s. The "Taiwan American Association of East San Gabriel Valley," a brotherhood organization originated from west-San Gabriel Valley-based Taiwan Center, was established in 1998 as well. This east-district awareness continued to be reinforced when local Chinese politicians developed joint cooperation within regional towns. In a similar vein, scholarly research also began to underscore the distinctiveness of the east San Gabriel Valley. In 2005, scholars Jan Lin and Paul Robinson had observed that Chinese in northern and eastern San Gabriel Valley had shown distinctive socioeconomic characteristics from their ethnic counterparts in the west San Gabriel Valley. They indicated that the ethnoburban core and north district represented two sides of Chinese socioeconomic spectrum with relevant strong ethnic persistence and a low level of cultural assimilation respectively, while the latest phase of Chinese migration in east district demonstrated the pattern of combination of both ethnic attachments and gradual Americanization.[4]

This concept to detach the east-district Chinese community as a single subject sets the cornerstone for my research. In fact, as the latest and ongoing migration stage is with Chinese residents mostly migrating from the western San Gabriel Valley to the eastern San Gabriel Valley. The development of the Chinese community in the east San Gabriel Valley, when compared to models in west and north San Gabriel Valley, are affected by the transformation from transnationality to localization. Its development is layered with interracial conflict and reconciliation, and Chinese intergenerational accommodation. Moreover, the Chinese are located, with a decentralized extensive area of the four towns of east San Gabriel Valley. They

[4] Jan Lin and Paul Robinson, "Spatial Disparities in the Expansion of the Chinese Ethnoburb of Los Angeles," *Geo Journal*, Vol. 64, No.1 (2005), pp. 51-61.

developed ethnic social and voluntary organizations to engage in various civic and political activities, which indicated that eastern district Chinese developed distinguished ethnic settlement that steadily divorced from substantially ethnic concentration and submergence setting apart from their counterparts in the ethnoburban core in west San Gabriel Valley.

Therefore, while the Chinese still connected their ethnic people through the networks of diverse ethnic social and civic organizations, their residential distribution tended to be more invisible when they migrated eastward. This transformative pattern is still ongoing where the Chinese presently are continuing to move further to the Inland Southern California such as San Bernardino County and Riverside County. The research on the Chinese community in east San Gabriel Valley thereby provides an insightful example to illustrate the trajectory of the extension phase of enormous ethnic minorities with socioeconomic affluence in the American suburbia.

The development of the Chinese community in the east San Gabriel Valley centers on four respective towns, which are populated by diverse ethnic groups within different localities subject to different local forces. The municipality of Diamond Bar and neighboring Walnut definitely would distinguish themselves from the Chinese who inhabit unincorporated towns of Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights supervised by Los Angeles County. It made each settlement develop uniquely to fit their locality and local conditions. However, all these four towns witnessed similar local development characterized by their concurrent transformation from white-majority sleepy suburban townships to diverse ethnic and cultural enclaves, with growing Asian and Latino minority population in the last three decades. Therefore, eastward Chinese naturally developed more concurrent and interrelated

ethnic systems within the local communities. Moreover, rapid residential fluidity, overlapping ethnic networks and interchangeability in locally organizational systems further interlinked eastward Chinese beyond township boundaries. Regardless of ethnic organization affiliation, civic mobilization for community services, and involvement in local politics, they depended upon collective ethnic power. As a result Chinese inter-communication in the four cities was invariably prevalent and crucial in establishing their ethnic community. Hence, although it is necessary to separate the discussion of Chinese development in each town, the structure of this dissertation still assumes that there is still an east-district Chinese community as a whole, rather than four compartmented Chinese sub-societies.

The development of immigration organizations and ethnic social networks is one of the main loci in this research. Given that eastward migration and ethnic residential dispersion in the extensive territory in four towns in East San Gabriel Valley made local Chinese lacked of physical ethnic concentration, it led them to more depend upon connections of social space to keep ethnic community tightly bonded and functional. In general, ethnic organizations and social ties are the pillars of immigration society although they varied considerably in strength and density. In east San Gabriel Valley, these ethnic social networks functioned profoundly, and are divided into two categories— regional Chinese organizations, which interlinked with Chinese transnational relationship rooted in their pre-immigration experiences. These kind of transnationally-ingrained Chinese organizations, included three types— alumni, *tongshanghuai*, and language schools, which were instrumental to Chinese group coalition and identity. Local ethnic organizations, including Chinese Associations, ethnic churches, Chinese senior clubs, and others, were the product of

Chinese suburbanization in the inland suburbs. They essentially acted as the bridge in the Chinese incorporation process.

In addition, the word "Chinese" used in this study followed a broader definition: referring to intergenerational diasporic Chinese and those of Chinese descent, no matter where they migrated from. Indeed, Chinese American society is a complex and diverse component dividing into multiple subgroups with a variety of socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. This made Chinese people from different origins being self-differentiated. They usually develop specific ethnic organizations based on common dialect or region of origin. Nevertheless, different Chinese American subgroups usually kept dual ethnic identity. For instance, many Taiwanese immigrants, particularly *waishengren*, the mainlanders who followed Kuomintang Party to Taiwan in 1949, recognized themselves both as Chinese and Taiwanese. Similarly, a bi-ethnic identity was carried among many Indo-Chinese who both identified their Chinese ancestry and nationality where they immigrated from. Hence, most Chinese subgroups, in conjunction with diasporic Chinese history, hold a collective pan-Chinese or Pan-*hui* identity although Chinese American society was still constrained by factionalism.[5] Nevertheless, this stereotypical constriction among different Chinese

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[5] Pan-Chinese or Pan-*hui* identity originated from Chinese diaspora, which could be traced to Tong Dynasty (618-907, A.D.), when *huashng*, a Chinese term referring to merchants and traders, and *huagong*, Chinese workers, began to spread into Southeast Asia to settle down or as seasonally transient workers. Chinese diaspora also happened in America when Chinese workers and a few merchants went to United States since middle of nineteenth century. In 2010, about 36 million overseas Chinese (*huaqiao*), and people of Chinese ancestry (*huay*) living outside Mainland China and Taiwan, across more than 150 countries. Traditionally, Chinese scholars and western Sinologists often utilized diaspora notion to analyze collective identity of overseas Chinese. For example, historian Ling-Chi Wang had classified five types of Chinese identity in U.S.: (1) *luoye gueigne* (the sojourner mentality); (2) *zhancao-chugen* (total assimilation); (3) *luodi shenggen* (accommodation); (4) *xungen wenzu* (ethnic pride and consciousness); (5) *shigen qunzu* (the uprooted). However, no matter what types of Chinese belonged to, most diasporic Chinese hold a collective sense of "Chinese ethnicity." See Ling-Chi Wang, "Roots and the Changing Identity of the Chinese in the United States," in Tu Wei-ming edited. *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 185-212; Gungwu

subgroups was relatively benign in east San Gabriel Valley given that similarity of middle-class socioeconomic attainment provided the common ground for eastward Chinese. Moreover, as a minority group with highly social mobility in the ethnically diverse suburbs, eastward Chinese possessed stronger localization awareness by establishing various local Chinese organizations to engage in community-based activities. The formation of these local Chinese networks effectively united different Chinese subgroups for local commitment. Despite the fact that immigrants from Taiwan, southeastern Asia, Hong Kong and Mainland China inevitably maintained their respective in-group cohesion, mainly by systems of their regional and at-large ethnic clubs, they tended to be more conformable and cooperative in local ethnic and non-ethnic organizations in Eastern San Gabriel Valley. In so doing, the employment of term of "Chinese" doesn't mean to erase the distinctiveness of specific Chinese subgroups in the formation of east-district ethnic community. Rather, it provides a comprehensive structure for investigation of panoramic development of east-district Chinese society.

Wang, *China and the Chinese Overseas* (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1992); Min Zhou, "The Chinese Diaspora and International Migration," in Min Zhou edited. *Contemporary Chinese America: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Community Transformation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009): 23-40.

(B) The Eastern San Gabriel Valley Chinese community from assimilation theory perspective:

The development of Eastern San Gabriel Valley Chinese community is also within the broader structure of international immigration and cultural assimilation. In the 1920s, scholars of Chicago school of sociology had initially laid the groundbreaking work for classic migration and assimilation pattern, which based on their investigation of contemporary massive eastern and southern European migration to the America. They suggested that migrants, as "marginal man," would inevitably meet conflicting socioeconomic and cultural adaption, and would be absorbed as part of the society after they progressed irreversible "four-phase race relations" cycle—contact, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation. This process of being fused to the mainstream society accompanied with immigrants' residential transformation, which first settled ethnic-clustered neighborhoods in central cities, gradually moved to outer white-majority areas after they experienced intergenerational efforts to enhance their socioeconomic status. Apparently, the conventional assimilation paradigm proposed a straight-line assimilation assumption that immigrants would surrender respective traditions to practices of "Anglo-conformity."[6]

The literature concerning minority assimilation had been added by numerous researches in postwar era. Milton Gordon proposed seven assimilation dimensions, which aimed to redefine intergroup contact and behaviors. The first one is cultural assimilation or acculturation, which he claimed as a generational process inevitable

[6] Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 33 (1928), pp. 881-893; Robert E. Park, *Race and Culture* (Glencoe, Il: Free Press, 1950), p. 138.

for all ethnic groups. During this least-problematic step, the language and cultural practices of the host society were acquired by immigration groups in one to two generations. The second stage is structural assimilation, the large-scale entrance of an ethnic group into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society. It may occur concurrently with acculturation, subsequent to it, or not at all. According to Gordon's presumption, this stage is the crucial step in the process of assimilation. Once structural assimilation had been achieved, all other phases of assimilation, including marital, identification, behavioral reception, attitudinal reception, and civic engagement, followed automatically. In general, Gordon's analysis of assimilation remains static and overly homogeneous; however, he provides a multidimensional framework to measure the extent of the assimilation of ethnic groups.[7] Other than Gordon, scholars in 1950s to 1970s also provided alternative thoughts about immigration assimilation and intergroup relationship. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick employed empirical data from minority groups, including blacks, Italians, Irish and Puerto Ricans, in New York to re-elaborate cultural pluralism concept, which was first proposed by Horace Kellan in early twentieth century. They observed that different ethnic groups had largely retained their in-group identities that produced the cultural diversity in New York. Utilizing a comparative historical approach, Tomatsu Shibutani and Kian Kwans also broadened the research of ethnic assimilation in a macroscopic perspective. They advanced their research of interethnic relationship through the concept of ethnic stratification, which divided people into different categories, each associated with a varying degree of social distances

[7] Milton Gordon claimed assimilation in the United States invariably involved seven dimensions: cultural assimilation, structural assimilation, marital assimilation, identification assimilation, attitude receptional assimilation, behavioral receptional assimilation, and civic assimilation. See Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in America Life* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1964).

measured by nearness of subjective state to certain individuals. Rather than individual-level investigation, they suggest that there is a feeling of common identity, closeness, and shared experiences when social distance is low. Otherwise, people perceive and treat the other as belonging to a different category. They also suggested that social distances may be institutionalized and follow the color line, where stereotypes, social norms and conventional thoughts maintain a system of stratification with apparent ethnic differentiation and social mobility.[8] Likewise, Tomas Sowell proposed that every ethnic group usually at first moved from the bottom of socioeconomic rank and gradually climbed the social ladder that rewarded with economic success. He also pointed out ethnically internal differences caused various acculturation practices.[9] All these assimilation frameworks and theories developed in the aftermath of 1960s demonstrated alternative explanations of non-linear progression assimilation pattern, suggesting that more complicated social ties and networks interlinked with changing ethnic demography had implemented the country with cultural diversity rather than "melting pot" concept.

Moreover, as international migration increased in post-1960s and culminated in 1980s, many theories pertaining to immigration assimilation and their suburban sprawl had been further proposed that can be encapsulated into the spatial assimilation system. The core of spatial assimilation system lies in the thought that residential transformation and social mobility are inextricably interwoven. Its theories often contained two distinct but interrelated forms. One is residential integration. The

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[8] Horace Kellan, "Democracy Versus the Melting Pot," *The Nation*, February 18 and 25, 1915; Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1964); Richard Alba and Victor Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Winter, 1997), pp. 838-840.

[9] Tomas Sowell, *Ethnic America* (New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 1981), pp. 273-296.

scholars claimed that residential integration functioned profoundly to reduce social distance in cultural and physical aspects so that had always presumed by scholars as one of main natural results of assimilation. The other side of spatial assimilation system, closely concerned with residential integration, is suburban attainment. Scholars such as Richard D. Alba, John R. Logan, Douglas Massey, Nancy Denton and others all had similar arguments that suburban attainment serves as a strong indication of assimilation because it generally involves leaving behind traditional ethnic communities and networks to develop new social ties to a more diverse set of ethnic neighbors that made the minority suburbanites integrate into mainstream society. Besides, many scholars also noted that suburbanization would promote access to better qualified housing, education, neighborhood amenities, employment opportunities, less crime environment, and social and health services. These advantages along with suburbanization would create upwardly economic and social mobility for incorporation.[10]

However, with more transnational immigrants directly clustered in suburbia, conventional spatial assimilation system also provided modification modes. Many studies had found that increasing new immigrants, regardless of their socioeconomic status, had chosen suburban neighborhoods as their residences, shaking abovementioned spatial assimilation structure.[11] For example, Piererette

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[10] Douglas Massey, "Ethnic Residential Segregation: A Theoretical Synthesis and Empirical Review," *Sociology and Social Research*, No. 69 (1985), pp. 315-350; Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, "Trends in Residential Segregation of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians: 1970-1980," *American Sociological Review*, No. 52 (1988), pp. 802-825; Richard D. Alba, John R. Logan, Brian J. Stults, Gilbert Marzan and Wenquan Zhang, "Immigrant Groups in the Suburbs: A Reexamination of Suburbanization and Spatial Assimilation," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 64, No.3 (June, 1999), pp. 446-460.

[11] Emily Skop and Wei Li, "Asians in America's Suburbs: Patterns and Consequences of Settlement," *Geographic Review*, Vol. 95, No. 2 (April, 2005): 167-188; W.A. V. Clark and S. Patel, "Residential Choices of the Newly Arrived Foreign Born: Spatial Patterns and Implications for Assimilation,"

Hondagneu-Sotelo's work, *Doméstica*, illustrated how Mexican female immigrants in post-1980s Los Angeles suburbs, who worked domestic jobs (nanny/housekeepers and housecleaners), suffered extreme plight and isolation. This work reveled that minority groups residentially in suburbs did not mean advantageous socioeconomic status and greater assimilation.[12] In addition, ethnographical scholars also observed that massive flow of minority groups into certain suburban towns caused serious white flights that transformed originally ethnic-diversity communities into the high concentration of certain ethnic population, leading to the phenomenon of suburban ethnic segregation. For instance, Douglas S. Massey and Brendan P. Mullan found that blacks faced strong barriers to spatial assimilation that caused them to be spatially isolated from both Anglos and Hispanics who possess relatively high levels of education, income, and occupational status.[13]

All these transformations of growing ethnic suburban diversity in the aftermath of 1980s, revised the traditional view regarding the "white, middle class, home-owning suburbanite as the single standard cultural membership and being."[14] For instance, Richard Alba and Victor Nee argued that assimilation and acculturation should not be defined simply as the substitution of one cultural expression for its equivalent, which usually means an adoption of the cultural traits of Anglos. Instead,

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[12] See Piererette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Doméstica* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

[13] Douglas S. Massey and Brendan P. Mullan, "Processes of Hispanic and Black Spatial Assimilation," *American Journal Sociology*, Vol. 89, No. 4 (January, 1984), pp. 836-873; Douglas Massey, *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration* (New York, N.Y.: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008); Ming Wen, Diane S. Lauderdale and Namratha R. Kandula, "Ethnic Neighborhoods in Multi-Ethnic America, 1990-2000: Resurgent Ethnicity in the Ethnoburbs," *Social Forces*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (September, 2009), pp. 425-460; Dexter Waugh and Steven A. Chin, "Daly City: New Manila," *San Francisco Examiner,* September 17, 1989.

[14] Richard Wright, and Mark Ellis, and Virginia Parks, "Re-placing Whiteness in Spatial Assimilation Research," *City & Community* 4 (2): 111-135.

Alba and Nee suggested that the influence of minority ethnic cultures can occur by the expansion of the range of what is considered normative behavior within the mainstream society. As a result, when features of ethnic minority are absorbed or fused with mainstream elements, a hybrid cultural mix is able to be created that replaces unilateral Anglo-conformity pattern.[15]

In recent years, assimilation has gradually become, as Nathan Glazer claimed, a worn-out theory that "the large majority had a negative reaction to it."[16] More academic studies further patronized cultural pluralism and suggested that ethnic suburbanization and incorporation were able to occur without shedding of ethnic cultures and traditions. This selective assimilation pattern usually connected with the concept of flow of transnational social capital, suggesting that migrants, particularly those with high socioeconomic background in their pre-immigration status, possessed the ability to retain original cultural endowment and engagement in transnational activities as an alternative path to social and economic achievement in the United States.[17] Many researchers of transnational minority suburban communities, which Ming Wen, Diane S. Lauderdale and Namratha R. Kandula observed that there were "resurgent ethnicity" in suburban neighborhoods.[18] For instance, Francisco Jimenez, Alma M. Garcia and Richard A. Garcia had observed that post-1960s Mexican

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[15] See Richard Alba and Victor Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Winter, 1997): 834.

[16] Nathan Glazer, "Is Assimilation Dead?," *The Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Sciences*, No. 530, pp. 122-136.

[17] Alejandro Portes, "Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities," in C.P.J. Hirschman Kasintiz DeWind edited, *The Handbook of the Transnational Migration: The American Experience* (New York, N.Y.: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999), pp. 21-33; P. Levitt, J. DeWind and S. Vertovec, "International perspectives on transnational migration: An introduction," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (2003), pp. 565-575

[18] Ming Wen, Diane S. Lauderdale and Namratha R. Kandula, "Ethnic Neighborhoods in Multi-ethnic America, 1990-2000: Resurgent Ethnicity in the Ethnoburbs?," *Social Forces*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (September, 2009), pp. 425-460.

suburbanites in San Jose, California, had utilized Latino cultural and religious institutions to channel their ethnic power in pursuit of their political and civil rights. Linda Trinh Vo's investigation of the Vietnamese community in Orange County, California also reflected how the Vietnamese depended upon their ethnic economic networks to create a self-choosing incorporation.[19] Similarly, the examinations of Asian and Latino political activities in Los Angeles from John Horton and Leland T. Saito also reflected the ethnic selective assimilation pattern in political arena. These two authors observed that Asians and Latinos both achieved political successes by their demographic advantage and ethnic mobilization in Los Angeles suburbs.[20]

In addition, recent studies also stressed the importance of ethnic social organizations and networks in the molding of new-type ethnic suburban communities, particularly those ones established by middle-to-high class minority suburbanites who are professionally assimilated but still remain largely ethnic in culturally way. These researchers counteracted conventional academic thoughts which usually regarded ethnic organizations and networks as the cause for segregation of immigrants and minority groups, making their assimilation more difficult.[21] Instead, these new

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[19] Francisco Jimenez, Alma M. Garcia, and Richard A. Garcia, *Ethnic Community Builders: Mexican Americans in Search of Justice and Power- The Struggle for Citizenship Rights in San Jose, California* (Lanham, M.D.: AltaMira, 2007); Linda Trinh Vo, "Transforming an Ethnic Community: Little Saigon, Orange County," in Huping Ling edited, *Asian America: Forming New Communities, Expanding Boundaries* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2009): 87-103.

[20] John Horton, *The Politics of the Diversity：Immigration, Resistance, and Change in Monterey Park, California* (Philadelphia, PA：Temple University Press, 1995); Leland T. Saito, *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los and Angeles Suburb* (Urbana, I.L.: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

[21] For instance, Milton Gordon, Raymond Breton and Jeffrey G. Reitz all proposed ethnic organizations possessed the segregative and anti-assimilative effects that hindered ethnic groups from integration. See Milton Gordon, *Human Nature, Class, and Ethnicity* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 19798); Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 70 (1965), pp. 193-205; Jeffrey G. Reitz, "Immigrants, Their Descendants, and the Cohesion of Canada," in Raymond Breton edited, *Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion in Canada* (Montreal, Canada: Instituted for Research on Public Policy, 1980), pp. 329-417.

researchers found that suburbanization of ethnic minorities increased the significance of their ethnic organizations, especially social and voluntary ones, as the mechanisms both for ethnic groups to integrate to the local community while retaining their ethnic cohesion. For instance, Caroline B. Brettell found that Asian Indians in Dallas, Texas had intensely employed their regional and religious organizations to celebrate cultural differences and cultural traditions. It helped them in civic engagement and political incorporation that fostered their American identity;[22] in her investigation of the Caribbean immigrants of Vincentians and Grenadians in New York, Linda Basch discussed how ethnic voluntary associations shaped immigrant perceptions of the United States, aiding in adjustment to the new country and in maintaining ties to the homeland.[23] Ulrike Schoeneberg's study pertaining to Greek, Italian and Turkish immigrants in West Germany in early 1980s also indicated that ethnic and immigration associations acted as mediating institutions, though with varying effects in these three ethnic groups, to help integrate and assimilate the newcomers to the host society.[24]

Obviously, the diverse and multi-dimension phenomenon of international migration and minority suburbanization, especially conducted by latest wave of Asian immigration in post-1960s, embodied the assimilation concept with new definition and scope. The development of the Chinese society in east San Gabriel Valley was thereby molded under modified spatial assimilation structure which stressed values of

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[22] Caroline B. Brettell, "The spatial, social, and political incorporation of Asian Indian Immigrants in Dallas, Texas," U*rban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, Vol. 34, No.2/3 (Summer-Fall, 2005), pp. 247-280.

[23] Linda Basch, "The Vincentians and the Grenadians: The Role of Voluntary Associations in Immigrant Adaption to New York City," in Nancy Foner edited, *New Immigrants in New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), pp. 159-193.

[24] Ulrike Schoeneberg, "Participation in Ethnic Associations: The Case of Immigrants in West Germany," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Autumn, 1985), pp. 417-437.

cultural diversity and ethnic uniqueness to replace straight-line integration stereotype. As an ongoing ethnic community comprised by sophisticated immigrants and established ethnic residents, with a growing American-born generation rooting in the local community, the eastern San Gabriel Valley Chinese experience provides an example to measure interracial relationship and ethnic intergenerational incorporation. Moreover, Chinese employment of invisible social space, through various types of ethnic social organizations and networks, to fulfill localization also demonstrated a sample of ethnically selective assimilation. This is indicative of how ethnic group in suburbia had the potentials to implement their coethnic cultural influence to the pluralism of local community.

Chinatowns Literature Review and Chinese American Historiography

Traditional academic examination on Chinese American history usually dwelled on the premise of presenting the Chinese as passive victims of racial segregation and prejudice in the host society or focused on how the dominant society perceived, treated and responded to Chinese accidental presence in America. From an outsider perspective, historians in early twentieth century, including Hubert Howe Bancroft and Mary Roberts Coolidge, attributed Chinese victimhood to the economic factors, as a result of the "cheap labor" issue that gave rise to American Sinophobia since late 1860s.[25] This view which was gradually rectified by Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, Stuart C. Miller, Alexander Saxton and Robert McClellen who centralized race and

[25] Mary R. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, N.Y.: Holt, 1909); Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, The History company, 1884-90).

ethnicity as important determinants in exploring the nature of anti-Chinese and anti-immigration hostility in the history of the United States.[26] These were added in the postwar period by a growing literature which started to examine situations in Chinese American communities in responsive to the host society.

Gunether Barth's *Bitter Strength* was one kind of the works that spoke from Chinese perspective (or "compassionate history").[27] Barth argued that, instead of being real immigrants, early Chinese workers should be categorized as "sojourners" who pursued economic earnings and expected to go back home to China rather than settling permanently in the United States. Despite that Barth indicated that the early Chinese started to transform themselves from sojourners to immigrants in 1870s, he stressed that Chinese "sojourner ethnicity" was the vital element that kept them from being accepting by the American society. Barth's "sojourner theory" was challenged by a host of Chinese American scholars, who employed Chinese materials and voices from Chinese Americans. This different kind of narrative included Roger Daniel's *Asia America*, Ronald Takaki's *Strangers from a Different Shore*, Sucheng Chan's *Asian Americans* and Him Mark Lai's *Becoming Chinese American.*[28] These

[26] Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Chicago, IL: Illinois Books Edition, 1939); Stuart C. Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: the American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1969); Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1971); Robert McCllen, The Heathern Chinese: A Study of American Attitudes toward China, 1890-1905 (Columbia: Ohio State University Press, 1971).

[27] Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1964).

[28] Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1988); Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, 1989); Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (New York, N.Y.: Prentice Hall, 1991); other monographs included Shih-shan HenryTsai's *The Chinese Experience in America* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986); Charles J. McClain, *In Search of Equality: the Chinese Struggle against Discrimination in Nineteenth-century America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994); Huping Ling, *Surviving on the Golden Mountain: A History of Chinese American Women and Their Lives* (Albany,

publications, along with some scholarly works dealing with Chinese experience in the rural communities in the nineteenth-century American West, demonstrated a revisionist argument against assimilationist viewpoints and stressed that, instead of being sojourners, they actively participated in American social, economic, and political lives.[29]

Many scholars paid attention on occupations held by Chinese Americans and studied how Chinese influenced the local community. These publications included Paul C. P. Siu's work, *Chinese Laundryman*, Renqui Yu's work, *To Save China, To Save Ourselves*, James W. Loewen's book, *The Mississppi Chinese*, and Sucheng Chan's work, *This Bitter Sweet Soil*.[30] Siu investigated Chinese laundries in Chicago, where they served mostly white customers, but still were isolated from mainstream society. Yu's work emphasized the efforts of Chinese laundrymen in the first half of twentieth century in New York, where they worked in defiance of isolation from the host society and founded Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance (CHLA). This Chinese occupational organization, as Siu showed, united the local Chinese community by

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N.Y. : State University of New York Press, c1998); Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA.: University of California Press, 1995); Arif Dirlik ed., *Chinese on the American Frontier* (New Yok, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing, Inc., 2001); Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions* (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira, 2004).

[29] These kinds of works included Arif Dirlik ed., *Chinese on the American Frontier* (New York, N.Y.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing, Inc., 2001); Rose Hum Lee, *The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region* (New York: Arnos Press and the New York Timesm 1979); Sylvia Sun Minnick, *Samfow: The San Joaquin Chinese Legacy* (Frenso, CA: Panorama West, 1988); Jeff Gillenkirk, and James Motlow, *Bitter Melon: Stories from the Last Rural Chinese Town in America* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1987). All these works revealed that the presence of Chinese in the West was more than an exotic addition to the frontier. Instead, Chinese, as other ethnic groups, in the American West were aggressive pioneers and participants in forming of the West and made their inerasable and crucial contributions.

[30] Paul C. P. Siu, Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation (New York, N. Y.: New York University Press, 1987); Renqui Yu, To Save China, to Save Ourselves: The Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992); James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1971); Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1986).

assisting needy and fighting discriminatory laws. Loewen focused on development of Chinese grocery in Mississippi. He found that the Chinese, who came to Mississippi Delta with a very small number as sharecroppers during the Reconstruction Era, survived by the dual processes that economically disenfranchised them by operated their groceries, and serving as middlemen, to cater to blacks. While doing so they culturally and socially gradually divorced themselves from their Chinese traditions and clung to whites' lifestyles. Chan's exploration of Chinese farmers in California provided a revisionist view against the view of "cheap labor" that traditional historiography portrayed early Chinese agricultural laborers. She claimed that Chinese farmers well adapted their traditional cultivating ways to California climate and environment, and actively fought and bargained with landlords for their payments. Above-mentioned works recognized the Chinese sojourner mentality, while they also noticed that these Chinese proceeded with an acculturated, or at least an accustomed, pattern in these occupational fields that confirmed their contribution to the country.

Among traditional Chinese American literature, the study of urban Chinatowns was another field productive and fruitful. In general, sociologists and historians had studied Chinatowns in terms of their community functions. Historian Mary Coolidge, in her research of the San Francisco Chinatown in early twentieth century, dubbed Chinatown as a "quarter" in the urban area built by Chinese to protect themselves. Sociologist Rose Hum Lee described Chinatowns as "ghetto-like formations resulting from the migration and settlement of persons with culture, religion, language, ideology, or race different from those of members of the dominant groups," and redefined them as part of a worldwide Chinese diaspora. Likewise, geographer Kay Anderson analyzed Chinatown as a "European creation," while anthropologist

Bernard P. Wong interpreted Chinatown as a racially-confined community.[31] All these stereotypes of Chinatowns evoked images of an exotic world where people were, in physical and cultural aspects, different from the rest of the American people, leading to secretive and mysterious lives.

Conventional European historiography regarding Chinatown usually emphasized the part of exclusive ethnic economy or stereotype of sweatshop, as well as stressed the negative effect of retarding Chinese to integrate to the society. Stanford Morris Lyman's *Chinatown and Little Tokyo* served this kind of example.[32] In a comparison of Chinatown and Little Tokyo, Lyman suggested that Chinese, who were obliged to a clan system, highly depended upon Chinatown institutions for jobs and social networks. However, locked in "antagonistic cooperation," the Chinese institutions, including clan associations, secret societies and *kongsis* (company), fell into ceaselessly inner-directed conflict that not only segregated themselves, but also insulated Chinese immigrants from the host society. Seldom employing first-hand materials, Lyman's explanations of power system in Chinatown, along with his assumption for the insulation of Chinese immigrants, obviously came from an outsider's perspective, preoccupied by traditional Western stereotype.

These mysterious and unreasoned literatures pertaining to Chinatown were countered by collective devotions of Asian and Chinese American scholars in the

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[31] Mary R. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, N.Y.: Holt, 1909): 402; Rose Hum Lee, *The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region* (New York: Arnos Press and the New York Timesm 1979): 147; Bernard P. Wong, *A Chinese American Community: Ethnicity and Survival Strategies* (Singapore: Chopmen Enterprises, 1979): 18; Kay J. Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal and Kinston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991): 9

[32] Stanford Morris Lyman, *Chinatown and Little Tokyo: Power, Conflict, and Community among Chinese and Japanese Immigrants to America* (Millwood, N.Y. : Associated Faculty Press, 1986).

aftermath of 1960s.[33] These historians did not avoid the negative facet in Chinatowns, which only constituted part of the entire story. Instead, through a process of oral interviews, field research and applying many primary sources in Chinese, they transformed the research scope to the lives of ordinary people in Chinatowns. For example, Takaki claimed that "Chinatown was not a quaint ghetto, an attraction for tourists if one viewed from within"; rather, "for the people living there, the colony was their home and community." From a perspective of the insider, he narrated the reality of second generation of Chinese Americans, ranging from self-segregation from peers in the childhood, growing up with a cultural and social gap with the immigration generation, struggles to acclimate to the normal American notion, and discriminatory situations they faced in labor market.[34]

Likewise, L. Eve Armentrout Ma's study of Oakland Chinatown also based on oral interviews and field works. It portrayed ordinary people's lives, presenting how Chinatown, as a marketing and cultural center, helped new immigrants to adapt to their new lives; [35] In her examination of San Francisco Chinatown, Shehong Chen also suggested a permanent Chinese American community had been founded, through the establishment of varied Chinese institutions and instillation of Christianity, that facilitated Chinese to American values.[36]

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[33] Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*; Huping, Ling, *Chinese St. Louis : from enclave to cultural community* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2004); Ronald Takaki, *Ethnic Islands: The Emergence of Urban Chinese Americans* (New York, NY: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989); Bonnie Tsui, *American Chinatown : Aa People's History of Five* **N***eighborhoods* (New York : Free Press, 2009); L. Eve Armentrout Ma, *Hometown Chinatown: the history of Oakland's Chinese* C*community* (New York : Garland Pub., 2000).

[34] Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, pp. 257-269.

[35] L. Eve Armentrout Ma, *Hometown Chinatown: the History of Oakland's Chinese Community* (New York, N.Y.: Garland Pub., 2000).

[36] Shehong Chen, *Being Chinese, Becoming Chinese American* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002), pp. 146-178.

Several works in 1970s and 1980s focused on social changes in New York's Chinatown. Chia-ling Kuo's work, *Social and Political Change in New York Chinatown*, introduced the four-phase development of Chinese voluntary associations in New York Chinatown:[37] (a) the development of the dominant Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, the early-time inner government; (b) the advent of Chinese Planning Council and Youth Council in early twentieth century, which served as the link with between state, federal government, and the local Chinese community; (c) the presence of political associations in terms of contemporary Asian American movement and internal-war in China in the period of 1940s-1970s; (d) emergence of national political coalitions such as Organizations of Chinese Americans which had strong connections with Chinese associations in cities throughout the United States. According to Kuo, although these Chinese voluntary organizations brought beneficial effects for deprived Chinese community members, he also confirmed that these associations fell into their usual internal conflict. Moreover, these organizations also lacked of electoral powers and human resources, and were vulnerable by city, state, and federal government which were controlled by vested interest groups, they hardly result in fundamental social and political changes. Peter Kwong's two works dealt with Chinese labor issues in the context of transnational politics and immigration.[38] In *Chinatown, New York*, he demonstrated how situations of Chinese laborers in New York were improved during WWII, when China and United States allied, but soon imploded after the Communist Party reined China in 1949. The following U.S. anti-communist policy threatened the integration

[37] Chia-ling Kup, *Social and Political Change in New York's Chinatown: The Role of Voluntary Associations* (New York, N. Y.: Praeger, 1977).
[38] Peter Kwong, *Chinatown, New York: Labor and Politics, 1930-1950* (New York, N. Y.: Monthly Review Press, 1979); Peter Kwong, *The new Chinatown* (New York, N. Y.: Hill and Wang, 1987).

of Chinese community into American society, while it augmented the power of political and economic Chinese elites in Chinatown who worked against Communism. In *The New Chinatown*, Kwong continued to examine how new and affluent immigration in post-1960s enhanced the status of traditional Chinese political and economic elites in Chinatown. He contended that traditional and new immigrant elites united together to exploit the poor Chinese workers, leading to the sweatshop and illegal labor issues in New York Chinatown. Kwong's argument was supported by Bernard Wong, who investigated the role of the powerful businessmen in New York Chinatown.[39]

Peter Kwong's viewpoint is that Chinese workers in Chinatown were the oppressed group. It was echoed by Chalsa M. Loo's exploration of Chinese workers in San Francisco Chinatown of 1980s.[40] Loo, who conducted interviews and designed surveys, found that most Chinese people in Chinatown were constantly trapped by poverty, unsanitary conditions, crime, overcrowding, and overworking, as well as mental distress and emotional problems, which challenged the notion of the "model minority." Nevertheless, Loo indicated that low-renting housing and non-English ethnic labor market continued to work to attract the poor and elderly Chinese to Chinatown. [41]

In contrast to the pessimistic arguments that Peter Kwong and Loo revealed for Chinese lives in New York and San Francisco Chinatowns, Min Zhou's work, *Chinatown: the Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave* demonstrated a

[39] Bernard Wong, "Elites and Ethnic Boundary Maintenance: A Study of the Roles of Elites in Chinatown, New York City," *Urban Anthropology* 6 (1977): 1-22
[40] Chalsa M. Loo, *Chinatown: Most Time, Hard Time* (New York, N. Y.: Praeger, 1992).
[41] Chalsa M. Loo, *Chinatown: Most Time, Hard Time*: 226.

different and positive viewpoint.[42] Zhou claimed that New York Chinatown represented the ethnic enclave economy model, which possessed a "structural duality," with a "protected sector" serving most Chinese clients and an "export sector" appealing to people outside the enclave. The enclave economy in Chinatown was built on family and kinship networks that "both enclave entrepreneurs and workers are bound by and benefit from ethnic solidarity and mutual obligations which constituted a form of social capital absent beyond the enclave boundaries." In this light, Zhou contended that Chinatown, instead of exploiting and blocking immigrants from moving up socioeconomically in the large society, provided Chinese people with viable employment and working opportunities that actually facilitated immigrants to assimilate to the host society.

After the 1990s, academic concerns for Chinese American community turned beyond traditional Chinatowns, stretching to suburban Chinese community built by post-1960s Chinese immigrants. These publications usually explored these new Chinese suburban communities under the scope of transnationalism, diaspora, and globalization. Hsuang-shui Chen's work, *Chinatown No More*, served this kind of example.[43] As an anthropologist, he examined post-1965 Taiwanese immigration

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[42] Min Zhou, *Chinatown: the Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992).

[43] Hsiang-shui Chen, *Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York* (Ithaca, N.Y.：Cornell University Press, 1992). Related works pertaining to other post-1960s ethnic groups and the establishments of their communities in American cities and adjacent suburbs included: Luciano Mangiafico, *Contemporary American Immigrants: Patterns of Filipino, Korean, and Chinese Settlements in the United States* (New York, N.Y.: Praeger, 1988); Illsoo Kim, *New Urban Immigrants: The Korean Community in New York* (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1981); J. Sobredo, "From Manila Bay to Daly City: Filipinos in San Francisco," in James Carlson C. Brook, And N. J. Peters edited, *Reclaiming San Francisco: History, Politics, Culture* (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 1998): 273-286; Maxine P. Fisher, *The Indians of New York City: A Study of Immigrants from India* (Columbia, M.O., South Asia Books, 1980); Colette Marie. McLaughlin and Paul Jesilow, "Conveying a Sense of Community along Bolsa Avenue: Little Saigon as a Model of Ethnic Commercial Belts," *International Migration,* Vol. 36, No.1 (1998): 49-63; "Little India in Artesia: Why Not?," *Los Angeles Times*, September 6, 1992.

community in the Flushing and Elmhurst of Queens in New York. Based on his interviews with one hundred households, which represented three classes of distinguished workers, small business people, and professionals, Chen claimed that the Flushing-Elmhurst Taiwanese community was not a traditional Chinatown controlled by business groups (represented by Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association). Rather, it was decentralized and divided by class differences, leading to the presence of a diverse multiethnic "world town." Taiwanese in Flushing, as Chen found, both maintained and transformed their traditions, and kept their ethnic links by loose social, political, and cultural associations, heavily related to Taiwan cultural and social roots. Moreover, he also found that this Taiwanese community exhibited considerable mobility between classes: both downward, when immigrants were incapable to work in accordance with their educations, and upward, when they were capable to run their own small businesses by the assistance of racial networks.

Other research into the Chinese community formed by post-1960 Chinese immigrants could be found in Bernard P. Wong's work, *The Chinese in Silicon Valley*.[44] Wong found that the Chinese community in Silicon Valley was overwhelmingly comprised of males who worked in high-tech industries. These Chinese were of diverse origins, including American-born Chinese, Chinese from Mainland China and Hong Kong, Taiwanese, and others. Wong found that localization and globalization functioned concomitantly through Chinese professionals' social networks, which were based on traditional kinship, friendship, and alumni relations, and made dealings between American and Asian companies available. Moreover, social networks enabled the Chinese in Silicon Valley to, rather than being

[44] Bernard P. Wong, *The Chinese in Silicon Valley: Globalization, Social Networks, and Ethnic Identity* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

homogenizing to mainstream society, to maintain their ethnic identities and cultural activities by involving them with Chinese language, food, media, and traditional festivals.

Post-1960s Chinese concentration in the Los Angeles suburbs riveted scholarly attention as well. With a series of introductory articles in *LA Times* pertaining to Asian activities in SGV in the 1980s, some researchers contributed to the detailed investigation of Chinese and their interactions with local residents in San Gabriel Valley. Ethnic studies scholars Timothy Patrick Fong's *The First Suburban Chinatown*, Leland T. Saito's *Race and Politics*, and sociologist John Horton's *The Politics of Diversity*, all focused on how the Chinese from Taiwan and Hong Kong, who had been affluent and well-educated, rapidly implementing economic, political, social, and cultural changes upon Monterey Park, a city located in the eastern part of Los Angeles. They discuss how the established residents, including Euro-Americans, Latino Americans, and other Asian Americans responded.[45] As they found, the antagonism toward the newly-arrived Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park in the period of 1980 to early 1990s tended to cross ethnic lines, and racial tensions infused the controversial issues of fast-paced municipal development versus slow or controlled growth, characterized by the intense and conflicting council elections in the city from 1984 to 1992. These interracial tensions gradually soothed in 1990s when the moderate Chinese figures, such as Judy Chu, who played as the bridge between Chinese and the grass-rooted residents.

[45] Timothy Patrick Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown：The Remaking of Monterey Park, California* (Philadelphia, PA：Temple University Press, 1995); John Horton, *The Politics of the Diversity：Immigration, Resistance, and Change in Monterey Park, California*; Leland T. Saito, *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los and Angeles Suburb* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

Tritia Toyota's book, *Envisioning America: New Chinese Americans and the Politics of Belonging*, also noticed that the presence of new Chinese communities in Los Angeles provided new momentum and new identity for Chinese American political participation.[46] As he observed, Judy Chu and Mike Eng, the American-born couple who were successful, fashioned and bridged roles in new immigrant collectivity, represented a new model of Chinese American politicians, which not only promoted the union of both native-born and foreign-born Chinese, but also expanded Chinese political powers through cross-ethnic political alliances.

Geographer Wei Li's work, *Spatial Transformation of an Urban Ethnic Community from Chinatown to Chinese Ethnoburb in Los Angeles*, investigated the Chinese spatial distribution from Los Angeles Chinatown to San Gabriel Valley, where he defined as the representative of "ethnoburb."[47] Through demographic and economic data, surveys, and interviews, he traced the historical evolution of Chinese settlement in Los Angeles, showing how Chinese residential and economic patterns gradually detached from Chinatown and transformed to San Gabriel Valley. This newly-developed Chinese ethnoburb in San Gabriel Valley, as Li claimed, was a suburban ethnic cluster of residential areas and business districts affected by a combination of global and local forces, including the movements of people and capital and the dynamic of community and networks.

Scholars turned their eyes on Chinese American economic activities in San Gabriel Valley as well. Some of scholars used the ethnic enclave economic model to

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[46] Tritia Toyota, *Envisioning America: New Chinese Americans and the Politics of Belonging* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).

[47] Wei Li, *Spatial Transformation of an Urban Ethnic Community from Chinatown to Chinese Ethnoburb in Los Angeles* (Southern California, CA：University of Southern California, 1997, dissertation); Wei Li, "The Emergence and Manifestation of the Chinese Ethnoburb in Los Angeles's San Gabriel Valley," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 2 (1998): 1-28.

explain the expansion of local Chinese businesses, testified by Wei Li's analysis of development of Chinese banking in Los Angeles.[48] Other sociologists employed both theories of ethnic enclave economy and transnational business enclave economy to analyze the link between local Chinese businesses with Asia, exemplified by the study of Yen-Fen Tseng and Zhou Yu.[49]

Methodology and Sources:

A wide range of primary sources for this dissertation falls into several categories, including statistical references, fieldwork observation and oral history materials, as well as documentary manuscript and historical data.

(A) Statistical references:

Considering that Chinese American development had long been perceived as byproducts of American immigration policies, the comprehensive understanding of eastward Chinese migration and the formation of ethnic community in east territory of Los Angeles multiethnic suburbs requires objective official figures both in transnational and national aspects. U.S. Census data, ranging from 1960 to 2010, and

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[48] Wei Li, "Chinese-American Banking and Community Development in Los Angeles County," *Annals of the Association of American Geography*, Vol. 92, No. 4 (2002): 777-796.

[49] Yen-Fen Tseng, *Suburban Ethnic Economy：Chinese Business Communities in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Los Angeles, 1994, dissertation); Zhou Yu, *Ethnic Networks as Transactional Networks: Chinese Networks in the Producer Service Sectors of Los Angeles* (Twin Cities, MI：University of Minnesota, 1996, dissertation); Relevant researches about post-1960s ethnic enclave economic concentrations also could be found in the studies of Vietnamese in Westminster of Orange County (California), and Korean small businesses in Los Angeles and Atlanta. See Colette Marie McLaughlin and Paul Jesilow, "Conveying a Sense of Community along Bolsa Avenue: Little Saigon as a Model of Ethnic Commercial Belts," *International Migration,* Vol. 36, No.1 (1998): 49-63; Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles, 1965-1982* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988); Pyong Gap Min, *Ethnic Business Enterprise: Korean Small Business in Atlanta* (New York, N.Y.: Center for Migration Studies, 1988).

the annual reports and statistical figures conducted by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, are the fundamental sources for this study, added by governmental reports of Taiwan and Mainland China concerning their immigrants. Besides, surveys mandated by local Chinese and non-Chinese organizations are also utilized in this study.

(B) Fieldwork and In-depth personal interviews:

This dissertation heavily depends upon data from fieldwork, including observation, participation, and informal-and-formal interviews. Based on the belief that researcher's perception and awareness will be highly enhanced if gaining entrance and immerse himself/herself to the subject (or community) being studied, both as observer and participant, I regularly attended Chinese and non-Chinese local activities, including indoor meetings of many regional and local organizations, city council meetings, fairs, celebrations and even protestations and marches focusing on various community issues and events.

In addition, I conducted in-depth interviews, with structured questionnaires, with nearly 60 representative Chinese or non-Chinese informants from local community, including local elected Chinese officials, as well as people enrolled in local Chinese Associations, religious institutions, language schools, and economic and social/cultural organizations. To conduct these interviews I relied on several major channels: The Culture Center of Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Los Angeles (El Monte), A chapter of Taiwan Government's Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission, an important platform to connect various Chinese organizations around Los Angeles, and the Taiwan Center (Rosemead, CA), which is comprised by many

Taiwanese sub-organizations in southern California on the basis of clan, occupations, and politics. I have also worked as an editor for the grand project of "Three Decades of Chinese Achievements in Southern California – 1980-2012." This project was inaugurated by May Chen, a local Taiwanese activist and producer of *Nan-Hau Newspaper*, which was publicized in 1980s in Los Angeles area. From 2008, this project had gained donations quarterly from members of the local Chinese community. It has worked with collective assistances of over five hundred of local Chinese organizations, which provided private and unpublished materials. This project is scheduled to publish in the end of 2013 with nearly sixty hundred thousand words separating into thirteen chapters that covered every aspect of Chinese lives in the southern California in the last three decades. Through these three major networks, I extensively reach diverse Chinese ethnic groups, enabling me to employ snowball technique to conduct interviews with local respondents. Each interview was exercised within one to two hours in public spots or the places of organizations that interviewees belonged to.

(C) Documentary manuscript and historical data:

Except from statistical and fieldwork references, this study also contains relevant first-hand written sources both in Chinese and English: (a) local English newspapers such as *LA Times*, *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, *Rowland Heights/Walnut Highlander*, *Diamond Bar News*, *Diamond Bar Newspapers*, and *Hacienda Heights Highlands*, and representative Chinese newspapers, including *Chinese Daily News* (Taiwanese immigrants-focused), *Sing Tao News* (aiming to Hong and southeastern Asian Chinese immigrants) and *China Press of USA* (targeting Mainland Chinese immigrants); (b)

Mainly through the access of project of “Three Decades of Chinese Achievements in Southern California – 1980-2012,” I had opportunity to gain published or unpublished materials of diverse Chinese organizations or personal manuscripts, which genuinely reflected local Chinese activities and history; (c) municipal records and regulations: These files include two part, the municipal codes of cities of Diamond Bar and Walnut that could trace in respective city halls and local libraries; while regulations concerning Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights mainly were collected in Los Angeles County related departments.

(D) Summary of the Chapters:

Five chapters in this dissertation are included to highlight Chinese eastward migration and the formation of ethnic community in east San Gabriel Valley. Chapter Two, “The beginning of Chinese community in Los Angeles” portrays the determinants that produce latest wave of post-1960s Chinese American immigration, which influenced by transformation of American immigration policies and political and socioeconomic vicissitudes of Asia. This chapter also introduces the establishment of the first Chinese suburban enclave in Monterey Park, showing how it evolves into the ethnic settlement with Chinatown-like function. Chapter Three, “Eastward Migration and Formation of Chinese Community in the East San Gabriel Valley,” investigates Chinese four-phase migration that creates three differentiated parts of Chinese community in San Gabriel Valley. It further examines Chinese residential distribution and localized ethnic economic development in the east San Gabriel Valley.

Chapter Four, “The development of Chinese social organizations and mutual

influence," chronicles development of Chinese regional and localized social organizations, showing how eastward Chinese employs ethnic networks embedded in these two types of ethnic structures. It demonstrates that duality of ethnic social networks, in which regional ethnic organizations, associated with transnational connection, are instrumental to keep ethnic coalition and intimacies, while localization of Chinese social infrastructure is in conjunction with Chinese gradual Americanization and suburbanization.

Chapter Five, "The Chinese incorporation to the local community" illustrates several case studies of Chinese interaction and cultural collisions with locals, showing how the gradual but difficult process of mutual accommodation and adjustment has happened among eastward Chinese and established multiethnic residents. The next part of this chapter further investigates Chinese involving in the local organizations, such as HHIA and RHCCC, as well as controversial civic activities, exhibiting explicitly discloses irreversible trend of Chinese localization and suburbanization, teemed with difficult process of mutual adjustments of eastward Chinese and local residents.

Chapter Six, "The Chinese political participation" further shows Chinese suburbanization and incorporation to the local community, as shown by two cases of east-district Chinese politicians, characterized by their intense employment of ethnic social and civic momentum and two-tiered campaign strategy. Besides, the other part of this part farther introduces Chinese engagement of cityhood movement in Rowland Heights and Hacienda Heights, analyzing how Chinese steadily increased their weights, outsiders, minor participants to major organizers in the town-wide political

mobilization, which co-paces with their growing power in ethnic political representation.

Chapter II

The Beginning of Chinese Community in Los Angeles Suburbs

The burgeoning Chinese/Asian immigration to the United States in the second half of twentieth century was the product of globalization and international economic restructuring in post World War II, as well as the American immigration reforms in the post-1960s. This wave of new Chinese immigration was marked in distinctiveness from previous immigrants by divergent origins of countries. It contained a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds and, most importantly, suburban-oriented residential pattern. Rather than settling in Cantonese-based inner-city Chinatowns, this new wave of Chinese immigrants spread into the suburbs outside traditional inner-city Chinatowns, exemplified by the establishment of Chinese community in Monterey Park, a city located in the Los Angeles County’s San Gabriel Valley, in 1970s and 1980s.

A. The Post-1965 Chinese Immigration

The flow of post-1960s Chinese American immigration in Monterey Park, and later in entire San Gabriel Valley, was highly interlinked with the transformation of American immigration policies in the era of post-World War II, which patronized an equal immigration quota to Asian immigrants, who were influenced by varying degrees of political and socioeconomic vicissitudes of Asia in the second half of the twentieth century.

(A) The Transformation of U.S. Immigration Policy:

Since the U.S. Congress implemented the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 and extended its enforcement with a series laws until 1943, the legal exclusion of Chinese largely explained the considerable decline of Chinese American immigrants preceding World War II. Given that the exclusion laws only allowed the entry of Chinese merchants or American-born Chinese, most immigrants did not qualify to enter the United States. Chinese workers already in the United States could not send for their family members, and many of them lost their permanent residency status and citizenship once they returned to China. Chinese admitted to migrate to the country dwindled from 133,139 in 1870s to a historical low of 5,874 in 1930s. [1] This stark restricted immigration policy resulted in inevitable shrinking of Chinese population in America: from over twelve thousands in 1880 to only 77,594 in 1940.[2]

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[1] U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *2007 Year Book of Immigration Statistics, Table 2*.

[2] The pre-1943 Chinese exclusion acts also produced an extremely skewed gender and sex phenomenon in contemporary Chinese American society. A male-predominant bachelor community prevailed until the end of World War II. For example, in 1900, the ratio of Chinese American male to female was 18.9:1, and this figure dropped steadily from 7:1 in 1920 to 3.9:1 in 1930. In 1940, Chinese males still outnumbered females, many of them were children, by almost three to one. In addition, Chinese America was a community with characteristic of senior age. According to 1920

During World War II, China's status as a war ally made the U.S. Congress pass the Magnuson Bill in 1943. This act repealed all Chinese exclusion laws and provided Chinese with an annual immigration quota of 105, which remained in place for decades. In the following years, the War Bride Law of 1945 and the Fiancées and Fiancés of the War Veterans Act of 1946 brought over seven thousands Chinese women, as the wives of American servicemen, to the United States. These Chinese women had been subjected to hostile interrogation and detainment. With limited progress, the immigration trend continued to fluctuate in the 1950s. The establishment of McCarren-Walter Act of 1952 abolished all racial and ethnic constraints to immigration and initialized a family unification provision for relatives of U.S. citizens who were exempt from quotas. It also began to open the door for the admission of professionals and skilled workers, although it targeted at highly educated Europeans, and a few Chinese/Asians were benefited. However, under the circumstances of anti-Communism in 1950s, this act still retained a racially-biased quota system for nationalities and regions and allowed the government to deport immigrants or naturalized citizens engaged in subversive activities.[3] It targeted Chinese individuals sympathetic to new-founded Communist China. From 1957 to 1965, the enforcement

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U.S. Census survey, half of the Chinese American population were older than 45, while the people under age 19 only constituted 11 % of total population. This abnormal Chinese American demography was mainly attributed to the enactment of anti-Chinese immigration policies in prior to 1943. See Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle, W.A.: the University of Washington Press, 1988), pp. 62-73;

[3] Ethnic and racially biased quotas still remained in the Immigration Act of 1952. However, instead of placing Asians on an equal footing with other immigrants, Congress devised the Asia-Pacific Triangle, which roughly comprised all Asian countries from India to Japan and the Pacific Islands north of Australia and New Zealand. Nations falling within this area received an annual of only 100, with a ceiling of 2,000 for the whole region. Any people with one-half Asian ancestry would be charged against this Asian quota, even if that individual had been born in a nation outside the triangle. This determination of quota chargeability by blood rather than country of birth applied only to Asians. See Paul Ong and John M. Liu, "U.S. Immigration Policies and Asian Migration," in Min Zhou and James V. Gatewood edited, *Contemporary Asian America: A Multidisciplinary Reader* (New York, N. Y.: New York University Press, 2000), p.158.

of a "Confession Program" strengthened governmental surveillance over Chinese American citizens and followed immigrants. This program essentially criminalized the entire Chinese American community with an enemy alien image and provided legalized status in exchange for confessions of illegal entry into the country. It led to the exposure of 22,083 illegal Chinese immigrants and barred future immigration relative to these confessed Chinese.[4] Hence, under the influence of narrow immigration policies, a demographic transformation started to emerge in the Chinese American community between 1940s and 1960s: U.S.-born Chinese first time outnumbered the foreign-born ones; over sixty-percent of Chinese American population in 1960 was American born.[5] This situation changed dramatically with the introduction of the landmark Hart-Cellar Act of 1965.

The Hart-Cellar Act of 1965 (or Immigration Act of 1965) overhauled previous immigration legislation, including the removal of the national-origins quotas and the Asia-Pacific Triangle concept, leading to an end to structural discrimination against Chinese/Asian immigrants. It fairly provided a maximum annual twenty-thousand quota for each country [6] and reorganized the immigration system into seven categories,[7] four of which concerned the family reunification: eighty percent of visas were allocated to extended family members of U.S. citizens and to immediate family

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[4] Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), pp. 308-309.

[5] Min Zhou, *Contemporary Chinese America: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Community Transformation* (Philadelphia, P.A.: Temple University Press, 2009), pp. 45-46.

[6] In 1979, with the normalization of the People's Republic of China with the United States, an immigration quota of 20,000 was added to the Taiwan. In late 1980s, Hong Kong was regarded by United States as an independent area with its own quota of twenty thousands. Therefore, broadly speaking, the annual Chinese quota reached to annual sixty thousand in 1990s.

[7] Seven Categories includes: (1) Unmarried adult sons and daughters of U.S. citizens; (2) Spouses and children and unmarried sons and daughters of permanent resident aliens; (3) Members of the professions and scientists and artists of exceptional ability; (4) Married children of U.S. citizens; (5) Brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens over age twenty-one; (6) Skilled and unskilled workers in occupations for which there is insufficient labor supply; (7) Refugees.

relatives of permanent residents; extending non-quota status to the parents, spouses, and minor children of U.S. citizens, exempting them from any numerical limitations. The occupational quota was also a significant element in the Immigration Act of 1965. It downgraded preferential treatment of highly educated persons by equally dividing twenty percent of visas into a third and sixth preference, and allowing 20 percent to exceed quotas if the family preference went unused. The third preference applied to qualified professionals, including those with advanced degrees of scientific, engineering, and the health fields, as well as the clergy. The sixth preference provided visas to other skilled and unskilled immigrant workers employed in jobs where there was a domestic labor shortage. In general, the Chinese quickly took advantage of these provisions, particularly the family preference categories.[8] By late 1960s, Chinese immigrants ranked third as the ethnic group employing the quota-exempt family preference visas, only left behind Filipinos and Italians. By the mid-1970s, the Chinese had overtaken Italians.[9] Between 1965 and 1990, approximately 711,000 Chinese immigrants were allowed to enter U.S., most of them under the provision of family unions with about one-fifth occupational immigrants.[10]

Subsequent to 1965 Immigration Act, two significant immigration reforms in the second half of the twentieth century influenced contemporary Chinese immigration: the Indochina Refugee Act of 1978 and the Immigration Act of 1990. The establishment of the Indochina Refugee Act of 1978 was a response to the increasing growth of the refugee immigrants from turbulent Southeast Asia in 1970s. This Act

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[8] Paul Ong and John M. Liu, "U.S. Immigration Policies and Asian Migration," pp. 159-162.

[9] David Reimers, *Still the Golden Door: The Third World Comes to America* (New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1985), p. 103.

[10] Bill Ong Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy, 1850-1990* (Stanford, C.A.: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 81.

signaled out refugees from the domination of the existing immigrant policy and established a separate admissions category, with a worldwide ceiling of 50,000 for refugees for each year through 1982. Between 1981 and 1988, this act brought 282,000 refugees, at least 30% were ethnic Chinese, from Vietnam and other parts of Southeastern Asia to the country.[11] The Immigration Act of 1990 expanded the total annual immigration amounts from 290,000 to 600,000. It still followed the trend of the Immigration Act of 1965 to encourage the preferences of families and include employment-based preferences for immigrants with key professional skills. Moreover, the Immigration Act of 1990 initiated an extra 10,000/per-year quota for the additional fifth employment-based preference (EB-5). This category provided green cards for foreign immigrants who could invest at least one million in urban areas or half million in rural areas, and create 10 full-time employments each year.[12] In short, the revised immigration act of 1990 swelled the ranks of visa applicants of wealthy Taiwanese/Chinese entrepreneurs and businessmen who aggressively involved in capital-linked migration. By 2001, 5,452 "investor" immigrants entered the country, 28% came from Taiwan, 24% from Mainland China, and 4 % from Hong Kong.[13]

(B) Divergent Origins of Chinese Immigrants:

As abovementioned, the development of immigration policy of the United States was heavily concurrent with long-term Chinese immigration. In the era of post-1965,

[11] Philip Q. Yang, *Post-1965 Immigration to the United States: Structural Determinants* (Westport, C.T.: Praeger, 1995), p. 16; Harry H.L. Kitano and Roger Daniels, *Asian Americans: Emerging Minorities* (New Jersey, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 2001), pp. 154-168; Birgit Zinzius, *Chinese America: Stereotype and Reality: history, present, and future of the Chinese Americans* (New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2005), p. 55.

[12] Philip Q. Yang, *Post-1965 Immigration to the United States: Structural Determinants*, p. 16.

[13] Birgit Zinzius, *Chinese America: Stereotype and Reality: history, present, and future of the Chinese Americans* (New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2005), p.63.

overwhelming growth of immigration population poured into Chinese American society. In each decade, 237,793 in the 1970s, 444,962 in the 1980s, 528,893 in the 1990s, and 482,371 from 2000 to 2009, growth surged. The homogeneous Cantonese community swiftly transformed from the Cantonese-majority into an immigrant-based one, comprised by Chinese from diverse country of origins and a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds. Since there were different waves of Chinese immigration, and their origins and reasons to move the country also varied, it is crucial to analyze the migration process of major Chinese subgroups in the complex context of historical and international backgrounds.

(a) Taiwan:

Amidst the post-1965 immigration, the Taiwanese were one of the prominent and the earliest Chinese American subgroups.[14] The first wave of Taiwanese immigration to the U.S. was pioneered by students. From the late 1960s to early 1970s, about 2,000 students were leaving Taiwan annually to pursue advanced academic degrees in United States. The statistics from Taiwan's Educational Department also indicated that a total of 30,765 students coming to American colleges and universities from

[14] According to Taiwanese American historians, Taiwanese American immigration to can be divided into three periods: (a) the first period comes from World War II to 1965- a small numbers of students and spouses of American soldiers were allowed to enter U.S.; (b) the second period dates from 1965 to 1982- with the implement of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, many Taiwanese who were suitable for preferences of the family-reunification and those with professional skills started to move into this country; (c) the third period begins in 1982 and continues to the present time- with the opening of Taiwan's immigration policy, as well as an independent annual twenty-thousand quota from Chinese category by U.S. Administration, many Taiwanese, particularly professionals and scientists, started to move into America with a large numbers. Aside from that, many wealthy Chinese businessmen, encouraged by the investment provision, started to invest enormous funds to start a business in U.S. in exchange for the admission of immigration. See Franklin Ng, *The Taiwanese Americans* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998), pp. 15-20.

1950 to 1974, accounting for about half of the total Taiwanese American immigrants during this period. Most of these students followed the immigration path in four stages— graduate student, employment, green card, and citizenship. Once they acquired permanent residency in the United States, they would accept their families in Taiwan under the U.S. provision of family-union.[15]

In addition to students studying abroad, the island's instability and "statelessness" also triggered the exodus of upper middle-class Taiwanese to North America in 1970s. Since the Kuomintang Government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, Taiwan constantly faced serious military threats from Communist China. This security uncertainty became worse in the 1970s. In 1971, Taiwan withdrew from United Nations, against the decision of United Nations to accept the Communist China as the sole legitimate authority to represent China. Later, with the death of Chiang Kai-Shek in 1975 and the normalization of China- U.S. diplomatic relations in 1978, growing anxieties clouded the island. There were concerns that Taiwan might be reclaimed by People's Republic of China as a result of these international events. Many Taiwanese, especially wealthy *waishegren* (Mainlander) families, started to regard immigration as a solution to the uncertain future. They liquidated their properties at low prices and rushed to relocate outside the island.[16] This quasi-exiling wave of Taiwanese immigration was captured by the U.S. Census in 1980. The Census data indicated that there were 83,155 Taiwanese emigrating to U.S. from 1970 to 1979, a five-fold

[15] Haiming Liu, "Ethnic Solidarity, Rebounding Networks, and Transnational Culture," in Huping Ling edited, *Asian America: Forming New Communities, Expanding Boundaries* (New Jersey, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2009), p. 51.

[16] There were several waves of panic Taiwanese immigration to United States: (a) the death of President Chiang Kai-Shek in 1975; (b) The end of formal diplomatic relationship between Taiwan and U.S. and Taiwan's withdraw from United Nations in 1979; (c) the death of President Chiang Ching-Kuo in 1988; (d) The Missile threat from Communist China targeting Taiwan's first national presidential election in 1996.

increase comparing to the previous decade. Over half of these Taiwanese arriving the country between 1978 and 1980.[17]

The motives of Taiwanese American immigration gradually changed in 1980s, from exile-oriented to future-promotion migration. In this period, Taiwan had bathed in the flourishing "Economic Miracle" and created a large number of small and medium sized enterprises in its Taiwan-U.S. bilateral exporting economy. Accompanying the economic boom, environmental degradation and deterioration of social conditions occurred, including poor public security, kidnapping threats, crowded housing, land exploitation, air pollution, and terrible domestic transportation. As some contemporary Taiwanese described, the island was a "heaven for making money," but a "hell for living."[18] This declining living quality was further exacerbated by domestic political turmoil in 1980s and 1990s.[19] The awful living environment and political instability disappointed a host of the newly-wealthy, many of them were the entrepreneurial bourgeois investing overseas and affordable for better living quality.

The issue of children's education was another central factor presiding over the Taiwanese flow to the United States in the aftermath of 1980s.[20] Taiwanese, along

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[17] U.S. Census of 1980.

[18] Yen-Fen Tseng, "Beyond Little Taipei: The development of Taiwanese Immigrant Businesses in Los Angeles," *The International Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring 1995), pp. 33-58.

[19] Since KMT Government gained its dominance in the island in 1949, the domestic political tension between *waishegren* (Mainlander) and *benshengren* (Taiwanese) had long existed. This political dilemma continued to worsen from late 1970s to mid-1990s, the period that the *dangwai*, the Outside-the Party/*meilidao* of political dissents, struggled to fight against Kuomintang's one-party regime through mass rallies and street demonstrations, typified by the *Gaoxoing* Incident of 1979. Although the KMT regime gradually gave up the repressive measures against the opposition in the last two years of President Chiang Ching-kuo's tenure (1985-1986) and allowed the formation of Democratic Progressive Party in 1986, Taiwan's society never certainly calmed down in the 1980s and 1990s. See Yun-han Chu, "Social Protests and Political Democratization in Taiwan," in Murray A. Rubinstein edited, *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present* (New York, An East Gate Book, 1994), pp.99-113.

[20] According to a report in 1994, conducted by Taiwan Government's Ministry of the Interior, the

with other people in East Asia, traditionally treasured education as the crucial instrument for social mobility. The higher level of education attainment usually meant the higher rank of working opportunities and salary, leading to a higher social status. However, in the second half of the twentieth century Taiwan adopted a nationally administered two-round joint entrance exam in the level of high school and university. This educational system in Taiwan was relatively fair for students from every socioeconomic class, but the limited opportunities imposed heavy pressure upon contemporary teenagers, who usually went to cram schools (*buxiban*). This kind of afterschool tutoring classes were devoted the full time to the exams.[21] Hence, haunted by over-competitive and rigid educational institutions in the island, many Taiwanese parents turned their eyes to United States, which they thought as a better alternative suitable for their children. Kenjohn Wang, the famous Taiwanese American hotel mogul in Southern California, claimed that, "if the Buddhist Scriptures addressed the Heaven and located it in the Westland, then the United States is the Heaven for Taiwanese children."[22] These voices of pursuing improved education for their descendents in America were resonated by many contemporary Taiwanese.[23] They

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"next generation's education and future was the most principle reason for Taiwanese who expressed the desire to migrate abroad." Yen Fen Tseng, *Immigration, Transnational Economy and Capital Flow: The Research of Taiwanese Business Immigrant* (Taipei, Taiwan: National Taiwan University Sociology Department and Graduate Institute, 1997), p. 9; Don-Tien Lin, *The Survey of Opinions of Domestic People toward Overseas Chinese* (Taipei, Taiwan: Association of Public Opinion Research, 1995), p.3.

[21] Taiwan Government provided nine-year compulsory education for her citizens, ending up with one nationally joint exam that divided all students into two systems- academic educational system and vocational educational one. Students with scores above certain grading standard were assigned to the former, attending to regular high schools; the rest of students were categorized to the latter one, registering in schools of skillful or technical training. Those who were in academic educational system would receive the next round of national joint exam after three-year high school career to determine which universities they belonged to. Under this system, students with higher scores in the national exam would have better chances to more promising and prestigious schools.

[22]Kenjohn Wang, *Memoirs of Kenjohn Wang*: *The Struggling History of Immigration of a Taiwanese American* (Taipei, Taiwan: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co, 1999), p.3.

[23] Such examples were much common in Taiwanese immigrants. One Taiwanese who moved and lived

brought a large numbers of Taiwanese juveniles to the United States, a phenomenon noted later as "parachute kids" and "child dumping."[24]

In addition, the massive American-bound immigration in the post-1980s was highly in line with the new openness of Taiwan Government's immigration policy. During 1949 to 1979, Taiwanese were strictly banned from migration and even touring outside the island, except for a small numbers of students, under serious surveillance, who were allowed studying overseas. This rigid immigration policy started to loosen in 1979 when the Taiwan Government allowed citizens to tour abroad without limitation. In 1985, the original regulation that students had to stay at least two years abroad to qualify for migrating their family in Taiwan to America was revoked.[25] In 1987, with the lifting of martial law and other regulations such as restrictions on public media, parade, speech and the rights to organize the political party, the Taiwanese Government increasingly implemented the liberation policy for exit permits and outward capital flow and circulation.[26] And in 1989 it further permitted any individuals and business corporations, under the condition of reporting to immigration authority, to freely invest and move abroad. This act led to the current Taiwan immigration policy that followed the spirit of "moving out easy and moving in difficult."

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in America since late 1970s addressed that "it is so expectable and worthy to come to America just for the better schooling for my children, even it was at the expense of our toughness." See Fon-min His, *Its nice to live in other country* (Taipei, Taiwan: Ping-An Culture Corp., 1999), pp. 69-70.

[24] Mark Arax, "Families Send Their Children to Go: It Alone in New Land Series," *Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1987.

[25] Before 1970, Taiwanese students abroad had to wait for two years to receive their spouses and children in Taiwan. This restriction was loosed in 1972, shortening to one-year waiting for family union. It was until 1985 that this regulation was evoked. Kuo-Chou Hsieh, *The Status Quo of Taiwanese Exodus and Related Policy* (Taipei, Taiwan: The Development Commission of the Executive Yuan, 1987), pp.162-163.

[26] Kuo-Chou Hsieh, *The Status Quo of Taiwanese Exodus and Related Policy* (Taipei, Taiwan: The Development Commission of the Executive Yuan, 1987), pp.162-163.

Consequently, the main body of post-1980s Taiwanese outflow not only constituted students, but also were joined by immigrants by a wide array of backgrounds, including professionals, professors, scientists, skill workers, as well as businessmen and entrepreneurs, who were encouraged to move to North America by fervent international economic activities. From 1971 to 1985, Taiwan ranked eleventh as the country of origin for those immigrating to the United States, with an amount of 160,513 immigrants.[27] The Taiwanese became the most dominant Chinese subgroup in the United States until the mid-1990s. Therefore, the formation of the Taiwanese American middle-to-upper class population was a distinct product of specific migratory push-pull factors in the context of postwar global economical and political shifts.

(b) Hong Kong:

The first wave of postwar America-bound immigration from Hong Kong began even earlier and in a larger-scale than those from Taiwan. According to the data of U.S. Department of Immigration and Naturalization Service, there were 13,781 immigrants from Hong Kong with legal permanent residence status in 1950s, outnumbered overwhelmingly 721 Taiwanese immigrants in the same period. Hong Kong immigrants remained the greatest Chinese immigration subgroup to the country in the next two decades: the arrival of 67,047 in 1960s and 117,350 in 1970s, respectively.[28] (See Figure 2.1)

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[27] There were only 95,824 and 73,112 people from Mainland China and Hong Kong to the U.S. in the same period. See Philip Q. Yang, *Post-1965 Immigration to the United States: Structural Determinants*, p. 24.

[28] U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 2*.

In general, the flow of pre-1980 Hong Kong immigration contained individuals with higher educational and occupational backgrounds, many of them exiled from Mainland China after 1949, as well as some semi-skilled or unskilled laborers. The fear of Communist China during the period of the Cultural Revolution, which was driven by pro-communist leftist riots in the spring and summer of 1967 in Hong Kong, produced the first wave of exodus of Hong Kong citizens. Many of these immigrants emigrated and stayed in the downtown Chinatowns throughout the United States.[29] The anxiety and uncertainty regarding the future of Hong Kong gradually surged when the governments of the People's Republic of China and the British started negotiating the future of Hong Kong in the late 1970s. The joint declaration signed in 1984 regarding the return of Hong Kong to China's sovereignty in 1997 triggered another large emigration wave in the period of mid-1980s to 1990s, a phenomenon called by scholars as the "reluctant exile."[30]

Most of post-1980 immigrants from Hong Kong were highly skilled, well-off, and family-based. They were the beneficiary of Hong Kong's rapid industrialization, modernization, and economical globalization in the later half of twentieth century. Like contemporary Taiwanese, those from Hong Kong were also driven by a combination of push and pull forces, and their popular destinations not only focused on United States, but also included other Western countries, many of them sought to recruit both capitalists and highly educated "mental laborers.[31] This pulling force

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[29] Nigel Cameron, *An Illustrated History of Hong Kong* (Oxford, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 310-312.

[30] Ronald Skeldon edited, *Reluctant Exiles?: Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1994).

[31] This kind of capitalist-centered recruitment can be found in immigration policies of many contemporary Western countries: the 1980 British Immigration Act- issued work permits primarily to professional, managerial, and technical workers, as well as investors who would invest at least £ 150,000 and create full-time jobs for the English people; The Canadian Government implemented

proved efficient for Hong Kong emigrants, who massively migrated to British Commonwealth Member countries (such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand) and the United States, which received a total number of 289,872 Hong Kong immigrants from 1980 to 2010.

(c) Mainland China:

Before the normalization of diplomatic relationship between the United States and China in 1979, the Mainland Chinese migration to the United States was reduced to a trickle when the Communist government excluded itself from the outside world. The normalization of relations with the United States, which ran concurrent with economic and social reform in China, promoted cultural and economic exchange between these two countries. From 1979 to 1990, the Chinese Government issued 1,346,900 exit permits, seven hundred thousand earning visas to emigrate to foreign countries. The United States quickly became the largest receiving country of Chinese migration.

Like the post-1965 Taiwanese Americans, the initial outflow of Mainland Chinese were students. Many students became immigrants after they finished their professional and graduate studies. Initially, the PRC Government austerely required its graduate students to return to China after they finished their degrees, so that they intended to requested United States issue J-1 (exchange scholar visas) rather than F-1

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similar immigration policies to lure business immigrants by establishing an entrepreneurial immigrant category in 1978 and introducing the investor program in 1986; Australia also implanted business migration program in 1981, focusing on skilled and business Asian migrants; New Zealand also exercised entrepreneurs immigration policy since 1970s. See Margaret Cannon, *China Tide: The Revealing Story of the Hong Kong Exodus to Canada* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1989); John De Mont and Thomas Fennell, *Hong Kong Money: How Chinese Families and Fortunes Are Changing Canada* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1989); Ronald Skeldon edited, *Reluctant Exiles?: Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1994).

visas (international student visas) to Chinese graduate students. However, the Tiananmen Square Incident in 1989 changed the situation. The establishment of Chinese Temporary Protected Status Act of 1989 allowed all Chinese students to stay in the country for three years. This act later was replaced by the Chinese Student Protection Act in 1992. These two acts provided the permanent residency of about 80,000 Chinese students, scholars, and their families in the United States.[32] In a chain migration pattern and like students from Taiwan, these newly-settled Chinese students functioned greatly as the nucleus for an extended-kin migration network. When they adjusted, and gained their permanent residency and citizen status, their parents, parents-in-law, siblings, and nephews, nieces, cousins, and other extended family members began to join them.

Immigrants from Mainland China began to rival those from Taiwan and Hong Kong by the 1990s. Between 1991 and 1998, about 350,000 from Mainland China immigrated to the United States through family reunification or other visa forms,[33] and many of them were business people or professionals working at mainstream companies. The volume of Mainland Chinese immigrants continued to grow in the next decade, fueled by growing cross-Pacific trade. According to the figures of U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Bureau, 716,928 Mainland Chinese immigrants were admitted to the country between 2000 to 2010, a twice increase in contrast to the amounts of 1990 to 1999.[34] Nonimmigrant Mainland Chinese also rapidly grew since

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[32] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Statistical Yearbooks of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1995 and 1996*.

[33] Evelyn Iritani, "Chinese in U.S. Shape Economy," *Los Angeles Times*, October 17, 1999.

[34] From 1990, the amount of Mainland Chinese immigrants started to overwhelmingly outmatch those from Taiwan and Hong Kong. Between 1990 to 1999, the immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong reached to 132,647 and 116,894, only one-third of contemporary Chinese emigrants. Between 2000 to 2010, the numbers of Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrants fell to 99,442 and 60,846, respectively.

2000, especially after 2005, the time they started to outmatch those from Taiwan and Hong Kong (See Figure 2-2). With the emergence of China as a rising economic power, the constant change of composition of local Chinese American community is highly expectable.

Compared to their counterparts from Taiwan and Hong Kong, the socioeconomic backgrounds of Mainland Chinese immigrants in the last three decades tended to be much more diverse. Along with professionals and affluent emigrants came with a large number of labor-intensive working class individuals, many of them were undocumented immigrants. According to Immigration and Naturalization Services' estimation, about quarter million PRC Chinese illegal immigrants were smuggled into the U.S. annually in 1990s.[35] Most of these Chinese illegal immigrants were smuggled across the southern border or into the U.S. harbors and stayed in Chinese inner-city enclaves in metropolitans, particularly the New York and Los Angeles.[36]

As the Chinese American immigration spiked post-1965, Los Angeles gradually became the largest Chinese ports of entry and the concentration area. Its suburban cities became the largest Chinese residence in the 1980s. In 1980, Los Angeles County already represented 21 percent of the total Chinese immigration population in the United States. In the next decade, the Chinese community in Los Angeles witnessed its growing significance in the Chinese American society: with one-quarter

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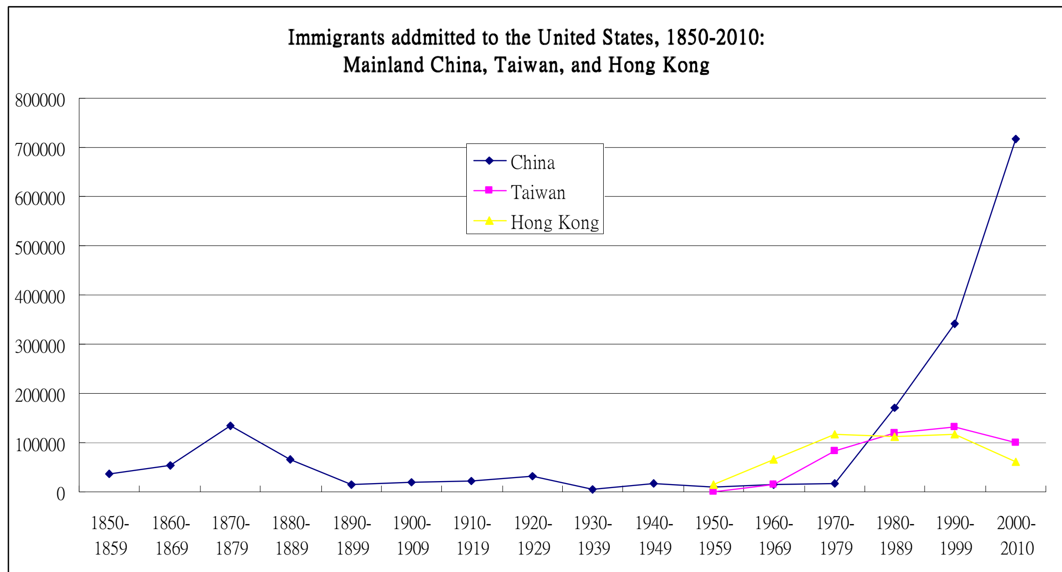
[35] Richard Simon, "Illegal Residents Not Just From Nearby Nations," *Los Angeles Times*, November 26, 1993; Jesse Katz, "One-Day Portrait of Illegal Immigrants," *Los Angeles Times*, November 26, 1993.

[36] Ko-Lin Chin, *Smuggled Chinese: Clandestine Immigration to the United States* (Philadelphia, :Temple University Press, 1999); Peter Kwong, *Forbidden Workers: Illegal Chinese Immigrants and American Labor* (New York, N.Y.: The New Press, 1997).

of Chinese immigration population of 188,675 in 1990. From 1998 to 2010, 80,133 Chinese and 24,046 Taiwanese immigrants chose Los Angeles as their first residences, accounting 10.9% and 21.9% of their respective immigration population during this period.[37] It made Los Angeles become one of the largest Chinese concentrations. In 2000, there were 329,352 Chinese (including 35,174 Taiwanese) inhabiting in Los Angeles County, representing 14.5 percent of the total Chinese American population. In 2010, Los Angeles County hosted 11.8 % population of Chinese American society, with nearly four hundred thousands Chinese residents.[38]

Figure 2-1



Source: Immigration and Naturalization Bureau, 1850-2010.

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[37] The destination preference varied among different Chinese subgroups. For example, immigrants from both Mainland China and Hong Kong tended to choose New York as their first residence, while Taiwanese had stronger preference for Los Angeles. From 1998 to 2010, Mainland Chinese immigrants in New York reached to 186,638, doubled than those preferred to Los Angeles. In contrast, New York Taiwanese in this period only one-third amount of Taiwan arrived in L.A. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Statistical Yearbooks of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2010.*

[38] U.S. Census of 1990, 2000, and 2001.

Table 2-1

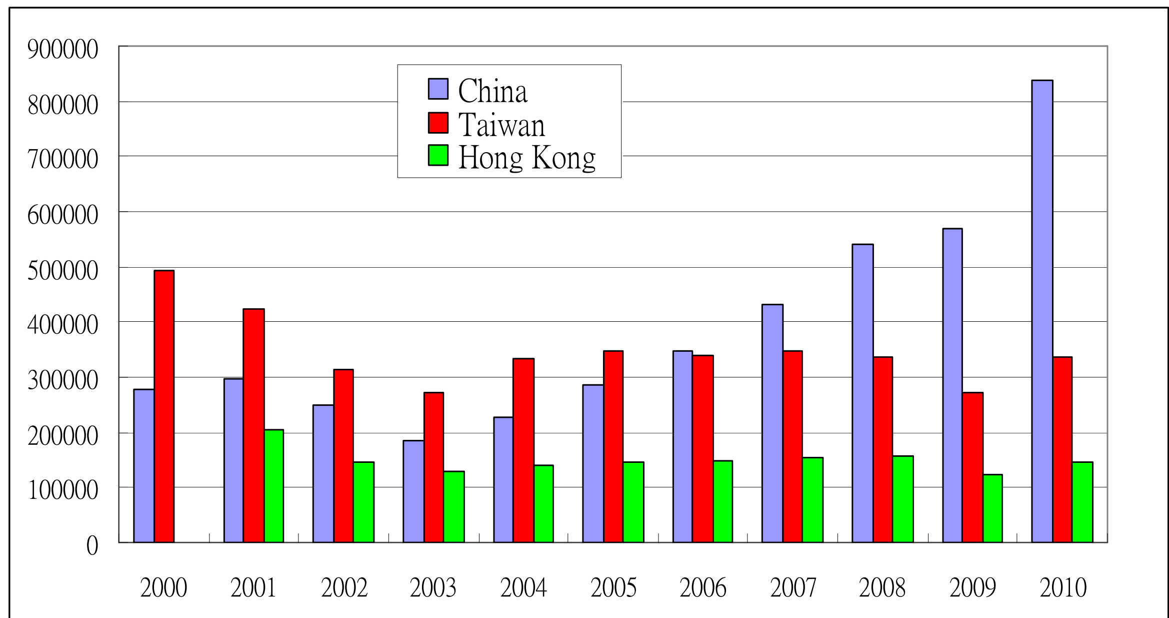
The Intended residences of immigrants from Mainland China, 1998-2009

	Total Chinese Admitted to U.S.	The Chinese intended to reside in N.Y.	The Chinese intended to reside in L.A.	The Chinese intended to reside in San Francisco
1998	36,884 (100%)	8,106 (22.0%)	4,014 (10.9%)	3,579 (9.7%)
1999	32,204 (100%)	7,758 (24.1%)	2,981 (9.3%)	2,835 (8.8%)
2000	45,652 (100%)	7,703 (16.9%)	3,966 (8.7%)	3,236 (7.1%)
2001	56,426 (100%)	6,862 (12.2%)	5,383 (9.5%)	3,117 (5.5%)
2002	61,282 (100%)	8,627 (14.1%)	5,992 (9.8%)	3,914 (6.4%)
2003	40,568 (100%)	7,405 (18.3%)	3,439 (8.5%)	3,457 (8.5%)
2004	51,156 (100%)	8,253 (16.1%)	5,020 (9.8%)	4,219 (8.2%)
2005	69,967 (100%)	15,652 (22.4%)	6,521 (9.3%)	6,892 (9.9%)
2006	87,345 (100%)	25,078 (28.7%)	12,843 (14.7%)	8,821 (10.1%)
2007	76,655 (100%)	21,512 (28.1%)	9,792 (12.8%)	7,607 (9.9%)
2008	80,271 (100%)	25,265 (31.5%)	8,469 (10.6%)	8,017 (10.0%)
2009	64,238 (100%)	21,025 (32.7%)	7,219 (11.2%)	5,659 (8.8%)

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Year Book of Immigration Statistics, 1998-2009*.

Figure 2-2

The Admission of Chinese non-immigrants, 2000-2010



Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Year Book of Immigration Statistics, 2010*.

B. The Presence of the Taiwanese Community in Monterey Park in the 1980s

With the trend of Chinese immigration in the Los Angeles suburbs, Monterey Park became the first visible Chinese suburban residence in 1970s. The Chinese congregation in this suburban city both reflected the result of American suburbanization since 1950s and the transnational immigration in the 1960s. Monterey Park, which was originally called Ramona Acres, is located in the western edge of the San Gabriel Valley with about 7.73 square miles. From the time Monterey Park established its cityhood in 1912, it was a typical rural town composed mainly by white European descents. Just like many contemporary outlying neighborhoods of American metropolises started to receive non-white middle-class migrations in 1940s and 1950s, Monterey Park witnessed a demographic shift. Latinos and Japanese began to move into this city during this period. In the middle of 1950s, Monterey Park was known as the "Mexican Beverly Hills," and the first wave of Chinese, in spite of small numbers, started to trickle from the Los Angeles Chinatown into this city in early 1960s. This group of Chinese was commonly American-born. Most of them were second or third generation Chinese Americans who were generally educated, middle-class, and well-assimilated. They were eager to move out of the Los Angeles Chinatown and assimilated into an integrated suburban life. The incorporation of Chinese and other non-white people into Monterey Park in 1950s and 1960s gradually transformed its demographic composition, from homogenous white European to multi-racial groups.[39] As a result, the ratio of European population declined

[39] Richard L. Dyer, *The Growth and Development of Monterey Park, California Between 1906 and 1930* (Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles State College, 1961); Monterey Park 75th Anniversary

considerably from 85.4% in 1960 to 50.5% in 1970. On the other hand, the Latino population rose from 11.6% in 1960 to 34% in 1970. The Asian population also grew from 2.9% in 1960 to 15.3% in 1970.

(A) The Influx of Taiwanese immigrants:

In the mid-1970s, transnational Chinese immigration started to flood into this suburban town. By late 1970s, the number of Chinese residents in Monterey Park was close to 8,000 and most of them came from Taiwan. Varied reasons explained why Monterey Park rose as the landing pad for Taiwanese. Los Angeles Chinatown's limited space, status of predominant-Cantonese Chinese and unfavorable living environment forced them to turn to the suburbs. Monterey Park's advantages such as its proximity to Los Angeles city, affordable housing price, sound transportation facilities and school system, thereby, further attracted Taiwanese. The efforts of Chinese real estate agents well contributed to this Taiwanese immigration to Monterey Park as well. Since the mid-1970s, Frederick Hsieh, Winston Ko and other Chinese real estate developers extensively purchased lands in Monterey Park. Through newspapers and magazines, they broadly advertised Monterey Park as the "Chinese Beverly Hills" in Taiwan and Hong Kong.[40] Wesley Wu, one local businessman

Committee and Historical Society of Monterey Park, *Reflections, From 1916 : Monterey Park's Past, Present and Future* (Monterey Park, CA: Monterey Park 75th Anniversary Committee, 1991).

[40] Frederick Hsieh is an immigrant from Hong Kong who obtained his college degree in the United States. He worked as an associate engineer in the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power until he realized the potential profits in the real estate industry. From then on, Hsieh shifted to real estate and acquired his real estate dealer license. Hsieh bought his first property in Monterey Park in 1972. Several years after, two major landlords in Monterey Park died. Hsieh was able to purchase their properties at a very low price and established Mandarin Realty Co. From then on, his business went on smoothly. With the sharp foresight of Hsieh, development plans for Monterey Park were widely promoted by the patronage of enormous Hong Kong and Taiwan immigrants flooding the city. In the 1990s, Hsieh gradually withdrew his investments in Monterey Park and shifted to China and Southeast Asian regions. Hsieh died in 1999 when he was 54. See Myrna Oliver, "Developer Who Saw Monterey Park as "Chinese Beverly Hills" Dies", *Los Angeles Times*, August 12, 1999; Andrew

claimed that, “first it was the real estate people, and then trading companies, heavy investors, people that come with hundreds of thousands of dollars in cash.”[41] This led to a cycle that more Taiwanese homebuyers and investors followed the developers and created more new economic development and construction, then in return attracted additional ethnic immigrants and businesses. As a result, subsequent Taiwanese immigrants usually chose this city as place to start their new life in the United States. According to the U.S. Census statistics, which based on the Zip Code of newly-arrived Chinese/Taiwanese intended to live, Monterey Park ranked among as the second choice of top ten cities between the years of 1983 to 1990. It was only second to New York City.[42] (See Table 2-3) In early 1980s, the Chinese/Taiwanese population in Monterey Park had exceeded 8,000, about 40% of the city population.[43] Monterey Park gradually became what Frederick Hsieh claimed in a city’s meeting, “the Mecca for new Chinese.”[44]

The overwhelming development of the Taiwanese community in Monterey Park clearly created an ethnic congregation to the point that in the 1980s some Taiwanese immigrants in the city said, “one can do everything in Monterey Park with their English kept in back pockets.”[45] Mrs. Zhou, a Taiwanese immigrant moving with her family and running the Garvey Inn in Monterey Park since 1983, noted, “living in Monterey Park is much like living in Taiwan. It was just a replicate of Taipei city.”[46] Mr. Jan, one Taiwanese restaurant owner Monterey Park resident since the early

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Tanzer, “Little Taipei,” *Forbes*, May 6, 1985.

41 Andrew Tnazer, “Little Taipei,” *Forbes*, May 6, 1985.

42 Timothy Patrick Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown：The Remaking of Monterey Park, California* (Philadelphia, PA：Temple University Press, 1994): 14.

43 U.S. Census Bureau: http://factfinder.census.gov.

44 Mark Arax, “Nation’s 1st Suburban Chinatown,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1987.

45 Mark Arax, “Taiwan Native Pursues American Ways A Woman of Independent Mind Series: Asian Impact,” *Los Angeles Times* April 16, 1987.

46 Interview with Mrs. Zhou, Date: December 20, 2009.

1980s, recalled that it was quite normal to hear Taiwanese spoken when walking along the road in Monterey Park in 1980s: "It was a Taiwan-like city."[47] This quasi-Taiwan environment in Monterey Park was reinforced when Taiwanese-owned newspapers started to station in the city. In late 1970s Taiwanese newspapers appeared in Monterey Park. The *World Journal* (*Chinese Daily News*) owned by Taiwan's main newspaper corporation, *United Daily News*, was founded in 1976 in Los Angeles and headquartered in Monterey Park since early 1980s. Three Taiwanese-owned newspapers also set up headquarters or branch offices in Monterey Park in early 1980s: *China Times, U.S version* in 1980, *International Daily News* in 1981, and *Centre Daily News* in 1982. These Chinese newspapers, brought immigrants extensive coverage of China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, as well as a variety of news in terms of Chinese American society and local communities.[48]

Ethnic economic activities were other indicators to reflect Taiwanese immigrants' growing influence in Monterey Park. Jen Shen Wu, a Taiwanese businessman, first introduced the Taiwan-styled chain supermarket, Din Hao, in Monterey Park in 1979. Wu provided popular Asian/Taiwanese food and items in his supermarket staffed by workers fluent in Cantonese, Mandarin, and Taiwanese, leading to $ 300 million in annual sales with 400 employees in 1987.[49] His success in building the Taiwanese grocery industry in Monterey Park was followed by a handful of Taiwanese and Chinese supermarkets thriving in the San Gabriel Valley in the subsequent decades.

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[47] Interview with Mr. Jan, Date: December 22, 2009.

[48] Him Mark Lai, *From Overseas Chinese to Chinese American: The History of Chinese American in Twentieth Century* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1992), pp.426-428; David Holley and Mark Arax, "Chinese Language Newspaper Wars— the Battles Rage," *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 1985.

[49] Mike Ward, "Cities Report Growth and Some Losses," *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1987.

A dozen Taiwanese run banks also began their services in 1980s, targeting newly-arrived coethnic immigrants. Some local American banks, such as Omni Bank were purchased by Taiwanese financial groups and located in the city's obviously ethnic areas, especially Atlantic Boulevard. As a result, in 1990 fourteen Taiwanese/Chinese-operated banks saturated in Monterey Park, including four headquarters and ten branches.[50] Another 1990 report from Monterey Park Management Services Department also indicated that the total combined deposits in Monterey Park's financial Institutions, fueled by Taiwanese and Chinese capitals, swelled from 0.45 billion in 1981 to 1.9 billion in 1989.[51] These Taiwanese-background banks supported the prosperous development of a host of self-owned Taiwanese businesses, including restaurants, video stores, Karaoke, tour agencies, and beauty salons, and other ventures in the 1980s.

Taiwanese also grew increasingly involved in the local established economic and social organizations. In 1977, local Taiwanese and Chinese businessmen were allowed to be enrolled in Monterey Park's Chamber of Commerce. The subsequent formation of the "Little Taipei Lions Club" and "Chinese Rotary Club" in early 1980s showed that local Taiwanese tended to create ethnic alternative organizations serving their ethnic people.[52] In addition, a variety of Chinese-run businesses started to organize their own guilds in Monterey Park in 1980s, including the founding of the Taiwanese-American Chamber of Commerce of Greater Los Angeles (TACCLA) in

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[50] Wei Li et al., *Chinese-American Banking and Community Development in Los Angeles County*, p.788.

[51] Monterey Park Management Services Department, *Comprehensive Annual Financial Report* (Monterey Park, CA: City Government, 1990), p.77

[52] Timothy Patrick Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown：The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*(Philadelphia, PA：Temple University Press, 1994), pp. 58-60.

1980,[53] California Chinese American Construction Association (CCACA) in 1983,[54] the Chinese American Real Estate Professionals Association of Southern California in 1984, and Southern California Chinese Computer Association (SCCCA) in 1989.[55] The formation of diverse social and economic organizations reflected characteristic of rooted immigration community, leading Monterey Park to be known as the "Little Taiwan" or "Little Taipei" in the 1980s.

Table 2-2: Percent Chinese in L.A. Chinatown

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Chinese in L.A. County	19286	40,798	93,747	245,033	329,352
Chinese in Chinatown	—	4,218	6,661	8,078	9,029
Percentage of county	—	10%	7%	4%	2.7%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census; Yen-Fen Tseng, *Suburban Ethnic Economy: Chinese Business Communities in Los Angeles* (Dissertation: University of Los Angeles, 1994), p. 51; Edited by Raymond Ung, *Los Angeles Chinese Year Book & Directory, 1969-1970* (Los Angeles: The American Legion, 1970).

Table 2-3: Chinese Immigration to Selected U.S. Zip Codes: Fiscal Years, 1983-1990

Zip Code	People's Republic of China	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Total
New York, N.Y.	13943	437	2248	16628
Flushing, CA	4336	2361	873	7570
Monterey Park, CA	2479	2328	768	5575
Alhambra, CA	1426	1301	464	3191
Rosemead, CA	1014	486	288	1788
Artesia/Cerritos, CA	529	1077	83	1689
San Francisco, CA	1118	77	276	1471
Dale City, CA	678	171	400	1249
Chicago, CA	362	56	58	476

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service. Quote from Timothy P. Fong, The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p. 32.

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[53] Taiwanese-American Chamber of Commerce of Greater Los Angeles, *The Journal of Taiwanese-American Chamber of Commerce of Greater Los Angeles, 2006* (San Gabriel City, C.A.: Taiwanese-American Chamber of Commerce of Greater Los Angeles, 2006).

[54] Tseng Yen-Fen, *Suburban Ethnic Economy：Chinese Business Communities in Los Angeles*, pp. 131-132.

[55] This organization had renamed as Chinese American Information Technology Association (CAITA) in 2004. See Yen-Fen Tseng, *Suburban Ethnic Economy：Chinese Business Communities in Los Angeles*, pp. 128-130; Website of CAITA: http://www.caita.org.

Table 2-4: Changes in the Ratio of Ethnic Groups in Monterey Park, 1960-2000

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
European	85.4	50.5	25.0	11.7	7.3
Latino	11.6	34.0	38.8	31.4	28.9
Asians / Others	2.9	15.3	35.0	56.4	63.5
African	0.1	0.2	1.2	0.5	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: John Horton, *The Politics of the Diversity: Immigration, Resistance, and Change in Monterey Park, California*, p.12,; 2000 U.S. Census

Table 2-5: Asian Ethnicity in Monterey Park, 1970-2000

Race	1970		1980		1990		2000	
	pulation	Percentage (100%)	Population	Percentage (100%)	Population	Percentage (100%)	Population	Percentage (100%)
Chinese	2,202	27.1	8,082	42.4	21,971	63.0	24,758	66.68
Japanese	4,627	56.9	7,533	39.6	6,081	17.4	4,433	11.94
Filipino	481	5.9	735	3.9	1,067	3.1	871	2.34
Korean	118	1.5	1,011	5.3	1,220	3.5	862	2.32
Vietnamese	—	—	731	3.8	2,736	7.8	3,101	8.35
Others	700	8.6	954	5.0	1,823	5.2	3,100	8.35
Total	8,128	100.0	19,046	100.0	34,898	100.0	37,125	100.0

Source: Timothy Patrick Fong, *The Unique Convergence: A Community Study of Monterey Park, California*, p26; U.S. Census Bureau: American Factfinder. Website: http://factfinder.census.gov/, November 1, 2009.

(B) The Response of Local Residents

The flood of Taiwanese to Monterey Park since 1970 brought dramatic changes upon the local society. In this midst of transition, the first glaring phenomenon was the sharp decline of white European residents. Many of them, confronted by higher rents, an over-crowded environment, and sudden departure of longtime customers or neighbors, cashed out their properties and relocated to other cities. In 1980, the population of white European residents in Monterey Park went down to 25% increasing the representation of Latino and Asian groups. In 1990, the figure declined

even further to 11.7%. Conversely, the geometric progression of Asian population constantly increased. From 1970 to 1990, the Asian population rose to 325.7%. The number of Chinese people in the city grew by 897.8% during these two decades. Furthermore, the entry of Taiwanese and Chinese to Monterey Park was more than just an increase in demography. Rather, as many Asian American scholars indicated, Chinese moved to the city with aggressive capital and cultural implementations, leading to not only the city's landscape change, but also resulting in profound implications for nearly every institution of civic life. It affected the way schools, police, city halls, courts, post offices, and other facilities functioned. With the strong influence of the Chinese language, economic model, and culture, the inter-racial tensions between Chinese and non-Chinese local residents were becoming very divisive.

In general, as a country comprised by a diversity of immigrants, race always emerges as a vital issue in the history of the United States. From the beginning of the European settlement in seventeenth-century America continent, Euro-centrism, competition for scarce resources, and an unequal distribution of power had shaped a two-tiered racial hierarchy— white and "otherness." During the colonial period and the years following American independence, white supremacy, which historian George M. Frederickson encapsulated as "attitudes, ideologies, and politics associated with blatant forms of white or European dominance over non-white populations," was firmly established and shored up.[56] The white people instilled their institutions and lifestyles into the Far West when the subsequent westward expansion enhanced nationalism and intensified sectionalism that continued to raise questions about the

[56] George M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. xi.

status of Native Americans and African slaves. The annexation of the Southwest United States with its large Mexican and native Indian population, and the rapid influx of Chinese immigrants in 1850s incorporated the new ethnical groups into existing racial structure. The inclusion of these non-white ethnical groups complicated the racial relationships and forced the whites, through the racialized definitions of property ownership, hygiene, disease, and citizenship, to segregate the minorities. Segregation in social, economic, and particularly housing patterns, gave rise to the creations of Native Americans' Reservation system, Chinatowns, and highly-segregated inner-city ethnic enclaves, surrounded by outer neighborhoods inhabited by so-called "white-flights," in the American West.

The suburbanization in 1950s first witnessed a small group of nonwhite middle-class starting to muscle into white-exclusive bedroom communities. As the massive immigration from Asia began in the post-1965, the racial relationship in America was further challenged. Given that many recent immigrants' once posited middle-class or even higher social status in their original countries, and their immigration invariably accompanied with affluent resources, they counteracted traditional images of first-generation immigrants, who were usually regarded as a passive ethnic group marginal to the white society. Rather, as the example of Taiwanese in Monterey Park, the wave of post-1965 Asian immigration possessed abilities to break the two-tiered racial framework by showing their forces in all aspects, reinforced by their demographic predominance in specific suburban cities. Hence, racial conflict was definitely inevitable when Asian newcomers were heavily at odds with the living styles of local residents.

From a series of reports conducted by *Los Angeles Times* in 1980s, the initial animosities of long-established residents in Monterey Park were usually stirred by normal living inconveniences, including rising rents, traffic congestion, high-density housing, overburdened sewage systems and increasingly crowded facilities. Careless driving habits of newcomers was also another direct source of complaints from local residents, leading to the joking creation of “Suicide Boulevard” for main streets of Monterey Park. Some new immigrants’ erratic living habits, inclusive of throwing trash randomly, spitting anywhere, not following the lines when shopping, speaking loudly in public, and playing Mahjong overnight, deepened dissatisfaction of local inhabitants. In addition, surging crime activities, smuggling, Asian gangs and prostitution, as well as alleged money-laundering in Chinese/Taiwanese banks, provided extra excuses for locals to blame the Chinese/Taiwanese.[57]

Admittedly, there was no denial that abovementioned causes were heavily concerned with Taiwanese/Chinese migration and the side effects that followed by their intense economic activities in the city. The displacement of many old stores in Monterey Park by Chinese condominiums and malls further fueled a strong sense of loss for white old-timers. This loss of familiarity is best illustrated in the example of the once-famous Laura Scudder potato chip factory, which was replaced by a bustling Chinese supermarket. Another landmark, the Edwards Theater was converted to a theater with exclusive Chinese-language movies. Other old businesses such as Kretz Motorcycle, Middleton Pharmacy, and Paris’ Restaurant were similarly remodeled in

[57] In 1985, Monterey Park Police Superintendent Adam had ever accused the infamous gang member Chang An-Lo, who was the core of the Taiwan largest secret society, Bamboo Union, of using his restaurants in Monterey Park to engage in illegal money laundering and crime activities. Chang An-Lo, known as “white wolf,” ever involved in the conspiracy of assassination of the Chinese American writer Henry Liu in 1984. Adam even charged that Bamboo Union had set up its U.S. headquarter in Monterey Park. See Mark Arax, “Asian Criminals Prey on Federal but Silent Victims Series: Asian Impact: Fourth of Four Parts,” *Los Angles Times*, April 19, 1987.

1970s and 1980s. All of these changes deprived of the sense of family-feeling and belongingness among longtime residents and engendered resentment toward the immigration group bringing changes.[58] Avanelle Fiebelkorn, a community leader in the 1980s, lamented, "This is America and it has no place for (Chinese) architecture like that … The Chinese just aren't conforming and I resent that ... I go to the supermarket and over 65% of the people there are Chinese. I feel like I'm in another country. I don't feel at home anymore." Mr. and Mrs. Fry, residents of the city for more than 40 years, stated with remorse, "I feel like I am a stranger in my own town. I don't even feel like I belong anymore. I feel like I'm sort of intruding. It's like they (Chinese) are tolerating us."[59]

This kind of hostility was echoed by non-white longtime residents as well. Some local Japanese expressed their occasional flashes of dissatisfaction toward new Chinese immigrants, many of whom they saw as "clannish". One Japanese person living in Monterey Park stated in 1987: "When I moved to this community, I thought we were getting away from segregation, but it's not working out that way now." Another longtime Japanese American resident complained, "They (Chinese) keep building masses of houses, businesses, condominiums. They've just made our city look so ugly."[60] Similar sentiments were conveyed by older Mexican Americans. Edy Wallace, a longtime Mexican American ran a flower shop on Valley Boulevard in Alhambra (which was next to Monterey Park), blamed the rising rent that disabled her businesses: "the rents were going up everywhere … so much of our business had

[58] Timothy Patrick Fong, *The Unique Convergence: A Community Study of Monterey Park, California*, p.63; Mark Arax, "Monterey Park Nation's 1st Suburban Chinatown Series：Asian Impact," *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1987; Berkeley Hudson, "Paris' Restaurant Closes Doors, Ends Era for Monterey Park," *Los Angeles Times,* December 29, 1988.
[59] Marx Arax, "Selling Out, Moving on,*" Los Angeles Times*, April 12, 1987.
[60] Edmund Newton, "Japanese in Monterey Park: 'Golden Ghetto' Erodes as Young Move Away Series," *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1987.

moved away and was replaced by Asians who couldn't speak English and would just as soon buy flowers from their own people." Other Mexican American such as Fernadando Zabala, who worked as hair stylist and moved to Monterey Park in 1969, expressed his frustration to see his neighborhood change from a mixture of Latino and Anglo to almost exclusively Chinese one: "It was very important that my children grow up in a racially diverse community…When we moved to Monterey Park, we had a little bit of everybody: whites, blacks, Latinos, some Chinese and some Japanese. But we lost that mix. In my neighborhood alone, it went from 25 Latino families to three…when I sold my home … there just wasn't anything left for us.[61]

Even part of longtime American-born Chinese uttered unwelcomingly for a score of Chinese immigration to the city. Keng Fong, an American-born Chinese architect living in Monterey Park since the 1970s, confirmed that newcomers enriched the local community with strong work ethic and commitment to family, but he also expressed the disappointment for overcrowded Chinese population in the city: "We want diversity. We want our kids to grow up balanced. But that's not going to happen when 60% to 70% of the kids they're going to school with are Chinese and other Asians." Local American-born Chinese also expressed discontent that the fruit they worked hard to gain in United States would be threatened by foreign-born Chinese who failed to recognize the sacrifices they have made. Gay Wong, an American-born Chinese bilingual-education specialist, stated without a doubt:

> It was on our backs that the Sacramental Delta and the railroads were built.
> And we fought so long to get Asian ethnic-studies programs at colleges

[61] Mark Arax, "Monterey Park Nation's 1st Suburban Chinatown Series：Asian Impact," *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1987.

and universities…Now this new population is coming and they're not interested in that history, that sacrifices. They would rather ignore it."

Other non-white ethnic groups had similar unsatisfied sentiments. They thought that Chinese immigrants did not struggle through generations to climb up a social ladder for social mobility in the United States, and just directly acquired the accomplishment that they bitterly worked and earned.[62]

In sum, a wide range of factors prompted local residents' emotions and resentments against Chinese/Taiwanese newcomers in Monterey Park in 1980s. It was obvious in many examples that local inhabitants felt a strong sense of threat from the "foreign" but ambitious immigration group whom they thought invading and occupying their homes. However, it was too arbitrary to encapsulate the turmoil in Monterey Park in 1980s into merely an issue of race. Rather, incompatible cultural values underlying the conflict genuinely played a central role to analyze the interactive difficulties between longtime residents and Chinese/Taiwanese immigrants in the city. As Harold Fiebelkorn, who once served in the city's Planning Commission in 1987, stated, "the old adage 'East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet,' …there is no better proof of that than Monterey Park."[63] In the eyes of many longtime residents, they sometimes subjectively regarded the Chinese as an ethnic group who did not give up their traditions, spoke non-English, acted superstitiously, and showed no intention to assimilate to the American society. However, this Chinese myth sometimes was generated by misunderstanding of

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[62] Mark Arax, "San Gabriel Valley Asian Influx Alters Life in Suburbia Series," *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 1987.

[63] Mark Arax, "Monterey Park Nation's 1st Suburban Chinatown Series：Asian Impact," *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1987.

oriental cultures and social customs. For instance, as the *Los Angeles Times* reported in 1987, Dorothy Sykes, a Monterey Park resident, criticized that Chinese did not participate in community's "Neighborhood Watch," a crime prevention program, and other mutual-assistance activities.[64] However, Chinese aloofness toward community affairs had its historical and cultural backgrounds. Under the influence of traditional Confucius conception, most Chinese were taught that it was unethical to engage in matters beyond their families. Moreover, for early Taiwanese immigrants, who made up the majority of immigration body in Monterey Park in 1980s, their experiences of the "228 Incident"[65] and "White Terror"[66] in KMT-governed Taiwan had ingrained

[64] Marx Arax, "Selling Out, Moving on," *Los Angeles Times*, April 12, 1987.

[65] 228 Incident originated from tensions between local Taiwanese and the Mainlanders who arrived after Taiwan was surrendered, with the defeat of Japan in WWII, to China in 1945. This event started in an accident happened on February 28, 1947, when two Chinese inspectors from the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau beat one local Taiwanese woman, Lin Chiang-mai, who allegedly sold unlicensed cigarettes in one public park in Taipei. The Chinese inspectors' cruel manners prompted the anger of surrounding Taiwanese. One Chinese inspector fired toward the crowd and killed one local bystander. This accident stirred many unbearable Taiwanese, who were frustrated with the corruptions of KMT officials and agents since they governed Taiwan in 1945, leading to eruption of unrests in Taipei and other cities in the island. Taiwanese representatives negotiated with Yi Chen, who was the province governor of Taiwan, asking provincial political reform and more Taiwanese political representations in the public offices. Regarding this event as a local rebellion, KMT Government responded with sending military troops from Mainland China on March 2, and launching extensive massacres, killing about twenty thousands people, including local Taiwanese landlords, civilians, varied association leaders, lawyers, doctors, correspondents, teachers, students, and normal people who ever disagreed with KMT personnel. This massacre almost erased one generation of Taiwanese elites and intellectuals. The traditional analysis of 228 Incident usually prescribed it as a local uprising against corrupted ruling. However, recent Taiwanese scholars provided a revised explanation, claiming that the conflicting cultural identities between Mainlanders and Taiwanese, who were highly influenced by Japan's fifty-year control of Taiwan (1894-1945), played the most significant factor for this incident. See Shiu-chen Huang, *The New Taiwan History* (Taipei, Taiwan: Wu-Non Book Publisher, 2007), pp. 163-237; Tzu-han Lai, Fu-san Huang, Shiu-chen Huang, Win-Shin Wu, and Shan-gi Hsui, *228 Incident Report* (Taipei, Taiwan: China Times Publisher Company, 1994).

[66] After the 228 Incident, KMT Government established the Taiwan Garrison Command, a secret police department, to suppress activities proclaiming Taiwan Independence and democracy promotion. This control of Taiwan Island became more severe when KMT government retreated from Mainland China to Taiwan in 1949. In order to effectively supervise public order from infiltration of Communist China, and further pressed the local growing power asking for Taiwanese representations, KMT government exercised the martial law on May 20, 1949, leading to decade-long period of large-scale arresting of political dissidents, as well as banning of any normal political activities. Many local political activists thereby were collared, charged with varied crimes, such as plotting to overthrow the government and being as the spies from Communist China. They were usually sentenced to death or with life imprisonment without juridical trial. Unlike the 228 Incident, the victims of "White Terror" included a handful of political Mainlander dissents. The

themselves with the inclination to stay away from any public and political engagements. Besides, the structural discrimination and collective distrust in the local organizations, as well as immigrants' English ability and unfamiliarity with community policies, made Chinese immigrants' immediate civic participation into question. Similar conflict originated from cultural difference was exemplified by local residents' criticism against Chinese overloaded housing. If considering that a large-family residential pattern was encouraged by Chinese custom, and many Chinese/Taiwanese were channeled to United States through chain migration and kinship networks, then it was easy to realize why newly-immigrated Monterey Park Chinese/Taiwanese tended to live in high-density condominiums and apartments rather than Americanized homes suitable for single family. Moreover, many Chinese immigrants soon conformed to American housing customs when they moved away from Monterey Park to further inland areas. It implies that criticism of locals toward Chinese newcomers sometimes were too fastidious in ignoring the adaption difficulty Chinese immigrants encountered in the host society.

The anger of locals toward Chinese economic activities and the following impacts upon the city were also highly questionable. Plenty of evidences had showed that many local community leaders and businessmen fairly valued the contributions of Chinese capital revitalizing the moribund local economy, leading to tax revenue increases for the city. One local city planner noted in 1987: "I would say easily 80 % of the projects are Asians. When I came to work here in 1981, the city was

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"White Terror" in Taiwan continued through 1960s to 1980s, until the repealing of martial law in 1987. Overall, estimates of the number of victims of the "White Terror" included ninety thousand arrests, half of them were executed. For Taiwanese, the 229 Incident and "White Terror" completely silenced their political voices, forcing Taiwanese living in an attitude avoiding any political affairs. See Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 76-104.

contemplating redevelopment. That's largely been done for us by the Asians."[67] George Inge, one local Japanese resident, stated that "the new (Chinese) people have resurrected Garvey-Garfield. It used to be that after 6 p.m., you'd never see anyone walking around down there. Now there are no empty stores, and you see plenty of people walking around. They contributed a lot to the coffers of the city."[68]

However, there actually was a discrepancy between genuine profit of Chinese ethnic businesses for local economy and its substantial vitality for local residents. As Lloyd de Llamas, Monterey Park's City Manager in 1987, indicated, the revitalization caused by Chinese businesses tended to be somewhat gilded. He pointed out that "Chinese development, the restaurants and small shops, do not mean a whole lot in terms of revenue…of the top ten tax-generating restaurants in town, only three are Chinese-owned." [69] Furthermore, the Chinese ethnic economy, aiming to ethnic clients, in Monterey Park in 1980s was then an ethnic-exclusive labor market, leaving no room for non-Chinese workers. In this light, locals' complaints that they seldom shared with economic gains but mostly suffered the inconveniences from booming Chinese businesses, were reasonable, although Chinese businesses had gradually expanded their recruitments to non-Chinese, especially Latino, laborers, in the following decades.

In addition, the non-assimilation accusation against Chinese/Taiwanese was sometimes paradoxical as well. As scholar Timothy P. Fong argued, it only took barely "a generation" since transnational Chinese/Taiwanese started to completely

[67] Mark Arax, "San Gabriel Valley Asian Influx Alters Life in Suburbia Series: Asian Impact," *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 1987.

[68] Edumund Newton, "Japanese in Monterey Park: Golden Ghetto Erodes as Young Move Away," *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1987.

[69] Mark Arax, "Monterey Park Nation's 1st Suburban Chinatown Series：Asian Impact," *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1987.

settle in Monterey Park in the 1980s. Considering that even many European immigrants took intergenerational efforts, rather than an individual process ruled by will, to overcome their differences of religion, language, lifestyles and traditions with the host society which tended to be less-heterogeneous to them, to ask Chinese/Taiwanese, with even more gapping social, religious and cultural disparity, to well assimilate to the American norms in short-term was unrealistic and demanding. Moreover, as Monterey Park became the center of ethnic businesses, and self-developed as the gateway for continuing arrival of new Chinese immigrants, the rapid fluid Chinese immigrants easily gave the false impression that Chinese in this city remained intractably unassimilated, socially and culturally static.[70].

Consequently, the interethnic setbacks that Chinese immigrants encountered in Monterey Park in 1980s marked the collisions of different ethnic groups in social, economic, and cultural perspectives. Nevertheless, it did not denote an irreversible pattern of interethnic relationship. Instead, it established the Chinese in Monterey Park and later in other towns of San Gabriel Valley, with them gradually communicating with locals in the next decades, which will further discuss in the following chapters.

(C) The Chinese Political Participation in Monterey Park

Although Chinese migration to Monterey Park in 1980s stirred local anxieties, organized resistance from local residents kept latent until 1985. In fact, the overall environment in Monterey Park in prior to 1985 appeared fairly optimistic for minority ethnic groups. In 1982, four out of five members of city council were from the

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[70] Timothy Patrick Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*, p.159.

minority groups (three Hispanic and one Chinese), a special case rarely seen in the history of American local politics. In 1983, *Times* magazine featured Monterey Park's "majority minority" council as representative of multi-culturalism and labeled it as the "successful suburban melting pot."[71] Similarly, in 1985, *USA Today* presented the All America City Award to Monterey Park. The harmonious multi-racial existence and political achievements of ethnic minorities in the city was highly esteemed. Under the favorable political environment, Lily Lee Chen, a female immigrant from Taiwan, was elected as the first Chinese council member in 1982. In 1983, she was assigned by the city council as the city mayor, becoming the first Chinese female mayor in the United States.

In general, Chinese political activities in Monterey Park represented the new model of political participation and mobilization in the post-1960s. Conventionally, with structural restrictions of various immigration laws and racial discriminations,[72] Chinese Americans were always regarded as the political dwarf in the history of the United States. Most of early Chinese Americans neither bore electoral qualifications

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[71] In 1982, 4 out of 5 council members in Monterey Park were from the ethnic minorities: Monty G. Manibog (Filipino); David Almada and Rudy Peralta (Latino); Lily Lee Chen (Chinese). See Timothy Patrick Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*, pp.96-104; Kurt Anderson, "New Ellis Island: Immigrants from All Over Change the Beat, Bop, and Character of Los Angeles," *Times*, June 13, 1983.

[72] A rich of related historiographies concerning anti-Chinese legislations and political policies aiming to exclude Chinese from mainstream society in the nineteenth and early twentieth century: W. P. Wilcox, "Anti-Chinese Riots in Washington" *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No 3 (July 1929), pp.204-12; Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, "California Anti-Chinese Legislation and the Federal Courts: A Study in Federal Relations," *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol.5 No.3 (Sep., 1936), pp. 189-211; William J. Courtney, *San Francisco's Anti-Chinese Ordinances, 1850-1900* (Dissertation: University of San Francisco, 1956); Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1971); Eric W. Fong and William T. Markham, "Anti-Chinese Politics in California in the 1870s: An Inter-County Analysis," *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Summer, 2002), pp. 183-210; Eric W. Fong and William T. Markham, "Anti-Chinese Politics in California in the 1870s: An Intercounty Analysis," *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Summer, 2002), pp. 183-210; Mark Kanazawa, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 65, No. 3 (Sept., 2005), pp. 779-805.

nor political awareness that made them show little concerns toward political issues and perform inertly in most electoral and political campaigns.

Aside from the external factors, the internal constraints within Chinese community such as illiteracy, poor English ability, sojourner mentality and limited economic resources all produced barriers that hindered or lowered Chinese access to full integration into the mainstream politics. Nevertheless, a small number of early Chinese started to appear to defend their rights, through litigation, judicial arguments, protesting marches and parades, against anti-Chinese activities.[73] These Chinese political pioneers did not earn comprehensive support from their ethnic group until the release of discriminatory immigration regulations after 1943. Encouraged by the Civil Rights Movement in 1960s, Chinese Americans were constantly aware of the importance of political voices, particularly after a series of modern anti-Chinese/Asian violence such as the murder of Vincent Chin in 1982.[74] More

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[73] Related literature can be seen in Charles J. McClain, *In Search of Equality: the Chinese Struggle against Discrimination in Nineteenth-century America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994); Charles J. McClain, "The Chinese Struggle for Civil Rights in 19-th Century America: The Unusual Case of Baldwin v. Franks," *Law and History Review*, Vol. 3, No.2 (Autumn, 1985), pp.349-373; Michele Shover, "Fighting Back: The Chinese Influence on Chico Laws and Politics, 1880-1886," *California History*, Vol. 74, No. 4 (Winter, 1995/1996), pp. 408-421; Floyd Cheung, "Performing Exclusion and Resistance: Anti-Chinese League and Chee Kung Tong Parades in Territory Arizona," *TDR*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Spring, 2002), pp. 39-59.

[74] The accident f Vincent Chin, a twenty-seven-year-old Chinese American, happened in June 1982 in Detroit. Two Euro-American auto workers, Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz, mistakenly recognized Chin as Japanese, whom they thought to be responsible for the downturn in the American automobile industry that made them unemployed, and brutally beat him to death. Initially charged with a second-degree murder, these two whites were free in the final judgment with only with three-year probation and a small amount fines. This result seriously outraged Chinese American community. Lily Chin, the mother of the victim, angrily responded: "what kind of law is this? What kind of justice? …This happened because my son in Chinese…Something is wrong with this country." This voice was soon supported by Citizens for Justice (ACJ), a pan-ethnic grassroots organization backed by Chinese. ACJ and a lot of Chinese American associations expressed their concerns toward U.S. Justice Department, leading to a final outcome with a twenty-five years sentence for Ebens. The killing of Vincent Chin left a significant legacy for Chinese Americans. It reminded Chinese the anti-Asian crimes and discriminatory unfairness against Asian Americans stilled remained. It also taught Chinese, or even Asian, Americans, the emergent necessity to develop the political power to protect their civic rights. See Ronald Takaki, "Who Really Killed Vincent Chin?," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 21, 1983; Alethea Yip, "Remembering

importantly, the unabated Chinese American immigration in the second half of twentieth century built a solid demographic base for potential voters and future ethnic political participants. The presence of a handful of Chinese political organizations farther reinforced Chinese American political force. They not only publicized the significance of Chinese/Asian political representation but also provided assistances for virtual Chinese political participations, including helping for the voter registration and supporting fund-raising campaigns.[75]

However, the most obvious feature of Chinese American political incorporation in the post-1960s was the suburbanization of Chinese/Asian American politics. In the past three decades, many small and medium Chinese/Asian majority cities in suburbs, led by those in southern California, witnessed growing Chinese/Asian American elected representatives and officials in respective local governments. These emerging suburban Chinese/Asian American political machines reciprocally promoted the development of community-based ethnic political organizations and ethnic media that fueled the political mobilization and awareness of local Chinese. As a result, these suburban cities gave birth to many Chinese newly-involved candidates, campaign workers, legislative liaisons, and electoral or appointed officials, leading to the "political incubators" that allowed new Chinese political participants to learn and attain to higher levels of elected posts in state and national governments.[76] This

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Vincent Chin: Fifteen Years Later, A Murder in Detroit Remains a Turing Point in the APA Movement," *Asian Week*, June 19, 1997. Related historiography concerned Vincent Chin and the link of pan-Asian ethnicity could be seen in Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institution and Identities* (Philadelphia, P.A.: Temple University Press, 1998), pp. 137-143.

[75] These kinds of Chinese American political organizations could be represented by Organization of Chinese Americans in Washington (OCA, 1973), Chinese American Voters Education Committee in San Francisco (CAVEC, 1978), Chinese Political Action Committee in Los Angeles (CPAC,1983), Taiwanese American Citizen's League in Los Angeles (TACL, 1985).

[76] James A. Lai, "A New Gateway: Asian American Political Power in the 21st Century," *Amerasia*

tendency of Chinese political development in suburbia was initiated and well represented by Chinese intense political engagement in Monterey Park in 1980s.

(a) Chinese Response to the English-Only Movement and the following tumult:

The Chinese/Taiwanese political participation in Monterey Park in 1980s was accompanied with the rise of anti-immigration movements of locals, who wished to counteract the transformative ethnographic landscape through political activities. What typified this mobilization of political force by the grassroots community was the presence of Residents' Association of Monterey Park (RAMP), which was established in July 1981.[77] Mainly composed of white citizens in their 50s and were well represented in both Democratic and Republican parties, RAMP had a strong local base for mobilization of political activities. Their advocacy efforts consisted of controlling the city growth, opposing high taxes, appealing to grassroots voters, and a more direct influence on municipal decisions. In addressing immigration issues, the group also took a conservative stance.

The emergence of RAMP symbolized the united force of the grassroots community in Monterey Park.[78] The group strongly opposed land planning, large-scale constructions, as well as turn against policies concerning immigration.

Journal 35:3 (2009):135.

[77] Timothy Patrick Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*, pp.86-88.

[78] In late 1940s, Monterey Park adopted a "Council-Manager System" in which the council is to be composed of 5 members who are elected every two years. 2-3 councilors are responsible for crafting municipal policies. In 1982, Monterey Park passed a law that required city council members with a four-year tenure and the rotation as mayor for 9 months. Aside from the city council members, the city clerk and city treasurer were also elected by the local people. Since the city council served as the most dominant force, the city council elections often determine the direction of municipal development. See Fong Timothy Patrick, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*, pp.86-88; Lily Lee Chen, *Autobiography of Taiwanese U.S. City Mayor Lily Lee Chen* (Taipei, Taiwan, City Publishing, 2003), p.175.

Since the late 1970s, this force began to influence the municipal decisions by strongly rejecting Proposition A of 1976 and Proposition B of 1976,[79] backing up Proposition K of 1982 and Proposition L of 1982, [80] as well as defeating Proposition Q of 1982.[81] Their mobilization came to culmination in the tide of state-wide "English Only Movement" in 1986 and 1987.

The English-Only Movement[82] stemmed from a conspicuous anti-immigration phenomenon which was long existent in the history of the United States.[83] However,

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[79] Proposition A aimed to restore the operations of the city ambulance service. Proposition B stood for the appointment rather than the election of city treasurer and city clerk. See Fong Timothy Patrick, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*, pp.76-78.

[80] Proposition K: stated that residential construction must not exceed 100 in any given year. Proposition L: requires public vote on any changes on lands measuring more than 1 acre. *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*, pp.96-100.

[81] Proposition L of 1982 required the vote of the entire residents on any changes made on lands measuring more than 1 acre. In 1983, Monterey Park City Council passed Proposition Q to propose the development plan converting the 56 acres of land along Atlantic Avenue into a retail site. The proposition was rejected in 1984. Fong Timothy Patrick, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*, pp.89-91, 106-109.

[82] English-Only movement is the radical division of the nation-wide "English as Official Language Movement." It basically called for a law specifying English as the legal language for official use, and tended to be more restrictive in prohibition of use of any languages other than English. The early actions in pursuit of "English as Official Language" could be originated from early nineteenth century when United States acquired territories inhabited by non-English-speaking residents, who were basically Native and Mexican Americans. This movement was accelerated and became radical with recent immigration from Asia, and Central and South America congregating in specific states such as Florida and California. For example, in early 1980s Miami City Government passed and enacted the law against the use of Spanish and Creole languages. In California, the presence of Proposition 38 of 1984 requested all official voting materials, including ballots and voters' pamphlets should be printed in English only. The California Proposition 63 of 1986 further regulated English as the state's common language. Following this trend, two California suburban cities, Fillmore and Alameda, also passed similar laws to enhance the role of English. See Staff writer, "State Election Results," *Los Angeles Times*, November 8, 1984; Renee Leyva, " Proposition 38," *Los Angeles Times* (Nov. 15, 1984); U.S. English, Inc., website: http://www.us-english.org/.

[83] The fear that English would be replaced by other languages of recent immigrants happened frequently in the history of the United States, leading to efforts to establish the English as the authority by excluding the use of other languages in public or private terrains. For example, there were related laws against use of German language in Pennsylvania and Virginia in eighteenth century. Many critics also passed related regulations against use of languages of Spanish and Native Americans in Texas and California in nineteenth century. These activities restrictive to non-English circulation extended to disputes of bilingual education and minority language schools in nineteenth and twentieth century. Related historiographies include: James C. Stalker, "Official English or English Only," *The English Journal*, Vol. 77, No.3 (March, 1988), pp. 18-23; Steven L. Schlossman, "Is There an American Tradition of Bilingual Education? German in the Public Elementary Schools, 1840-1919," *American Journal of Education* 91, no.2 (February 1983): 139-186. Joanthan Zimmerman, "Ethnics against Ethnicity: European Immigrants and Foreign-Language Instruction, 1890-1940," *The Journal of American History* 88, no.4 (March 2002): 1383-1404; Yoshihide

this movement in Monterey Park first exploded through the issue of Chinese business billboards. From late 1970s, critics requested that all billboards in this city should append an English translation on the basis of public safety and information circulation. The dispute became more intense during the 1980s. To answer the constant complaints, the Monterey Park city council passed a regulation in 1985 requiring all business billboards to add English translations. However, this act did not appease the backers of the movement, political leaders, such as Frank Arcuri and Barry Hatch, who insisted, through a referendum, to remove all foreign characters in local signboards. As a consequence of the billboard controversy, this local group soon interlinked their claims with the English-Only movement, in hope for gaining political power from minority groups in the general election in 1986.

In opposition to the radical actions of English-Only movement, local Asian and Latino groups also responded with aggressive actions, signified by the formation of Coalition for Harmony in Monterey Park (CHAMP) in November 1985. This organization underlined the value of multi-cultural tolerance and promoted the agenda to increase funds for English as a Second Language Program (ESL), the plan that they believed to be the solution to the interracial tensions. Michael Eng, one of leaders of CHAMP, claimed:

> "Some in this community are using the petition drive to promote unity by disunity and harmony by dissension and by enlightening us back to the Dark

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Matsubayashi, "The Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii and California From 1892 to 1941" (Dissertation, University of San Francisco, 1984); Eileen H. Tamura, "The English-Only Effort, the Anti-Japanese Campaign, and Language Acquisition in Education of Japanese Americans in Hawaii, 1915-40," *History of Education Quarterly* 33, no.1 (Spring 1993): 37-58; Ralph Thomas Kam, "Language and Loyalty: Americanism and the Regulation of Foreign Language Schools in Hawaii," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 40 (2006): 131-147.

> Ages…. They would twist the meaning of patriotism and Americanism. Our purpose is to foster and maintain a spirit of citywide harmony, acceptance, and cooperation among the culturally diverse members of the community."[84]

The rise of CHAMP marked a new type of Chinese civic mobilization beyond simply electoral campaigns that represented the beginning of Chinese political sense and mobilization in this city.

The English-Only movement in Monterey Park peaked during the 1986 city council election. RAMP recommended three candidates, namely Chris Houseman, Patricia Reichenberger and Barry Hatch to challenge three incumbent minority candidates, Lily Lee Chen, David Almada and Rudy Peralta, all of whom strongly fought against the English-Only issue. These two sides also had contradictory views toward city development, while Lily Chen and the other two incumbents favored economic growth, RAMP proclaimed a slow-development pace with the anti-immigration campaign under the banner of the defense of Americanism: "English, the family, God, the nation, and the neighborhoods." After the heated campaign, the three minority candidates were replaced by three challengers, marking the return of local control to the established white residents. The outcome of election in 1986 showed an obvious anti-immigration trend in the city council, reflecting widening gap between the Chinese and the local residents.[85]

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[84] Timothy Patrick Fong, *The Unique Convergence: A Community Study of Monterey Park, California*, p.115.

[85] Lily Lee Chen, *The Autobiography of U.S. City Mayor Lily Lee Chen,* p.246; Min Zhou, *Contemporary Chinese America: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Community Transformation*, pp. 91-92; John Horton, The Politics of Diversity: Immigration, Resistance, and Change in Monterey Park, California (Philadelphia, P.A.: Temple University Press, 1995), pp. 107-108.

Following the elections in 1986, certain controversial measures started to be raised by the conservative white representatives in the Monterey Park council. First, led by Barry Hatch, the new council backed the popular state-wide Proposition 63, which required Monterey Park to make English as the official language. Secondly, the new council called for a 40-day halt in construction of buildings, apartments and duplex residences resulting in the instant shut down of several ongoing construction projects. Thirdly, the new council overruled the plan to build Senior Citizen apartments for the elderly Taiwanese, which was approved by the City Planning Department in prior to the 1986 election. Fourth, Patricia Reichenberger and Barry Hatch drafted Resolution 9004 which aimed to limit undocumented illegal immigrants. Fifth, the city council abolished the additional version of its Chinese public bulletin, and disbanded the Community Relations Commission, an organization provided communication access for different ethnic groups.[86] Sixth, the new council passed another law that forbid the City Hall to raise foreign flags but allowed exclusively American or Californian flags. This last resolution directly hindered the original plan for the celebration of the Double Ten National Day, which supported by the Monterey Park's sister city— Taiwan's Yong He City.

A chain of resolutions of anti-Chinese and anti-immigration origin from the new city council enraged Chinese and other specific groups. The resolution to enact a construction moratorium resulted in the indignation of Chinese developers who threatened to resort to law suits; the rejection of the Taiwan Elderly Group's plan to

[86] Timothy Patrick Fong, *The Unique Convergence: A Community Study of Monterey Park, California*, pp.122-130; Li-Wa Chen, *The Autobiography of Taiwanese U.S. Mayor Lily Lee Chen,* pp.249-250; Mike Ward," Protests Fail to Change Council's Immigration Stand," *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1986; Mike Ward, "Bolstered by Prop. 63 Vote, Foe of Non-English Signs Renews Attack," *Los Angeles Times*, November 9, 1986.

build a senior citizen apartment prompted resistance from Taiwanese immigrants, led to actions from the Taiwan American Citizens League (TACL). They launched a protest with around 400 Taiwanese elderly raising the banner of “Be kind to the elderly” and “End Monterey Park Apartheid” in front of the city hall on July 14, 1986. During the demonstration, the leader of TACL, Wu Li-Pei, a Taiwanese banker, bluntly remarked, “I have no doubt that it is racism….There is an undercurrent in Monterey Park.” The various oppressive measures such as the Resolution 9004 infuriated Chinese immigrants and other minority groups so that they collectively demanded the council to drop the decisions. In spite of the demonstrations and protests, the council refused to budge and continued to obstinately cling to the original stand. This manner ultimately led to a recall effort, mainly led by local Chinese residents.[87]

In January 1987, six hundred people, many of them were Chinese, from Southern California led by Zhu Miao-Zhen, Michael Eng, and Jose Calderon held a massive demonstration in front of the Monterey Park City Hall. The protestors used the theme, “A Better Cityhood,” (ABC) to promote mobilization of the recall petition, and went on to gather signatures in an effort to impeach two city council members, Barry Hatch and Patricia Reichenberger. In October, over 6,800 recall petition signatures were gathered. The Los Angeles Election Department then approved the petition and arranged a special election on June 16, 1987. Both Barry Hatch and Patricia Reichenberger countered the recall action by claiming it as the conspiracy of disgruntled developers and defeated council members.[88]

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[87] Timothy Patrick Fong, *The Unique Convergence: A Community Study of Monterey Park, California*, pp.126-127.

[88] Lily Lee Chen, *Autobiography of Taiwanese girl as U.S. City Mayor, Lily Lee Chen,* pp.250-251.

The result of the special election demonstrated disappointed the Chinese community, which showed unprecedented momentum to support the recall petition. The recall votes against two city council members both were below 40% of the total ballots, which contained 35.5 percent of the city's registered voters, the highest for any special election in the city's history. Although the recall activity was an overwhelming defeat for ABC, this activity allowed Chinese rethinking the issue of racial discrimination, as well as promoting strong cohesion among them. During the recall process, numerous Chinese groups from San Gabriel Valley held anti-discrimination campaigns, which were barely seen in Chinese American history. These aggressive actions meant that the Monterey Park council could no longer turn a blind eye to immigrants' outcry. Moreover, the enthusiasm of Chinese residents to be involved in politics likewise began during the impeachment debates. From then on, Chinese residents of Monterey Park became vigilant about all issues affecting their welfare and interests. They also spared no effort in taking a stand and actively encouraged potential public figures who could serve as the voice of the Chinese community. This burgeoning Chinese momentum for ethnic representation in Monterey Park not only promoted the city with most elected Chinese officials in the 1990s and 2000s but also ushered the trend of Chinese suburban politics, patronized by growing Chinese population, in the San Gabriel Valley in the following decades.

(b) Chinese Political Strategy and feedback in Monterey Park

The turmoil in Monterey Park in 1986 and 1987 marked a significant turning point for Chinese political participation. On the one hand, the anti-immigration and recall activities enhanced Chinese political awareness and nurtured ethnic political

civic activists and political prospects, leading Chinese and other immigration groups to gain stronger foothold in politics. On the other hand, the vehement interracial conflict also made both local Chinese and non-Chinese disfavor radical proclamations and gradually treasured the means of communication and cooperation to one another on the issue of livelihoods.[89] With this appeal, Judy Chu, an American-born Chinese with PH.D degree in mathematics, gained endorsement of RAMP and ranked the highest vote-obtainer as councilwoman in 1988, becoming the second Chinese city council representative. The defeat of radical councilman Barry Hatch in 1990 election further proved that political atmosphere in Monterey Park changed, stressing communication and cooperation among multi-ethnic groups. Under this favorable political climate, more and more Chinese aspirants involved themselves in the politics in the aftermath of 1990s. In 1990, Samuel K. Kiang, a lawyer from Hong Kong, was elected as the council member, leading Monterey Park to become the only city with two Chinese incumbent council members in the local political history of the United States. This path of Chinese politics in Monterey Park continued in the next decades. In 2003, three Chinese candidates, David T. Lau, Michael Eng and Betty Tom Chu, won the majority of Monterey Park council seats for the first time.[90] In 2009, four out of five city council members were Chinese.[91] As an incubator and as a staunch ethnic voting base, Monterey Park nurtured not only local political activists, but also gave birth to Chinese aspirants gaining seats in the offices of national and state-levels. For example, former Monterey Park Chinese mayors, Judy Chu and Michael Eng, were

[89] Marilyn Lewis, "Monterey Park's Cross-Cultural Coalition May Hint at a New Order in California Unlocking Power of Ethnic Alliances," *San Jose Mercury News*, June 1, 1994.

[90] Michell Rester, "City Council Gets New Majority; Members Represent City's Population," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, March 16, 2003.

[91] David T. Lau, Betty Tom Chu, Mitchel Ing, Anthony Wong.

elected in the Californian House of Representatives in 2001 and 2006, respectively. Judy Chu even earned the seat in the Californian State of Board of Equalization in 2006 and as the Representative of the United States Congress in 2009.

The flowering of Chinese political participation in Monterey Park reflected effective and meaningful traits and strategies. First, Chinese politicians in Monterey Park mostly were accomplished professionals. For instances, Judy Chu and her husband, Michael Eng, both possess doctoral degrees; Lily Lee Chen has master's degree in sociology; David Lou is the licensed accountant; Samuel K. Kiang and Betty Tom Chu are lawyers and bankers. These Chinese political figures were all prominent in their respective professional fields. Their social status and accomplishments easily earned the identity and credits from both Chinese and non-Chinese voters.

Secondly, Chinese politicians in Monterey Park were prone to cultivate their bases by engaging themselves in local community matters and school activities. Judy Chu, David Lou, and Anthony Wong all ever served the posts of Monterey Park Unified school district before they were elected as city councilors. Present day Monterey Park Chinese representative Mitchel Ing had devoted himself to multiple community affairs and activities since 1980s before he ran for city treasurer in 2001 and council seat in 2007. Hence, their efforts and community connection had laid the solid foundation not only in ethnic community, but also extended their networks to the non-Chinese voters.

Thirdly, the growing political power of Monterey Chinese and the vigilance of local Chinese groups brought improvement for local Chinese both in political and non-political aspects. In the political arena, increasing Chinese political representation

led the city authority to take the rights and interests of Chinese residents more seriously, and to formulate favorable and convenient policies for local minority groups. As early as in 1992, Monterey Park election ballots were printed in English, Spanish, and Chinese.[92] This served to strengthen the involvement of Monterey Park Chinese resident in politics and gave rise to the passage of the "Bilingual Services Policy" in 2003. This policy covered public facilities, including the city hall, city guidelines, application forms, press releases, official newsletters, city website and TV Channel 55. It stated that all the above should have both Chinese and Spanish translations. Public safety declarations were required to be published in Spanish, Japanese, Chinese and other non-English languages. Hiring processes for police officers and firefighters would prioritize bilingual applicants especially those fluent in Asian languages.[93] The "Bilingual Services Policy" was a pioneering work, which was the hard-earned fruit of the Chinese minority. This service continued to expand in the following years into broader extents in the city, including Chinese translations in council meetings and the formation of "Chinese Citizens Police Academy" in 2004.[94] These achievements underlined growing political influence of Chinese in Monterey Park particularly after 2003 when they won the majority in the City Council.

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[92] Based on the U.S. Federal Election Law in 1975 and the implementation of "Bilingual Ballots" as stipulated in California's Proposition 203, any local election office having a constituency with more than 5% minority voters with English inabilities was required to provide the appropriate translations, including bilingual ballot information services. However, in general it was statewide Hispanic voters, rather than Chinese, were the ones who truly benefited from the law. Monterey Park was the first case in the U.S. to apply this act favoring Chinese voters. See Qi-Wen Lin, *A Study on the Political Involvement of Chinese American: 1965-1993,* pp.26-28; Johanna Neuman, "Voting Rights Act Renewal Wins House Approval: Republican Leaders Side with the Democrats to Quash GOP Moves to Revise the Measure," *Los Angles Times*, June 14, 2006.

[93] *Chinese Daily News*, December 18, 2003.

[94] Jason Kosareff, "Police Academy Taught in Mandarin," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, December. 20, 2004.

Furthermore, with the rise of Chinese political power, a lot of Chinese celebrations, sponsored by city government, were also regularly held in Monterey Park as well. For instance, Monterey Park began to support the Lantern Festival activity, a traditional Chinese holidays, since 2000. Yearly on October 10, the National Holiday of Taiwan, Monterey Park city officials also raised the Taiwan's flag to honor the occasion and held celebrations and fairs. Moreover, the political influence enjoyed by Monterey Park Chinese residents also presented positive effects in spreading the Chinese culture. For example in 2003, Michael Eng recommended the president of North American Chinese Writers Association, Liu Yu-Rong, as an elected member of the Monterey Park Arts and Culture Committee to organize art exhibits, book presentation, lectures, and other similar activities. All these have served to introduce Chinese arts and culture to the mainstream society and elevate the status of Monterey Park Chinese.

The cross-Pacific political communication and cooperation was another arena promoted by growing Chinese political power in Monterey Park. In 1981, Monterey Park concluded an agreement with Yong He City of Taiwan a sister city.[95] Regular communication and interaction between these two cities existed and the local officials of the two cities frequently visited each other.[96] In recent years, growing Monterey Chinese councilors further reinforced networks with China by signing several cities in Asia, including QuanZhou City, Guanzhou City, Tongchung City, as the sisterly cities. These interactive activities with Asia not only promoted Chinese political influences,

[95] Monterey Park presently has a total of five sisterhood cities, namely: Nachikatsura, Japan; Yong-He City, Taipei; Guanzhou, China; Morelia City, Mexico; and Yeongdeungpo-Gu, Korea. This Asian-centered sisterly cityhood was attributed to the influence of its Asian-majority officials in th city government. *Chinese Daily News,* January 23, 2006.

[96] Irene Chang, "A Sisterly Visit - Monterey Park Gives Taiwan Guests a Taste of Chinatown," *Los Angles Times*, Feb. 3, 1991.

but only brought mutual economic and cultural influx between the two sides of Pacific Ocean.

A combination of international and national determinants contributed to the establishment of Monterey Park as an irreplaceable Chinese suburban foothold in 1980s. This ethnic residential, economic, political and social pattern developed in Monterey Park became the learning model for the creation of a handful of Chinese settlements in San Gabriel Valley in the next three decades. Nevertheless, as what scholar Timothy P. Fong dubbed, the first Chinese suburban Chinatown, the development of Chinese community in Monterey Park also had constraints. Its highly visible Chinese characteristics with exclusively ethnic residences and economic activities inevitably led the city to self-evolve into a Chinatown-like harbor for senior established Chinese/Taiwanese without English proficiency, as well as the starting place for newly-arrived Chinese/Taiwanese immigrants. This less Americanized environment with relatively higher linguistic isolation and intense ethnic traits and forced many established Chinese desiring to incorporate to the American society to move out. This trend of Chinese migratory pattern, with northward and eastward migration, will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter III

Eastward Migration and Formation of Chinese Community in the East San Gabriel Valley

The advent of Chinese community in Monterey Park orchestrated the rapid development of Chinese American suburban sprawl in greater Los Angeles. As geographer Wei Li indicated, the development of local Chinese community, which he defined as an ethnoburb, had undergone three phases: (1) the budding phase, 1960-1975: the emergence of fledging suburban Chinese residential concentration in Monterey Park; (2) the blooming phase, 1975-1990, the continued expansion of Chinese population and ethnic economy in western San Gabriel Valley; (3) the maturing phase, 1990 to present: the establishment of Chinese ethnic suburban settlements in the entire San Gabriel Valley, which both served as a global outpost and racialized place.[1] In general, these three phases witnessed an obvious migration pattern from the Los Angeles Chinatown to suburban areas, led by the first wave of Chinese settlement in western San Gabriel Valley in 1980s. From the results of my personal interviews with local Chinese, and review of relevant materials and local newspapers, I argue that three additional stages of Chinese migration related to northward and, particularly, the eastward movement was conducted by local Chinese. They transformed the San Gabriel Valley into a virtual "Chinese Valley," or what

[1] Wei Li, "Building Ethnoburbia: The Emergence and Manifestation of the Chinese Ethnoburb in Los Angeles' San Gabriel Valley," *Journal of Asian American Studies*, Vol. 2, No.1 (1999), pp. 1-28.

American writer Kenneth R. Timmerman ironically claimed, the "22nd Chinese province."[2]

A. The Expansion of Chinese Community in west and north San Gabriel Valley

After the Chinese set their foothold in Monterey Park in 1970s and 1980s, the subsequent Chinese immigration to the Los Angeles area pushed the Chinese community to expand their settlements to the northern and eastern areas.

(A) The formation of ethnic residence and economy in west San Gabriel Valley

As the Chinese population in Monterey Park increased in 1980s, insufficient space and skyrocketing land prices hampered subsequent Chinese immigrants, who started to spill over into adjacent cities in the San Gabriel Valley. This sprawl was fueled by local Chinese developers' overseas marketing strategy. For instance, H.F. Pacific, a Chinese American developer based in Los Angeles, keenly promoted how cities in the San Gabriel Valley were as favorable as Monterey Park in Taiwan's newspapers.[3] George Realty was another good example. Started by Taiwanese immigrant George Chen in 1984 in Alhambra, it grew as a company with hundreds of Mandarin-speaking agents who created millions in transactions for the firm per month.

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[2] Kenneth R. Timmerman, "China's 22nd Province," *The American Spectato*r, Vol. 30, No. 10 (October, 1997), pp. 38-45.

[3] Yen-Fen Tseng, *Suburban Ethnic Economy: Chinese Business Communities in Los Angeles* (Dissertation: University of California, Los Angeles, 1994), p.44.

George Realty set up numerous branch offices in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mainland China in 1980s, and was highly engaged in cross-Pacific marketing networks to market homes and condominiums to Asian immigrants.[4] Hence, in the mid-1980s, the western end of the San Gabriel Valley had become what *The Los Angeles Daily News* called the new "ports of entry" for Chinese immigrants to the United States.[5] Immigration data from the Immigration and Nationality Service revealed that Monterey Park, Alhambra, and Rosemead ranked third, fourth, and sixth as the cities new Chinese immigrants preferred to settle between 1983 to 1990 (See Table 2-3). As a result, the cities of Alhambra, Rosemead, and San Gabriel thereby witnessed explosions of Chinese population in 1980s. Alhambra found their Chinese population rising from 3,877 in 1980 to 21,348 in 1990, accounting for 26 % of the city population. Likewise, the cities of Rosemead, and San Gabriel experienced similar explosive growth in Chinese residency in the 1980s, with nearly a tenfold increase. This phenomenon of Chinese congregation in the western San Gabriel Valley in 1980s set the cornerstone for what Asian American scholars Jan Lin and Paul Robinson suggested "the ethnosuburban core of the Greater Los Angeles."[6] The U.S. Census of 1990 clearly showed that this core zone constituted more than half of the Chinese population in sixteen cities or incorporated areas in San Gabriel Valley, a trend continued to present. (See Table 3-1)

The growing Chinese expansion in the west San Gabriel Valley in 1980s created a niche to develop the flourishing ethnic enclave economy as well. As geographer

[4] Staff writer, "Slow Market Doomed Real Estate Empire: George Chen's Bankruptcy Comes Amid Branch Closings, IRS Seizures and Accusations of Misuse of Investor Funds," *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 1992; K.E. Kelin,"At Home in America," *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 1997.

[5] Mark Arax, "San Gabriel Valley Asian Influx Alters Life in Suburbia Series: Asian Impact：First of Two Articles," *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 1987.

[6] Jan Lin and Paul Robinson, "Spatial Disparities in the Expansion of the Chinese Ethnoburb of Los Angeles," *Geo Journal*, Vol. 64, No.1 (2005), p. 53.

David Kaplan illustrated, the geographical ethnic concentration of residence led to the incubation of ethnic beginning businesses, fostered linkages between businesses, and increased the opportunities for the establishment of additional businesses and serve as a economic and cultural focus for the ethnic community.[7] The sprawling growth of the Chinese community from Monterey Park to cities in the western San Gabriel Valley in 1980s accompanied the expansion and increasing diversity of their ethnical economic activities. As sociologist Yen-Fen Tseng found, the development of Chinese business in post-1965 Los Angeles was quintessentially multinuclear. High rent, traffic, limited space and parking problems all become the deterrent to hinder the further growth of Chinese entrepreneurship in one single city, whereas the availability and relative low cost of offices and lands in neighboring areas attracted Chinese firms. This pattern was exemplified by the transformation of the Chinese economic center from the Los Angeles Chinatown to Monterey Park at the outbreak of late 1970s, as well as Chinese economic de-concentration from Monterey Park in mid-1980s.[8] In 1982, varied Chinese businesses operated in Monterey Park only totaled to 340, but accounted for 56.5% of the ethnic businesses in the San Gabriel Valley. However, in 1996 this figure drastically rose to 1,692, but only shared 17.5% of Chinese businesses in the ethnoburbia. A new burgeoning ethnic economic area, namely Monterey Park- Alhambra- Rosemead- San Gabriel, replaced the single-city pattern of Chinese economic activities. In 1996, this Chinese economic enclave in western San

[7] David Kaplan, "The Spatial Structure of Urban Ethnic Economics," *Urban Geography*, Vol. 19, No. 6 (1998), pp. 489-501.

[8] Yen-Fen Tseng, *Suburban Ethnic Economy：Chinese Business Communities in Los Angeles*, pp. 148-149.

Gabriel Valley contained over five thousand diverse Chinese enterprises, making up 54.2% of the Chinese economic system in the San Gabriel Valley (See Table 3-2).[9]

The prosperous Chinese economy in the western San Gabriel Valley was also self-diversified. In general, the early Chinese economic development in Monterey Park usually focused on ethnic-oriented service businesses, which were nurtured by a growing ethnic consumer base. These ethnically-centered service enterprises, as Howard Aldrich and other scholars suggested, were essentially the culinary and cultural endeavors that involved a direct connection with the immigrants' homeland, knowledge of tastes, as well as buying preferences qualities that were unlikely to be shared by non-Asian-owned competitors.[10] The predominance of Chinese businesses of restaurants, food industry, grocery, herb, tour agency, and Chinese newspapers and TV channels evidenced this form or development. This phenomenon of Chinese economic overrepresentation in ethnic retail and service sectors was gradually diminished when the Chinese expanded their economic activities beyond Monterey Park. A wide range of Chinese economic businesses found their bases in multiple cities of San Gabriel Valley. For example, a multitude of self-run Chinese law firms, medical and dental offices, insurance brokers, and real estate agencies appeared in Alhambra, San Gabriel, and particularly in commercial cities such as Pasadena and South Pasadena in 1980s and 1990s. Chinese automotive businesses also started to root in Rosemead, CA in late 1980s, while Chinese textile, garment, furniture, computer, and other light manufacture industries found their niches in El Monte City

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[9] Wei Li, *Spatial Transformation of an Urban Ethnic Community from Chinatown to Chinese Ethnoburb in Los Angele*, pp.149-150.

[10] Howard Aldrich, John Cater, Trevor Jones, David McEvoy, and Paul Velleman, "Ethnic Residential Concentration and the Protected Market Hypothesis," *Social Forces* 63 (June, 1985), pp. 996-1009.

and South El Monte City and later in City of Industry, where greater space, lower rents and less-restricted municipal regulations lured Chinese investors.[11]

Banking was another fast-spreading Chinese business in western San Gabriel Valley. In 1980, only one Chinese bank located in Monterey Park, while another five were housed in Los Angeles. However, in 1990 over thirty Chinese banks, including six headquartered locally and twenty-nine branches were situated in the western San Gabriel Valley. Chinese banking businesses continued to grow in the ethnoburban core in 2000s, with a total of ten headquarters and fifty branches. Most of these Chinese banks housed in Valley Boulevard which currently notable as the "Chinese or Asian American Wall Street."[12] (See Table 3-2)

In essence, the Chinese economic spatial distribution in the western San Gabriel Valley represented a new ethnic enclave economic model in the context of internationalization and globalization of the economy. Traditional Chinese American economic development was usually attributed to small scale and family-based businesses. This was most significant in three types of Chinese businesses in the United States: the laundry, restaurant, and grocery prior to 1960s. This kind of early Chinese business often developed with limited finances,[13] and tended to be self-exploitative, in what ethnic studies scholars Ivan Light and Roger Waldinger

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[11] Vicki Torres, "Bold Fashion Statement Amid Aerospce Decline, L.A. Garment Industry Emerges as a Regional Economic Force," *Los Angeles Times*, March 12, 1995; Tien Lee, "An L.A. Community That's on the Rise El Monte: Close-in location, affordable prices and new homes all strong draws of this racially integrated neighborhood," *Los Angeles Times*, July 25, 1993.

[12] Li Wei et al., "Chinese-American Banking and Community Development in Los Angeles County," *Annals of the Association of American Geography*, Vol.92, No.4 (2002), p.789; Seth Mydans, "Asian Investors Create A Pocket of Prosperity," *The New York Times*, October 17, 1994; Lauren Gold, "Valley Boulevard: A Window into the New Chinatown," *Pasadena Star News*, May 26, 2012.

[13] The early Chinese Americans usually utilized *hui*, an ethnic-based rotating credit association, to pool their savings and allocated the funds to participants who gained the capital to initialize a new business. Ivan H. Light, *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 24-26.

interpreted as a willingness to work hard for long hours, low-payment, and flexibility, which was highly line with ethnic solidarity and working ethics.[14] However, the post-1960s Chinese immigration into the Greater Los Angeles area, as Yen-Fen Tseng suggested, were "bourgeois immigrants" with affluent human and economic capitals, and their entrepreneurial network and management deeply linked with their homeland in Asia.[15] Hence, their ethnic entrepreneurial expertise and international networks distinguished them from pre-World-War-II Chinese business-owners, and made it easier for them to access economic avenues not open to Chinese immigrants in the pre-WWII era. The rise of Taiwanese hotel business in Greater Los Angeles, especially in the western San Gabriel Valley, served as the example.

Taiwanese Americans started to cluster in hotel/motel business in southern California in early 1970s. In general, the hotel business has favorable characteristics fit for new immigrants to start up in a foreign land— it does not require proficient English capability to run a inn; the inn provides the combination of business and residence function for immigrant family; hotel/motel tends to be a easier and more flexible work than restaurant or grocery businesses; hotel/motel businesses are often operated on a cash flow basis; hotel businesses are also a property investment conforming to Chinese traditional thoughts that "land is money." However, the entry of the hotel/motel business for immigrants also required a certain threshold of capital. In the early 1970s, to purchase a small to medium scale hotel/motel in southern California often cost fifty to one hundred thousand dollars, which most former first-generation immigrants weren't able to afford to. The booming of Taiwanese

[14] Ivan Light, "Disadvantaged Minorities in Self-Employment," *The International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 20, pp. 31-45.
[15] Yen-Fen Tseng, *Suburban Ethnic Economy: Chinese Business Communities in Los Angeles*, p.57.

hotel/motel business in southern California took place in the special context of transnational immigration and international trade system.

The Taiwanese spearheading the hotel industry adoption were mostly students and professionals. Many of them encountered unemployment in 1960s and 1970s, especially in the aftermath of the energy crisis in 1973. As the case of King Y. Chai showed, he graduated from Ohio State University in 1960s and worked in varied sectors before he ventured into hotel industry in 1970. Other Taiwanese such as Jan-Fu Chen, whose Master Hotel System contained six chain hotels in five states in the 1980s, was an architect by training. He went into hotel management in 1973 after he failed to successfully gain employment as an architect in mainstream society.[16] These Taiwanese hotel/motel forerunners were joined by a handful of Taiwanese entrepreneurial immigrants with opulent capital and business expertise, exemplified by Kenjohn Wang, who emigrated to United States in 1973. Encouraged by King Y. Chai, Jan-Fu Chen and other Taiwanese, Kenjohn Wang transformed his business from apartment management and exporting to hotel/motel management in 1974, when he purchased his first hotel— Newland Motel Apartment in southern California. He managed this hotel by family-based employment— he worked as the manager, while his wife and children worked as accountant and chore workers respectively. Afterwards, Kenjohn Wang was supported by a long-term mortgage from local Chinese banks, and continued to purchase another two hotels, Outrigger Motel with 105 rooms, in Long Beach in 1975 and the 105-units Holiday Inn in Montebello in 1978. [17] The rapid success of Kenjohn Wang became a legend in southern California,

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[16] SCTIA, *The 30th Anniversary Album of Southern California Taiwan Innkeepers Association* (San Gabriel, C.A.: SCTIA, 2005), pp. 24-27.

[17] Kenjohn Wang, *Memoirs of Kenjohn Wang*: *The Struggling History of Immigration of a Taiwanese*

and inspired a great number of Taiwanese businessmen to this industry. Through this ethnic network, many Taiwanese even bought motels or hotels before they immigrated to United States. In 1990 Taiwanese-owned hotel/motels numbered 395 in Los Angeles County, and in 2010, approximately one thousand Taiwanese/Chinese hotels or motels are based in southern California.[18]

The development of the Taiwanese hotel/motel businesses in southern California was also greatly shored up by the establishment of the Southern California Taiwan Innkeepers Association (SCTIA). Formed by nearly thirty Taiwanese hotel owners in 1974, SCTIA, currently headquartered in San Gabriel City, served as the powerful ethnic-based association. It provided a variety of services, including helping ethnic aspirants locate a fit hotel/motel to purchase; offering free law and financial consultation; providing connection of room-cleaning, decoration companies, and others for its members. More importantly, SCTIA served as a platform of communication and cooperation for Taiwanese innkeepers.[19] During 1992, the collapse of the real estate market plagued the local economy of California and triggered a recession and a wave of bankruptcies amid Taiwanese and Chinese inn-keepers. It was SCTIA that represented the hotels with financial problems to negotiate with local banks for a grace periods for mortgages, and to apply for low-interest loans, through Taiwan Government's Bureau of Overseas Chinese, to

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*Americ*an, pp.178-197。

[18] SCTIA, *The 30th Anniversary Album of Southern California Taiwan Innkeepers Association*, pp. 24-27.

[19] SCTIA holds regular seminars with invitations of bankers, lawyers, accountants, and other related professionals to provide diverse information. Members of SCTIA also enjoyed benefits from sponsor vendors, including lodging supplies, telephone discount, cheaper room-cleaning service, and etc. Besides, to deal with legal problems innkeepers usually encountered, such as prostitution, public security, and gang harassment, SCTIA also provided free juridical advises for its members. Him Mark Lai, *From Overseas Chinese to Chinese American: The History of Chinese American in Twentieth Century*, pp. 455-456; SCTIA, *The 30th Anniversary Album of Southern California Taiwan Innkeepers Association*, pp. 1-8.

pool investments for hotels in need.[20] It showed that SCTIA functioned as a collective ethnical entrepreneurial pattern peculiar to the post-1965 Chinese immigrants.

The development of the 99 Ranch Market (or *Tawa* supermarket) in the west San Gabriel Valley signified another updated pattern of Chinese grocery development in 1980s. Established by Roger H. Chen, a Taiwanese immigrant moved to Anaheim Hills of Orange County in early 1980s, the first *Tawa* supermarket, which was called *Man Wah* Supermarket, was operated in Westminster, Orange County, where it was competitive with Vietnamese supermarkets. In 1985, Roger H. Chen started to resettle his businesses to San Gabriel Valley, to ride the tide of growing local Chinese immigration in the Los Angeles ethnoburbs. His most aggressive adventure was to lobby the San Gabriel city council for the construction of the Focus Department Store in 1986,[21] a massive but high-risk plan with multiple Chinese businesses centered by his supermarket, which was then renamed as 99 Ranch Market.[22] This plan brought enormous sales tax income for local government and set the foundation of further development of 99 Ranch Markets in the San Gabriel Valley. From hindsight, the success of Focus Department Store led to a pattern that Roger H. Chen has employed in the following years: using his supermarket to anchor the promising shopping centers where there's a concentrated Chinese population,

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[20] Kenjohn Wang, *Memoirs of Kenjohn Wang*: *The Struggling History of Immigration of a Taiwanese American*, pp. 243-244; Carole Hsu, *The Story of Taiwanese in North America: The Second Episode* (Taipei, Taiwan: Spring Wind Publishing, 2006), pp. 236-238.

[21] Denise Hamilton, "99 and Counting," *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 1998; Susan Carpenter, "From healing hands to haute handbags; Yes, Valley Boulevard in San Gabriel is a great place for dim sum, but that's only the beginning," *Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 2005; *Chinese Daily News*, May 31, 2006.

[22] Ninety-nine is a fortunate number in Taiwanese/Chinese traditional numerology, meaning lasting forever.

and jointly operated with other Chinese industries to diversify the various customer groups.[23]

In addition, Roger H. Chen also extended his business antenna into the food industry. In 2000, he formed *Walong* Marketing Company to reinforce the link with food manufacture factories in Asia and distributed over two-thousand kinds of food items made in Asia. *Walong* also ambitiously attempted to create a variety of self-brand food items, which amounted to three hundreds items in 2003, and over one thousand in 2010. In 2000, the income of *Walong* reached to 1.5 billion, listing the largest Asian food supplier in the United States.[24] The formation of *Walong* increased the self-support of Ranch 99 Market that diversified its business model.

All in all, the convergence of Chinese residences and businesses in the west San Gabriel Valley in the aftermath of 1980s produced a robust Chinese ethnic economy, which sociologists have claimed is characterized by an ethnically identifiable geographic core with a sizable coethnic entrepreneurial class engaging in a wide variety of economic activities.[25] This ethnic economy, exemplified by the development of Taiwanese hotel/motel industry and Chinese groceries, continued to grow and maintain its ethnic-service function that fostered the west San Gabriel Valley as the ethnoburban core in the following decades.

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[23] Many Chinese businesses such as Sam Woo restaurants and Vitativ Cosmetic Company had longtime intension to set up their stores in the shopping malls where Ranch 99 Market located. See Denise Hamilton, "99 and Counting: Roger Chen's Chain of Ranch Market is Growing by Leaps and Bounds, Thanks to His Cross-cultural Strategy of Offering Traditional Asian Foods in a Western-style Setting," *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 1997; Shawn Hubler, "A Feeding Frenzy in the New Chinatown," *Los Angeles Times*, December. 5, 1995.

[24] *Market Daily* (Taiwan), November 10, 2003.

[25] Alejandro Portes, "The Social Origins of the Cuban Enclave Economy of Miami," *Sociological Perspective 30* (1987), pp. 340-472; Min Zhou, "Immigrant Entrepreneurship and the Enclave Economy: The Case of New York City's Chinatown," in Min Zhou, *Contemporary Chinese America: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Community Transformation* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 2009), pp.102-103.

(B) Chinese northward migration:

The growth of Chinese community in western San Gabriel Valley brought adverse effects of skyrocketing land prices, racial conflicts, and residential saturation in 1980s, creating motives for second phase of Chinese migration starting in mid-1980s. This new stage of Chinese migration was mostly characterized by established Taiwanese, many of them had already settled initially in the western San Gabriel Valley. As local Chinese elected official Norman Hsu stated, "Monterey Park and (nearby) Alhambra are like starting points for new immigrants. But once they've settled down, they want to move on."[26] Arcadia and San Marino, located in the northwestern San Gabriel Valley, became prospective destinations. Many of my interviewees addressed that pleasant lifestyles, low crime rates, and, most importantly, a high-quality educational system attracted them to move into these two cities. As a result, Chinese/Taiwanese population in these two cities increased rapidly in 1980s: Arcadia witnessed the surge of Chinese residents from 460 in 1980 to 7,244 in 1990, while San Marino hosted 3,369 Chinese residents in 1990, a growth of seven times from 1980.[27]

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[26] Ashley Dunn, "East Meets East New Wave of Asians Is Moving Beyond Monterey Park in the San Gabriel Valley," *Los Angeles Times*, November, 28, 1993.

[27] Given that excellent school districts were major attraction for Chinese/Taiwanese families to move to Arcadia and San Marino, Chinese students in these two cities grew predominately in 1980s. In 1984, nearly 20% of the student body at the Arcadian school district's six elementary schools, three junior high schools and one senior high school, were Asians, most of them were Chinese. Arcadia High School Chinese Parents Booster Club estimated that in 1990s over thirty percents high school students were Chinese. Likewise, Chinese constituted over half of total students in San Marino in 1990s. See Mark Arax, "Asian Newcomers Create Consternation in Arcadia," *Los Angeles Times*, September 19, 1985; Jill Stewart, "Chinese in San Marino：Isolation," *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1984; Lee Romney, "He's Gained Respect, 'Just for Being Me' Politics: New School Board Member Rosa Tao Zee is the First Asian American Elected," *Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 1993; Michael Luo, "San Marino School Offers Cultural Bridge: Chinese Children Learn Language and Heritage," *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 1998.

Due to geographic proximity to the western San Gabriel Valley, Chinese communities also emerged at the same time or a bit later in cities of Pasadena, South Pasadena and El Monte. Among these cities, Pasadena and South Pasadena were longstanding business districts, where clustered large retail and governmental employment sectors and a distinct academic, technology, and medical complex such as California Institute of Technology, Pasadena Community College, Jet Propulsion Laboratory, and a large number of independent research units, aeronautical and engineering firms.[28] These characteristics appealed strongly to Chinese self-owned professionals and merchants.

Generally speaking, the second phase of Chinese settlement in the northern San Gabriel Valley, which known by local Chinese as "north district," reflected a pattern of intense Chinese adaption into the American society.[29] The research of scholars Jan Lin and Paul Robinson has noted that the Chinese in north district was characterized by the highest cultural and linguistic assimilation in the San Gabriel Valley.[30] Many local Chinese demonstrated strong intentions to live in an "Americanized" way, even at the expense of de-emphasizing ethnic characteristics. It was well shown in the case of their ambivalent attitude toward "billboard issue." In contrast to the Chinese fierce response in Monterey Park regarding Chinese business signs, Arcadia Chinese residents remained relatively silent when the city council applied a more restrictive ordinance requiring that two-thirds of each business sign be in Roman characters in

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[28] William F. King, *The San Gabriel Valley: Chronicles of an Abundant Land* (Chatsworth, California: Windsor Publication, Inc., 1990), pp. 95-96.

[29] Mark Arax, "San Gabriel Valley Asian Influx Alters Life in Suburban Series: Asian Impact," *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 1987.

[30] Jan Lin and Paul Robinson, "Spatial Disparities in the Expansion of the Chinese Ethnoburb of Los Angeles," *GeoJournal*, Vol. 64, No.1 (2005), pp. 57-61.

1988.[31] Even when in 1991, one outside-city organization, Asian Pacific American Legal Center, intended to launch a legal action, which was encouraged by a similar case in Pomona, to ask the Arcadia City Council to revoke the ordinance, some local Chinese surprisingly chose the opposite stance against their ethnic fellows. As Sheng Chang, a family physician and creator of the Arcadia Chinese Association, an ethnically voluntary organization formed in 1982, noted in 1991: "the court decision that Pomona's sign ordinance was unconstitutional may not apply in Arcadia….Some Chinese from outside the city thought this sign ordinance was particular aiming at Chinese were narrow-minded." Referring his opposition to the change of sign regulation in Arcadia, Sheng Chang stressed that "we want to be a quiet bedroom community…. we don't want Arcadia to become a third Chinese business town." Repealing the sign ordinance, according to Sheng Chang, would "disrupt the harmonious relationship that current exists between Asian and Caucasian residents and business people…(and) raise racial tension." Sheng Chang's remark was echoed by many Arcadia Chinese: "Chinese Arcadians are satisfied with the current sign ordinance. We do not need assistance from outside organization like the Asian Pacific Center, no matter how well-intentioned."[32] It reflects that northward Chinese migrants highly valued an Americanized and diverse ethnic community rather than creating another Chinese-exclusivity hometown.[33]

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[31] Irene Chang, "Challenge to Arcadia Sign Law Rebuffed Discrimination: A Chinese Residents Groups Say Efforts by an Outside Group to File a Lawsuit against the English-Language Sign Law could Unleash more anti-Asian Sentiment," *Los Angeles Times,* Jane 27, 1991; Chris Eftychlou, "Chinese Community Supports City Stand Defending Sign Law," *Arcadia Tribune*, January 9, 1991.

[32] Mark Arax, "Asian Newcomers Create Consternation in Arcadia," *Los Angeles Times*, September 19, 1985; Chris Eftychlou, "Asian-rights Center Requests City to Change Sign Ordinance," *Arcadia Tribune*, December 2, 1990.

[33] One of the reasons to explain why Chinese opposed the replicate of Monterey Park model in Arcade mainly came from practical consideration. According to Chinese realtor agents, local Chinese believed that properties in a single-ethnic community were less valuable than the one in a

The Chinese northward migration demonstrated gradual trend of halting in the early 1990s. The limited local usable spaces and high expenses in the up-class community in north San Gabriel Valley produced counteracting disincentives, making enormous Chinese middle-class migrants look for alternative places for residences and businesses. The extensive inland territory soon became new target for Chinese suburbanites that inaugurated the subsequent stage of Chinese eastward migration.

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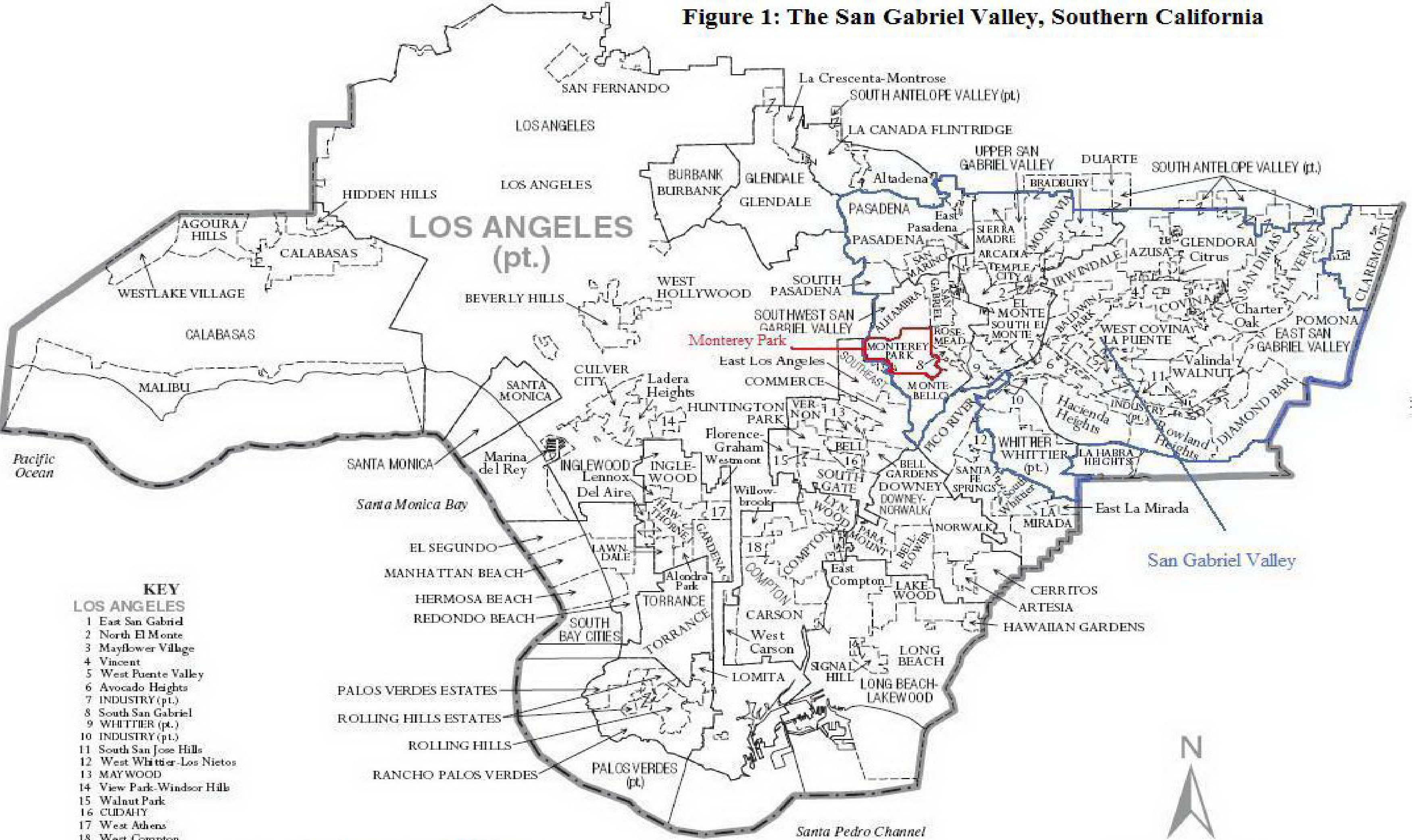
multiple-ethnic bedroom community. Interview with Eddie Chen, Date: April 13, 2012.

Figure 1: The San Gabriel Valley, Southern California



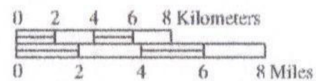
Source: U.S. Census Bureau Homepage:
http://www2.census.gov/geo/maps/general_ref/cousub_outline/censk_pgsz/ca_cosub.pdf.

Figure 2 :The Four-Phase Expansion of Chinese Communities in San Gabriel Valley

La Crescenta-Montrose
SOUTH ANTELOPE VALLEY (pt.)
LA CANADA FLINTRIDGE
UPPER SAN GABRIEL VALLEY
DUARTE
SOUTH ANTELOPE VALLEY (pt.)
GLENDALE
Altadena
BRADBURY
GLENDALE
The Second Phase
PASADENA
East Pasadena
SIERRA MADRE
MONROVIA
PASADENA
GLENDORA
AZUSA
Citrus
SAN DIMAS
LA VERNE
CLAREMONT
SAN MARINO
ARCADIA
TEMPLE CITY
IRWINDALE
SOUTH PASADENA
SAN GABRIEL
EL MONTE
BALDWIN PARK
COVINA
Charter Oak
POMONA
SOUTHWEST SAN GABRIEL VALLEY
ALHAMBRA
ROSEMEAD
SOUTH EL MONTE
WEST COVINA
LA PUENTE
EAST SAN GABRIEL VALLEY
The First Phase
MONTEREY PARK
Valinda
WALNUT
East
SOUTHEAST
COMMERCE
MONTEBELLO
INDUSTRY (pt.)
DIAMOND BAR
HUNTINGTON PARK
VERNON
PICO RIVERA
Hacienda Heights
Rowland Heights
The Fourth Phase
Florence-Graham
BELL
WHITTIER
WHITTIER
LA HABRA HEIGHTS
Westmont
BELL GARDENS
SANTA FE SPRINGS
(pt.)
SOUTH GATE
DOWNEY
South Whittier
The Third Phase
Willowbrook
LYNWOOD
DOWNEY-NORWALK
LA MIRADA
East La Mirad
PARAMOUNT
NORWALK
BELLFLOWER
COMPTON
COMPTON
East Compton
LAKEWOOD
CERRITOS
ARTESIA
CARSON
HAWAIIAN GARDENS
West Carson
LONG BEACH
LOMITA
SIGNAL HILL
LONG BEACH-LAKEWOOD
Santa Pedro Channel

KEY

1 East San Gabriel
2 North El Monte
3 Mayflower Village
4 Vincent
5 West Puente Valley
6 Avocado Heights
7 INDUSTRY (pt.)
8 South San Gabriel
9 WHITTIER (pt.)
10 INDUSTRY (pt.)
11 South San Jose Hills
12 West Whittier-Los Nietos
13 MAYWOOD
14 View Park-Windsor Hills
15 Walnut Park
16 CUDAHY
17 West Athens
18 West Compton



Source: U.S. Census Bureau Home Page: http://www2.census.gov/geo/maps/general_ref/consub_outline/cen2k_pgsz/ca_cosub.pdf.

B. The development of Chinese community in the Eastern San Gabriel Valley:

In late 1980s, Chinese eastward migration was motivated by the extensive land with significantly lower prices in the inland territory. This east-bound Chinese momentum essentially moved along the Pomona Freeway, heading first to Hacienda Heights, and Rowland Heights, then gradually culminated in 1990s when local Chinese communities were subsequently established in another two cities, Diamond Bar and Walnut.

(A) Eastward Migration and Ethnic Residential Distribution:

The Chinese community in east San Gabriel Valley was first settled in Hacienda Heights, located approximately fifteen miles east of City of Monterey Park. In nineteenth century, Hacienda Heights was part of the Rancho La Puente and owned by John A. Rowland and William Workman.[34] As a traditionally agricultural town, Hacienda Heights, renamed from North Whittier Heights in 1961 after a community petition, gradually transformed itself into a suburban sleepy community in the 1950s and 1960s when European Americans started to develop their residences in subdivision of Kwis Avenue and nearby blocks. In the 1970s, large scale of single-family housings were developed in Hacienda Heights, particularly along the northern slopes of Puente Hills, and attracted many younger, affluent and educated families. The construction of Pomona Freeway in 1970s further incorporated

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[34] Enriquez Diaz, *The San Gabriel Valley: A 21st Century Portrait* (El Monte, CA: El Monte/South El Monte Chamber of Commerce, 2005), pp. 24-25.

Hacienda Heights into a new option for Los Angeles suburbanites. Following this trend, a small group of Chinese homebuyers began to move into this area in mid-1970s.[35]

Cultural and religious reasons were responsible for Chinese preference to this area as well. The establishment of Hsi Lai Temple was the representative. Founded by the monk Master Hsing Yuan, who formed the *Fo Guang Shan* Buddhist Temple in Kaoshung city, Taiwan, Hsi Lai Temple was an overseas branch of *Fo Guang Shan* and the largest Buddhist temple complex in the Western Hemisphere. After its completion in 1988, Hsi Lai Temple soon stood as the center of the Buddhism in the United States and hosted a large number of Chinese and non-Chinese pilgrims and tourists in the succeeding decades.[36] Several local Chinese immigrants I interviewed, especially those moved to this town before 1990, indicated that the religious and cultural magnet was the prime attraction for them to become the "Hacienda Heightsters."

The early Chinese that appeared in Hacienda Heights in early 1970s mostly were first-generation immigrants finishing their academic degrees in the country. They usually migrated with small families. The existing apartments, most of them established in 1940s and 1950s, along the local artery, Hacienda Heights Boulevard, became their settlement targets. These apartments were located in close proximity to the local shopping centers and tended to be cheaper. In the aftermath of mid-1970s, Chinese interest in settlement locations turned to the area south of the Pomona

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[35] Marian Bond, Houses Stand Where Orchards Grew: Hacienda Heights, *Los Angeles Times*, October 14, 1990.

[36] Luis Torres, "Largest North American Buddhist Near Completion in LA Suburb," *San Gabriel Tribune*, July 10, 1988; Edmund Newton, "Blessings of Buddha 5,000 participate in consecration of new temple," *Los Angles Times*, December 1, 1988; Irene Chang, "Temple Archives Measure of Peace in Hacienda Heights," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1990.

Freeway, where multiple new residence programs were created. According to Eddie Chen, a Chinese senior agent in the real estate for over thirty years, the housing development called "The Country Wood," was the first virtual Chinese residential concentration in Hacienda Heights. This project was developed by Lusk Homes in 1976 and located at the intersection of Colima Road and Country Wood Avenue. Half of the tracts were purchased by ethnic Chinese. Another new plan, "The New Country Wood," built on the hillsides of southern Hacienda Heights in later years, also soon became another option for Chinese. It provided several hundred new and upgraded tracts homes, with 70% were lodged by Chinese migrants.[37]

In the 1980s, several new housing developments in Hacienda Heights further attracted Chinese migration into this town. All these projects were constructed northward along S. Hacienda Blvd., including S & S Home's two projects, "Sunset Hills and "Hacienda Heights View." By the end of the 1980s, Newton's "The Weather Stone Home," a remodeled project of the houses built in the 1950s and 1960s, provided alternative housing options for the growing eastward Chinese population. All these homes were spacious with nearly 2,500 square feet space and priced approximately around $250,000. In the 1990s, single-family or and multi-family residences were constructed near plazas located around Azusa Road, as well as the region along Colima Road, the main commercial thoroughfare to Rowland Heights.[38]

Beginning in the middle of 1980s, insufficient land for developing in Hacienda Heights steadily drove Chinese immigrants to move further east along the 60 freeway

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[37] Interview with Eddie Chen, Date: April 13, 2012.

[38] Interview with Eddie Chen, Date: April 13, 2012; Interview with Champion Tang, Date: May 9, 2012; Marian Bond, "Where East Meets West, Rowland Heights: In an area where a ranch and wheat farms once stood, a community flourishes with a burgeoning Asian influence," *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 1996.

and began to locate in Rowland Heights. Similar to Hacienda Heights, Rowland Heights was also part of the Rancho La Puente, formerly owned by John A. Rowland and William Workman. This small town retained its rural landscape with acres of ranches and a few spotted houses for decades. It wasn't until mid-1980s that large developers viewed it as a lucrative place for suburbanites and began to introduce large public facility. For example, in 1987, the real estate company, Shea Homes, laid its eyes on Rowland Heights and negotiated with L.A. County to extend Rowland Heights primary artery, Fullerton Road, southward across the hill and widening it to four lanes.[39] This road-extension would connect Rowland Heights with its neighboring La Habra Heights and Fullerton, and was expected to make the land south of the Freeway 60, which stayed unused, become attractive residences.[40] In the ensuing years, the expansion and connection of Pathfinder Road to North Harbor Road increasingly brought more tract homes built along the southern ridge line. A couple of massive residential projects were clustered around this region in late 1980s to mid-1990s: (a) the three-phase of "Country Estates," with several hundred single-family homes located around the uphill area of Fullerton Road, were constructed from late 1980s to 1990s; the 573-acre development, Vantage Pointe, with nearly 500 housing tracts, was developed by Shea Homes in 1994; Ridgemoor (and Ridgemoor Crest), a series of housing tracts containing 499 single-family homes with 24-hour security, were co-built by Shea Homes and Koll/Akins in the mid-1990s; two projects, City Lights and Horizons, with hundred of single-family tracts situated

[39] Staff writer, "Shea to Help Road Finances," *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1988; Steven R. Churm, "A Road Everybody Wants: Hadley Extension Extolled as Boon to Uptown Merchants, Salve to Traffic Troubles," *Los Angeles Times*, February 22, 1987; Steven R. Churm, "New Road Poor Trade for Housing Tract, Puente Hills Residents Fear," *Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 1987.

[40] Steven R. Churm, "Change Lies Ahead on Rural Road: Plan to Develop Wider Corridor Threatens Hill Dwellwers' Oasis," *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 1986; Steven R. Churm, "A Road Everybody Wants," *Los Angeles Times*, February 22, 1987.

in the hills were also completed in 1997. Other builders with residential projects were also established in the hills to the south in Rowland Heights, including S & S Construction's project of Rancho El Dorado II and Greystone Corporation's Summit housing. The prices of all these new houses ranged from two to four hundred thousand dollars with spectacular views, and proved affordable for middle-class homebuyers. Chinese were the main purchasing group for all above mentioned housing programs. For instance, in the1990s half of the residents of Vantage Point were Chinese, and the Chinese constituted nearly 90 percents of population in Ridgemoor. Similar patterns were found in City Light and Horizons housing developments in the 1990s, where eighty percent of the buyers were also of Chinese/Asian heritage. This continuing Chinese influx made Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights gradually transform into the new Chinese/Taiwanese community in the inland region. U.S. Census data clearly showed that Chinese/Taiwanese population in these two towns spiked drastically from 1980 to 2000: the Chinese/Taiwanese population Hacienda Heights rose from 1,483 in 1980, 7,853 in 1990 to 12,553 in 2000; Rowland Heights's Chinese/Taiwanese population also climbed apparently from 283 in 1980, 4,691 in 1990 to 14,057 in 2000. Presently, these two towns, particularly Rowland Heights, are notable as "Little Taipei" where Taiwanese businesses, restaurants, stores are highly visible.[41]

[41] Marian Bond, "Rowland Heights: In an area where a ranch and wheat farms once stood, a community flourishes with a burgeoning Asian influence," *Los Angeles Times*, April 21, 1996; Karen Klein, "Learning Art of Selling to Asian Buyers," *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 1997; Denise Hamilton, "Developers Trying to Make Asians Buyers Feel at Home in Southland," *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 1995; Staff writer, "Koll/Akins form new strategic business entity to pursue residential opportunities," *Business Wire*, April 25, 1995; Bernard Wysocki Jr., "Moving In: Influx of Immigrants Adds New Vitality to Housing Market," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 10, 1996; Interview with Eric Pei, Date: May 5, 2012; Interview with Sam Lo, Date: January 9, 2012; Maria W. L. Chee, *Taiwanese American Transnational Families: Women and Kin Work* (N.Y.: Routledge & Francis Group, 2005), p.70.

In the mid-1990s, further eastward Chinese movement took place in two cities, Walnut and Diamond Bar, both of which were famed by their bedroom communities with upgraded housing. As Nancy Liu, a senior Chinese real estate agent, noted, this further eastward migration was highly correlated with the rise of their coethnic foothold in Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights. In an interview, she addressed how disappointed she was to market property in Walnut and Diamond Bar in prior to late 1980s, because most of her clients were at odds with these "unfamiliar and remote area." However, the situation changed overwhelmingly when Rowland Heights was populated by Chinese residences and economic activities. Many Chinese homebuyers, as Nancy Liu noted, automatically asked for housing tracts and land investment opportunities in Walnut and Diamond Bar, creating a fledging Chinese residential sprawl. An example was the Snow Creek development in Walnut in late 1980s. It was developed by Shea Homes from 1984 to 1989 and located on the local main road, Grand Avenue. In the late 1980s, this hundred-tract housing development had sixty percent ownership by ethnic Chinese.

In the 1990s, two new residential projects in Walnut provided extra alternatives for the unceasing Chinese migration: Louis Homes, a housing project along Timberline Lane from 1989 to 1991; Balget Community, which was created near Mt. San Antonio College from 1990 to 1992. These two newly-developed residential projects both contained 250 to 300 upgraded units, and attracted Chinese eyes by its location in the hills, as well as its proximity to the Walnut High School. Local Chinese realtors estimated that the Chinese constituted half population of Louis Home, while nearly three-quarterly homeowners in Balget were Chinese in mid-1990s.[42]

[42] Interview with Eddie Chen, Date: April 13; Interview with Champion Tang, Date: June 29, 2011;

This trend to populate in Walnut was accelerated by immigrants from Mainland China in the aftermath of 2000s. The recent wave of Mainland Chinese migrants in Walnut mostly concentrated along Timberline Lane, built around in 2005, along Three Oaks Lane. Formerly, this area was not so attractive for Chinese investors given that the local Nogales High School was not a well-performing school. However, the larger home space of 3,000 square feet with guarded gates provided an option for Chinese, especially those single-family from Mainland Chinese. Many of these new immigrated families were comprised only by younger mothers and children with spouses working in the Asia. This type of housing with security thereby became their targets, which were purchased by grouping Chinese immigration families together.[43]

Diamond Bar, which is located east of Walnut, was another town witnessing Chinese migration en mass starting in 1990s. This city was geographically divided by Grand Avenue and Diamond Bar Boulevard into two parts: north and south. North Diamond Bar was mostly undeveloped ranches, and located in the Pomona Unified School District.[44] Southern Diamond Bar was the main developed area with dense residences and belonged to the Walnut Valley Unified School District. This district contained the most prestigious schools in the region, such as Diamond Bar High School. Favorable living conditions and school systems made early Chinese migrants naturally concentrate in south Diamond Bar, represented by the largest individual Chinese community — "the Country." [45] This exclusive and guard-gated residence

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Interview with Nancy Liu, Date: September 25, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, May 5, 2011.

[43] Interview with Eddie Chen, Date: April 13; Interview with Champion Tang, Date: June 29, 2011; Interview with Nancy Liu, Date: September 25, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, May 5, 2011.

[44] Jeffrey Miller, "Pomona Mayor Hints at Annexation if Diamond Bar Fails to Incorporate," *Los Angeles Times*, September 27, 1987.

[45] The Country is the largest residential concentration in Diamond Bar. It covered 20% land of Diamond Bar city, and accounted for 5 % population of this town. It was roughly bordered by Grand Avenue and Cold Springs Road, Diamond Bar Boulevard, and Los Angeles County Line.

complex created in the 1950s and continued to grow into a community consisting of approximately 980 individual houses with each tract averaging more than 1 acre in 2012. According to Osman Wei, who served as a board member of its homeowner association from 2002 to 2008, the first Chinese in "The Country" was a Taiwanese immigrant family in 1978, when "The Country" only contained 170 homes. Although as the best housing complex in the Los Angeles inland suburbia, the house price of "The Country" in 1980s simply ranged from $250,000 to $300,000, so they were affordable for local Chinese professionals and middle-class families, which mainly from Hong Kong. In the early 1990s, when Southern California was plagued by serious economic recession, many landlords of "The Country" were forced to sell their properties to eastward Chinese/Taiwanese businessmen, who had accounted for half of its 500 homes in 1995. This displacement by the Chinese/Taiwanese continued in 2000s, leading them to own close to 600 of 978 individual housing tracts of "The Country" in 2012.[46]

Aside from "The Country," there were several developing residential projects attracting contemporary Chinese in mid-1990s as well:[47] the 100s-unit "Diamond Crest" in Brea Canyon Road; 150-units of Diamond Ridge and Diamond Canyon

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The characteristics of the County resulted from free-designing of individual housing, which were unrestricted by any California building codes with only requirement of earth-yellow as the basic color. The residents were also able to choose any school districts for children. These features attracted Chinese homebuyers. Interview with Osman Wei, Date: March 28, 2012.

[46] Interview with Osman Wei, Date: March 28, 2012.; *Chinese Daily News*, May 10, 2011.

[47] In prior to 1989, the year Diamond Bar was incorporated as a city, this town was always remained slow-growth despite that a group of residents claiming aggressive land use through formation of a new city council. This debate over the development of Diamond Bar came to more heated after the establishment of cityhood, which inaugurated the battlefield of city council elections in the following years. Therefore this city witnessed a booming in housing and commercial developments in 1990s although its city council was beset in a fierce fighting. See Staff writer, "Diamond Bar Plaza to Grow," *Los Angeles Times*, March 13, 1988; Irene Chang, "Diamond Bar Incorporated a year ago. There have been a few hitches, but cityhood has already made a difference: A bedroom community adjusts to being a city," *Los Angeles Times*, April 15, 1990; Kevin Uhrich, "Diamond Bar's Loss of Luster: The 5-year city is beset by lawsuits, recall attempts and other squabbling," *Los Angeles Times*, August 11, 1994.

constructed nearby the 57 Freeway in 1996 to 1997. Nearly half to three-quarters of these three housing projects were occupied by the Chinese, according to Nancy Liu. In 2000s, the saturation of residences in the southern part of Diamond Bar gave birth many small-scale housing projects, most of them were less one-hundred tracts with larger spaces in northern Diamond Bar. Many Chinese real estate agents reaffirmed the tendency that these new houses in northern Diamond Bar encouraged established Chinese/Taiwanese in the southern Diamond Bar to re-migrate. Most of these Chinese resettled in northern Diamond Bar were families whose children had graduated from local schools and desired for larger and newer residential circumstances. Besides, the improvement of north Diamond Bar's local schools in mid-2000s, particularly the elementary school system, removed the disincentives for some Chinese families, particularly those newly-arrived ones from Mainland China, who cared about education for their children.[48]

General speaking, the trajectory of development of the Chinese community in the four cities of the eastern San Gabriel Valley, which was frequently called by local Chinese as "east district," followed a reciprocal interlink with the activities of large American developers. In many cases it showed that these large scale real estate companies targeted the Chinese, providing a wide array of services for them. Terence Hanna, the president of the Los Angeles division of J.M. Peters Co., noted in 1995: "builders recognize that a white, two-child, two-parent family is not the only market anymore….we are targeting an affluent Asian executive family." This view resonated with Allison Shea, the Shea Homes' marketing director in 1990s. She articulated the strategy of Shea Homes for the Chinese in Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights:

[48] Interview with Eddie Chen, Date: April 13; Interview with Champion Tang, Date: June 29, 2011; Interview with Nancy Liu, Date: September 25, 2011.

“We are located within 10 miles of the Buddhist temple…. we feature the Hong Kong Market (in Rowland Heights) and the Hsi Lai temple, not the local Vons and the Episcopal Church.” She emphasized that the locations of the firm’s developments were carefully designed, just up the hill from new shopping centers that sold Asian foods and imported goods and not far from the Pomona Freeway that would take business people straight into downtown Los Angeles, where many Asian immigrants had corporate jobs or worked in the import-export community.[49]

Besides, in order to court Chinese homebuyers, Shea Homes and other American developers also hired a large number of Chinese agents: most of the 70-plus agents in Mulheran-TPA Realtors, a company based in Hacienda Heights, were Asians. It was the same situation seen in Century 21 E-N Realty, a company headquartered in Diamond Bar. In 1990, this company was proud of its workers, with nearly half of them being of Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Thai and Vietnamese decent among its total 53 agents. Similarly, in 1990s, over 80% of real estate brokers in Shea Homes that sold its property in Los Angeles suburbia were Asians, many of them from Taiwan and Hong Kong. The hiring of these Chinese agents bridged major American developers with local Chinese banks, mortgage brokers, and local Chinese chamber of commerce. For instance, in the late 1980s, Shea Homes usually sent a direct mailer to Chinese real estate offices in Hacienda Heights each month, and placed Chinese-language advertisements in local Asian publications or newspapers.[50] This

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[49] Karen Klein, “Learning Art of Selling to Asian Buyers,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 1997; Denise Hamilton, “Taking Steps to Design Homes with Harmony: Facing staircases away from front doors is one of the many ways that builders are catering to Asian buyers by taking their cultural traditions and beliefs into account,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 18, 1995.

[50] Denise Hamilton, “Developers Trying to Make Asians Buyers Feel at Home in Southland,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 1995; Karen E. Klein, “Learning Art of Selling to Asian Buyers,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 1997; Karen E. Klein, “Selling to Immigrants: Learn their way,” Los Angeles Times, April 20, 1997.

employment of ethnic agents and connection to Chinese social and financial networks proved to be instrumental to promote Chinese homebuyers in deals with American developers.

In addition to depending upon coethnic acquaintance, American developers also realized that cultural connections served as the best way to cater Chinese/Asian clients. Many American companies were aware of importance of *feng shui* principles in marketing homes to Chinese/Asians. *Feng shui* is the Chinese metaphysical art interwoven with superstition, astrology and Chinese philosophical concepts, and linked design details of a building with the happiness and harmony of the lives within. From that, the Chinese developed the theory that the direction of a building, street locations and birth dates all play key roles in channeling cosmic forces that allow good luck and wealth to flow into a building. Shea Homes' Chinese agent Susana Wang stressed how her company avoided anything at odds with *feng shui* for their Chinese homebuyers: Stairways should not face front doors because all the money will flow down the steps and out of the house; Trees and lamp posts should not block the front entrance, where they would ensnare good energy; No sharp corners were shown up in the house, which would bring bad luck. They must be rounded; No construction of a building at the end of a T-intersection; Specifically arranging a large living room on the first floor, the one for elder family members who might too handicapped to climb stairways; The sink in kitchen should be enlarged; The opening of smoke ventilator must be upturned.

Likewise, Kevin Lawrence, a sales manager for the Panorama Tract in Shea Homes' Rowland Heights development in 1990s, applied for address changes on properties where the number 4, representing death in Chinese numerology, to cater to

Chinese homebuyers.[51] Nancy Liu also stressed that Shea Homes took the advice from Chinese agents before they drew the blueprints of Vantage Point and Ridgemoor, erasing number 4 and frequently using number 8, considered lucky by Chinese numerology, in their houses' doorplate numbers.[52] As Mark Beiswanger, president of the Coastal Valleys division of Kaufman & Broad whose companies developed several big projects in east San Gabriel Valley in 1990s, put, "If it's a predominantly Asian market and people believe in it….we will plot houses in particular directions, change interior parts, the landscaping and where you put it." Those strategies that American real estate companies employed greatly produced a win-win situation, promoting Chinese interest to locate their homes in the eastern San Gabriel Valley, during the past three decades.[53]

In conclusion, after the progress of eastward migration, a locally labeled "Chinese Golden Triangle Area," had been staunchly formed. Centered in Rowland Heights, which became a commercial and living-function hub for surrounding Chinese community, it encompassed Hacienda Heights, Walnut, and Diamond Bar. This "east district" was gradually transformed from what scholars called "ethnoburban fringe" into an independent ethnic subdivision, which was noted by the U.S Census. From 1990 to 2000, with Chinese population in ethnoburban core rose at a slower pace (39%), east San Gabriel Valley witnessed highest growth rate in the

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[51] Richard Winton, "Addressing Unlucky Street Numbers," *Los Angeles Times*, October 3, 1993; Karen Klein, "Learning Art of Selling to Asian Buyers," *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 1997; Karen Klein, "At Home in America," *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 1997; Don Lee, "Asians, Latinos Create a New Market Model," *Los Angeles Times*, August 30, 1998.

[52] Interview with Nancy Liu, Date: September 25, 2011.

[53] Karen Klein, "Learning Art of Selling to Asian Buyers," *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 1997; Denise Hamilton, "Builders Go Back to Drawing Board for Comforts of Home, Asian Style," *Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1995.

Chinese population (118%) with three individual towns doubling or tripling their Chinese residents: Rowland Heights (200%), Diamond Bar (157%), and Walnut (149%). It made the Chinese population in east district numerically similar to their counterparts in west ethnoburbia in 2000s. (See Table 3-1 and Table 3-2)

The components of the Chinese community in east San Gabriel Valley also encountered transformation in last three decades. While the Taiwanese made up a significant part of ethnic population in four towns of the eastern San Gabriel Valley in the 1990s, their predominance gradually waned due to a growing flood of Mainland Chinese immigrants in the past ten years. Therefore, rather than being characterized as Taiwanese-majority ethnic community, the east district has presently a Chinese population with a diverse array of countries of origin, which further influenced operation and activities in the local Chinese community.

Socioeconomic indicators further illustrated the distinctiveness of east-district Chinese community. The figures of 2000 U.S. Census, explicitly reflected the result of Chinese eastward movement, showed that the Chinese in "Golden Triangle Area" are generally middle class with affluent social capital for upward mobility, when compared to ethnoburban core cities hosting with more working class Chinese families with relatively lower socioeconomic profile. Moreover, Chinese higher homeownership rate and proportion of teenagers and senior people, as well as the lower foreign-born ratio in four towns of east San Gabriel Valley demonstrated family-based adaption of eastward Chinese into local society, in contrast to the transitory and first-stage immigration features in Chinese community of the western San Gabriel Valley, which was marked by their unstable homeownership and lower American-born rate (See Table 3-3). In this vein, in the aftermath of 2000s, instead of

being as fringe area subordination to the ethnoburban core, the Chinese community in east district demonstrated an apparent tendency to become another rising and differentiated ethnoburban center with different patterns of social, economic, and cultural assimilation. This rising ethnic community in the eastern San Gabriel Valley set the foundation for ongoing phase of Chinese adventure to the "far-east" in Claremont, Chino Hills, Glendora, San Dimas, and Artesia, as well as Rancho Cucamonga and Fontana in San Bernardino County.[54]

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[54] Interview with Nancy Liu, Date: September 25, 2011; Jan Lin and Paul Robinson, "Spatial Disparities in the Expansion of the Chinese Ethnoburb of Los Angeles," *GeoJournal*, Vol. 64, No.1 (2005), pp. 51-61.

Table 3-1 Population and Ratio of Chinese and Taiwanese in selected cities of San Gabriel Valley, 1980-2000

City	1980		1990		2000				
	Chinese	Ratio (%)	Chinese	Ratio (%)	Chinese	Ratio (%)	Taiwanese*	Ratio (%)	Total ratio (%)
West SGV									
Monterey Park	8,151	15	22,473	37	25,014	41.7	1,342	2.2	43.9
Alhambra	3,877	6	21,348	26	28,687	33.4	1,827	2.1	35.6
Rosemead	1,278	3	10,844	21	16,763	31.3	425	0.8	32.1
San Gabriel	902	3	7,795	21	13,202	33.2	1,104	2.8	36.0
Montebello	3,176	6	2,978	5	2,785	4.5	123	0.2	4.7
Central SGV									
El Monte	397	0.5	6,373	6	12,297	10.6	575	0.5	11.1
Temple City	290	1	3,732	12	8,418	25.2	1,648	5.0	30.1
North SGV									
Pasadena	1,186	1	3,948	3	4,316	3.2	442	0.3	3.5
Arcadia	460	1	7,244	15	14,693	27.7	4,443	8.4	36.1
San Marino	532	4	3,369	26	4,091	31.6	1,474	11.4	43.0
S. Pasadena	1,361	6	3,112	13	3,699	15.3	297	1.2	17.0
East SGV									
Walnut	250	2	3,784	13	7,463	24.9	1,943	6.5	31.4
West Covina	803	1	4,804	5	7,308	7.0	1,039	1.0	7.9
Hacienda Heights	1,483	3	7,853	15	9,396	17.7	3,157	5.9	23.6
Rowland Heights	283	1	4,691	11	11,398	23.5	2,659	5.5	29.0
Diamond Bar	280	1	4,294	8	8,545	15.2	2,491	4.4	19.6

* Registered as Taiwanese in U.S. Census.

Source: Census of U.S. Bureau, *Population and Housing Characteristics*; Tseng Yen-Fen, *Suburban Ethnic Economy: Chinese Business Communities in Los Angeles*, p.53.; Los Angeles Almanac: Website: http://www.laalmanac.com/default.htm.

Table 3-2

Chinese and Asian population in selected cities of San Gabriel Valley, 2010

	Chinese population	Taiwanese population	Ratio of Asian population	Total population	Foreign- born Ratio	The ratio of speaking foreign language*
West SGV						
Monterey Park	27,734	1,025	66.9%	60,269	54.4%	76.6%
Alhambra	29,201	1,659	52.9%	83,089	52.7%	74.2%
Rosemead	18,352	407	60.7%	53,764	57.4%	74.2%
San Gabriel	15,797	905	60.7%	39,718	55.3%	73.5%
Montebello	2,469	74	11%	62,500	38.1%	74.2%
Central SGV						
El Monte	14,665	730	25.1%	113,475	52.9%	84.4%
Temple City	13,001	1,753	55.7%	35,558	45.4%	61.8%
North SGV						
Pasadena	6,168	777	14.3%	137,122	29.7%	46.2%
Arcadia	20,345	4,400	59.2%	56,364	49.7%	62.8%
San Marino	4,335	1,370	60.7%	13,147	38.1%	47.9%
S. Pasadena	3,630	382	31.1%	25,619	29.3%	37.9%
East SGV						
Walnut	8,509	1,803	63.6%	29,172	46.8%	63.5%
West Covina	8,012	1,199	25.8%	106,098	34.5%	56.3%
Hacienda Heights	10,497	2,547	37.1%	54,038	41.3%	64.2%
Rowland Heights	15,518	3,079	59.8%	48,993	55.9%	72.5%
Diamond Bar	11,587	2,808	52.5%	55,544	42.0%	56.2%

Source: U.S. Census, 2010.

* The ratio of people with languages other than English speak at home

Table 3-3 Economic and Household index of Chinese and Taiwanese Individual and Family in selected cities of San Gabriel Valley (2000)

	Homeownership /Rental		Employment Rate (%)		Median Household Income ($)		Families below poverty level (%)		Median House Value ($)		Linguistic Isolation* (%)
	TW	CH	TW	CH	TW	CH	TW	CH	TW	CH	CH
West SGV											
Monterey Park	1.7	2.2	35.9	42.0	50,179	39,946	15.8	16.8	197,300	217,700	53.6
Alhambra	0.8	0.8	42.9	46.4	38,167	39,130	20.8	15.5	202,900	197,100	52.5
Rosemead	2.6	1.2	41.9	41.8	—	34,583	32.6	25.3	—	181,000	47.9
San Gabriel	1.1	0.8	32.8	44.5	44,792	41,578	8.2	17.1	251,300	220,100	55.6
Central SGV											
El Monte	1.1	2.0	27.2	46.5	36,023	40,296	18.7	16.9	178,300	152,300	54.9
Temple City	3.2	3.2	43.0	43.9	47,656	50,601	17.7	11.7	232,800	219,900	47.0
North SGV											
Pasadena	0.6	0.8	40.1	57.8	—	65,407	29.8	16.7	—	319,200	35.3
Arcadia	4.2	2.4	39.5	43.6	61,790	62,167	9.9	9.6	408,200	374,400	41.4
San Marino	10.0	13.3	44.0	40.6	102,035	103,884	8.3	7.8	624,100	661,500	27.1
South Pasadena	2.5	1.9	37.0	50.6	—	84,120	12.0	19.5	—	412,800	32.5
East SGV											
Walnut	10.4	10.0	45.6	39.8	72,396	71,386	13.6	7.8	367,300	281,700	39.7
West Covina	3.4	3.1	50.3	48.5	60,250	54,309	12.9	11.7	200,900	191,600	41.4
Hacienda Heights	3.7	3.2	47.2	41.9	60,208	54,425	17.7	9.6	263,100	243,800	45.9
Rowland Heights	2.9	2.2	35.2	43.4	51,679	49,069	15.4	14.7	272,500	276,700	47.9
Diamond Bar	7.9	7.3	47.5	42.7	57,353	66,549	12.6	4.9	284,700	268,200	41.9
L.A. County	2.5	1.5	43.0	46.8	56,193	52,109	15.0	16.3	277,500	236,500	—

* TW: Taiwanese; CH: Chinese

*Linguistic Isolation measures the percent of households in which all members 14 years of age and over speak a non-English language and also speak English less than "very well."

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, http://factfinder.census.gov/; U.S. Census of Population and Housing 2000, Summary File 4; Jan Lin and Paul Robinson, "Spatial Disparities in the Expansion of the Chinese Ethnoburb of Los Angeles," *GeoJournal*, Vol. 64, No.1 (2005), p. 57.

Figure 3-3 Chinese residential distribution in east district, 1980-2010

Source: Google Map, made by the author.

(B) The Development of Chinese local economic activity:

Various Chinese economic activities were transferred to the inland suburbia in conjunction with their eastward movement. Many Chinese businessmen, as their American counterparts, suffocated by the squeeze of over-competitive ethnic economic development on the west were lured by advantageous niches of outlying area. Particularly to most Chinese traditional industrial users, moving to the east meant bargain rates for large tracts of industrial and office space. In the late 1980s, one Monterey Park-based business owner advised eastward movement as a necessity for industrial survival: "The land is cheaper, the rent is cheaper, the market is here, the

purchasing power is in this area." Another western San Gabriel Valley focused land agent also observed: "the 605 and Pomona (60) freeways are like the hub of the wheel, with downtown as the west rim and Ontario being the east rim." [1] This drive for broader space and less costly rent drove many Chinese manufacturers to flock to the eastside, especially in the City of Industry.[2] In the following years, this east-bound wave was further accelerated by fervid U.S.-Asia multilateral trading, when China ascended as a new economic power in 1990s. All these contributed to transform the City of Industry into a center for Chinese American companies, especially in the domains of technology and manufacturing. In late 1990s, many large Chinese computer corporations in Bay Area re-formed their headquarters in the City of Industry to be closer to the sale centers in Los Angeles, giving birth to the advent of the "South Silicon Valley."[3] Along with clustered Pacific-Rim high-tech, software plants and manufacture firms, the City of Industry gradually became an industrial magnet for Chinese investors worldwide. In late 1990s, about 50% of the warehouses in the Industry City were leased by Chinese-made goods, ranging from imported computer hardware to consumer products. In 2002, nearly eighty percent of business

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[1] Irene Chang, "Modern Advise: Go East, Young Business Person," *Los Angeles Times*, October 5, 1989; Irene Chang, "Cheaper Land, Costs Lure Business," *Los Angeles Times*, October 5, 1989.

[2] City of Industry is a primarily non-residential town, in which 92% of its land is zoned for industrial purpose, while the rest is categorized for commercial use. However, this city created municipal codes that relieved all businesses and industries from collections of business license fees, utility tax and profession tax, leading it to become one of the most popular investment focal places for Chinese high-tech companies and entertainment industry, signified by the settle of famed Pacific Palms Resort. See City of Industry government website: http://www,cityofindustry.org/business.

[3] For example, Taiwan-based DTK remigrated its U.S-headquarter from Rosemead to City of Industry in 1998; Another Chinese computer corporation, Viewsonic Corp., also headquartered in City of Industry in late 1990s; Acer Communication and Multimedia America (Acer CMA), a Taiwan-based company rooted in San Jose (north California), relocated its factory in City of Industry in 2001 to curtail the expenditure of land rent and personnel costs. See Zhou Yu, *Ethnic Networks as Transactional Networks：Chinese Networks in the Producer Service Sectors of Los Angeles*, p.260; Tim Deady, "City of Industry Fast Becoming Silicon Valley South," *Los Angeles Business Journal*, May 3, 1993; Tim Deady, "City of Industry Fast Becoming Silicon Valley South," *Los Angeles Business Journal*, May 3, 1993; Julie Pitta, "Silicon Valley South," *Forbes*, Vol. 162, No. 11, November 16, 1998, pp. 214-215.

applications of this city came from ethnic Chinese. In 2008, close to forty percents of the firms in Industry City were Chinese-owned or Chinese-operated.[4] The boom of Chinese industrial businesses in the City of Industry reciprocally promoted the development of residences and service sectors in the east San Gabriel Valley.

A sizable number of Chinese service sectors, including professional services, such as offices of accountants and lawyers, also rapidly headed east in partnership with the demands of a surging ethnic population and industries. In 1996, there were a variety of 1,869 Chinese businesses in east district, close to one-fifth of Chinese businesses in the Los Angeles ethnoburb. The total numbers of Chinese service sectors in eastern “Triangle Area” climbed by 250% to 4,683 in 2011, accounting for one-third of their counterparts in Los Angeles suburbia. This made the east district the area with the highest increase of Chinese service businesses in the last two decades (See Table 3-3).

Among all service businesses, the development of Chinese banking was a significant parameter to explain overwhelming growth of Chinese businesses in the east district. Many scholars agree that prosperous ethnic Chinese banking industry was critical to the Chinese immigration’s spatial, residential and economic sprawl, particularly in Los Angeles ethnoburbia. The high concentration of Chinese residents, along with the growing international trade centering in City of Industry, provided a ready patronage deposit base for ethnically banking industry to amassed capital, which in return financially sponsored a growing sizable convergence of ethnic businesses for ethnoburbanites. Many recent studies observed an apparent two-wave

[4] Lee Romney, “Business From Mainland China Booming,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 10, 1993; Don Jergler, “China Trade May Benefit Area Firms,” San Gabriel Valley Tribune, January 6, 2002; David Pierson, “Close to L.A. but closer to Beijing,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 2008; Don Lee, “To Chinese Firms in U.S. is a Bargain,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 5, 2008.

of Chinese banking suburbanization in Los Angeles County, with first stage of transferring from Los Angles Chinatown to the west San Gabriel Valley in 1980s, and a second phase of eastward resettling, which both connected with growing eastside Chinese population and had more to do with globalization of financial resources, commodities, information, and investment that took place in the City of Industry.[5] Chinese banks, including headquarters and branches, in the east district rose drastically from none in 1980, 11 in 1990 to 26 in 1999. In 2011, numbers of Chinese banks in east district numbered 73, consisting of 43% of regional Chinese suburban banking, and also first time surpassing those in the west San Gabriel Valley. (See Table 3-4)

The fast growth of Chinese service businesses in Rowland Heights further attested to the explosion of local Chinese economic activities in the region. Numbers of various Chinese service sectors in this town hiked from 541 in 1996 to fourfold 2,034 in 2011, which only left behind its Chinese counterparts in Alhambra and San Gabriel. Rowland Heights was the place where Chinese banks had their highest concentration as well. In 2011, Rowland Heights and Alhambra were two towns with most Chinese financial institutions. In 2000s, Rowland Heights's Colima Boulevard, where most Chinese banks located, had become the new "Chinese Wall Street," which used to describe the Valley Boulevard in the west San Gabriel Valley.[6]

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[5] Douglas Frantz, "New Banks Take Asian Customers Into Account: Southland's Wealthiest Immigrants Find Financial Homes Away from Home," *Los Angeles Times*, November 9, 1987; Wei Li, Gary Dymski, Yu Zhou, Maria Chee and Carolyn Aldana, "Chinese-American Banking and Community Development in Los Angeles County," *Annals of the Association of American Geography* Vol .92, No.4 (2002), pp.777-796; Yu Zhou, "Beyond Ethnic Enclaves: Location Strategies of Chinese Producer Service Firms in Los Angeles," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 74, No. 3 (July, 1999), pp. 228-251; Gary Dymski and Lisa Mohanty, "Credit and Banking Structure: Asian and African-American Experience in Los Angeles," *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 89, No. 2 (May 1999), pp. 362-366.

[6] Wei Li, Gary Dymski, Yu Zhou, Maria Chee and Carolyn Aldana,"Chinese-American Banking and

As a hub for the gathering of Chinese service businesses in the east district, Rowland Heights also witnessed rapid ethnicization of local commercial shopping centers, which were in relation with the development of regional Chinese grocery industry.[7] The arrival of the Ranch 99 Market in 1988 debuted the minority grocery industry in Rowland Heights. Analogous to Focus Department Store in San Gabriel City, Roger H. Chen, the owner of the Ranch 99 Market, purchased the whole property of the plaza near the Nogales exit of the Freeway 60. This plaza was originally occupied by Geco and became dilapidated in the mid-1980s when local economy stagnated. After anchoring Ranch 99 Market in this plaza, Roger H. Chen soon introduced a variety of coethnic restaurants, gift stores, video shops, tour agency, and jewelry sales to transform the plaza into a multi-functioned shopping center.[8] As many Chinese locals noted, the anchoring of Ranch 99 Market in the Nogales Plaza both created a niche for following flow of Chinese migration, as well as stimulated enormous growth among Chinese businesses flooding into Rowland Heights, creating a curtain of ethnicization of local shopping centers.[9]

From the 1990s to the early 2000s, Rowland Heights genuinely became the battlefield of Asian/Chinese grocery industry. Eric Teoh, a Rowland Heights resident,

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Community Development in Los Angeles County," p. 789; Karen Rubin, "Minority Population in San Gabriel Valley Likely to Grow" *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 14, 2004; Interview with Nancy Liu, Date: September 25, 2011.

[7] The engine of Chinese ethnic economy in east San Gabriel Valley was initiated by Chinese supermarket, *Din Hao*, which was established in 1983 in an American shopping center in Grand Avenue, Hacienda Heights, near the exit of Seven Street of Pomona Freeway. According to Tom Tang, a local Chinese realty agent whose family was one of the six major investors of *Din Hao*, the building up of an ethnic-oriented supermarket in Hacienda Heights was part of expansion of *Din Hao* retail business, which was stimulated by their expectations of growing Chinese in the east district. Before it closed and sold the property to a Chinese Filipino in 1989, this plaza was the earliest and most obvious local Chinese consuming place. Interview with Champion Tang, Date: May 9, 2012.

[8] Ben Baeder and Shirley Hsu, "Asians Alter Local Malls," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, May 1, 2006; Interview with Champion Tang, Date: May 9, 2012.

[9] Interview with Cary Chen, Date: April 1, 2011; Interview with Champion Tang, Date: May 9, 2012.

responded to a survey from *Los Angeles Times* in 1996 with remark: “On Colima, its like going into a Chinese Community. There are lots of restaurants…and supermarkets.”[10] It caused fervent competition among various Chinese supermarkets, each housed in different shopping malls. Except from the 99 Ranch Market Plaza on Nogales Street, there were at least four major Chinese shopping outlets being developed during this period: Pacific Square and Hong Kong Market Square, two large food and shopping centers in the Colima Boulevard housed by Sun Fat Supermarket and Hong Kong Supermarket, respectively; *Tak Shing Hong o*n the Nogales Street (south of the Nogales exit of the 60 Freeway), named after anchoring its Hong Kong-based *Tak Shing Hong* supermarket. It used its Asian-style herbal sales to anchor the chain to the region. Almost all these outlets were two-story buildings with large parking lots or underground parking space, and were anchored by large Chinese supermarkets. Most of the stores and restaurants in these malls were owned and operated by ethnic Chinese/Taiwanese, offering goods and services to their co-ethnics, mostly speaking in Mandarin.[11]

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[10] Marian Bond, “Where Eat Meets West—Rowland Heights: In an area where a ranch and wheat farms once stood, a community flourishes with a burgeoning Asian influence,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 26, 1996.

[11] Before 1993, there were an American bowling stadium and a few non-Chinese restaurants serving in the site of what later called Hong Kong Square. It was the introduction of Hong Kong Supermarket, the one initialized by a Taiwanese immigrant, began to set up in this plaza, and brought a lot of noted Chinese/Taiwanese restaurants and bakeries, such as Yi-May Breakfast, Yuan-Zu bakery, fishball soup house and travel agency that renovated it; It was a similar case of Pacific Plaza, the one locating the opposite side of the Hong Kong Square. This plaza was remodeled when the Sun Fat Supermarket started the business in the 1997, and soon became one of the most popular Asian shopping center around the area, with many noted Chinese/Taiwanese stores and shops in the following years; *Tak Shing Hong* Center was initialized in 1995 by the establishment of Tak Shing Hong market, a Chinese herbal and dried-product supermarket owned by a Hong Kong immigrant who first their first supermarket in Monterey Park in 1980. This plaza right now congregated a dozens of Chinese restaurants and gift stores. Interview with Eddie Chen, Date: April 13, 2011; Interview with Champion Tang, Date: June 29, 2011; Interview with Nancy Liu, Date: September 25, 2011.

The history of Diamond Plaza demonstrated a typical development of Chinese shopping and dining center in Rowland Heights. Located in a location with good visibility, great traffic count and convenient access off the Freeway 60, this land wasn't used until some Taiwanese landlords renovated it in 1994, thereby bringing varied Taiwanese stores to settle. According to Alice Hsu, who ran the "Hair Studio" in this plaza since 1994, Diamond Plaza was first anchored by Ranch 99 Market in 1995, which aimed to pre-occupy the space to avoid the Shun Fat Supermarket settling in this site. Given that this newly-run Ranch 99 Market was only several miles from the one in Nogales Street, it did not operate well in the following few years, soon was replaced by other Chinese food courts.[12] However, the loss of the main Chinese supermarket did not hinder Diamond Plaza's development as one of the most popular regional outlets for Chinese consumers in 1990s. Instead, this plaza reset as a youth-tuned attraction, congregated by a variety of Chinese/Taiwanese restaurants, trendy tea shops, book shops, flower stores, karaoke lounges and tea cafeterias. It was well represented by the introduction of its most successful store, Life Plaza, a Taiwanese-operated complex of 8,000 square-feet cafeteria attached with a bookstore and a gift boutique, founded in 1996. From 1990s to 2006, Life Plaza was the only late-night venue in the eastern San Gabriel Valley open until 2 A.M. This curfew-free policy and its fashion style made Life Plaza become the most popular spot for students and young couples around the neighborhood.

Diamond Plaza encountered serious challenge in the mid-2000s when a multiple of Chinese and American stores grew to attract young Chinese/Asian patrons. Moreover, after 2006, its anchoring business, Life Plaza, gradually met a dilemma

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[12] Interview with Alice Hsu, Date: July 5, 2011.

when stricter regulations on its operating hours was operated, leading to its inability to compete with other rising youth-attractions such as Tea Station or Dream Dance Club in the City of Industry.[13] Besides, growing conflict between managerial landlords deteriorated the plaza's competitiveness. According to Life Plaza's owner, Sharon Chuang, the Chinese manager of Diamond Plaza was stubborn in dealing with its rental partners, even in the economic plight period of 2008 to 2009. The pessimistic attitude of the Chinese manager towards improving facilities in the plaza worsened mutual confidences.[14] All these forced longtime Taiwanese tenants into closing their businesses in the aftermath of 2008, leading to the loss of its regular Chinese customers that caused years of vacancy and led to the decline of the plaza. Instead of retaining a Chinese exclusive characteristic, Diamond Plaza presently was remodeled into a dining and shopping plaza populated by businesses of varying ethnic backgrounds, including stores run by Japanese, South Korean, and Vietnamese.[15]

Many Chinese-dominant shopping malls in Rowland Heights also gradually applied similar strategy as did Diamond Plaza to work together

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[13] From 2005, the noise complaint from the neighborhood prompted the concern from L.A. County officials who attempted to restrict the stores in Diamond Plaza from opening through midnight. This issue was more complicated because the half the plaza located in Rowland Heights, while the other half belonged to City of Industry, which allowed the late-hour opening. Under the communication of Rowland Heights Community Coordinating Council, Diamond Plaza management, and L.A. County, a final comprise was reached to allowed the Diamond Plaza continuing their businesses to 10 A.M. on weekdays, and 1 A.M. on weekends. This regulation decreased the business hour that the Life Plaza most demanded for its young Asian customers. See Shirley Hsu, "Late-night hot spot may face limits," *Whittier Daily News*, March 6, 2006; Shirley Hsu, "Popular plaza faces regulations," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, March 7, 2006; Cindy Chang, "East San Gabriel Valley Clubs and Restaurants Lure a Young and Hip Client," *Los Angeles Times* ,July 5, 2007; Shirley Hsu, "Diamond Plaza gets its late nights back," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, April 20, 2006; Interview with Sharon Chuang, Date: April 19, 2012; Interview with Alice Hsu, Date: July 5, 2011.

[14] For instance, many Chinese rentals showed strong discontent for the incapability of landlords to communicate with local residents to reopen the Diamond Plaza's backdoor in South Jelick Avenue, a way anticipated by Chinese business owners to tunnel cramming traffic in rush hour and to provide convenience for neighboring residents who were major patrons for their businesses. Besides, longtime Chinese rentals also felt disappointed when manager ignored their opinions to clean the environment and implant more trees in the Plaza. Interview with Sharon Chuang, Date: April 19, 2012; Interview with Alice Hsu, Date: July 5, 2011.

[15] *Chinese Daily News*, November 11, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, November 20, 2011;

with non-Chinese businesses in mid-2000s, targeting enormous local Asian and Latino consumers. For instance, many Asian businesses were introduced to settle in once Chinese-exclusive Azusa Plaza, located in Colima Road, in recent years. The Yes Plaza, a renovated one located in the intersection of Fullerton Road and Colima Road, were also housed by a variety of non-Chinese stores and offices among its Chinese-based food courts in last five years. Hong Kong Plaza, anchored by a brand-new HK2 Supermarket in 2009, was also retransformed itself into an outlet with a modernization food districts constituted by an array of Asian and American stores.[16] This interethnic synergy also took place in local mainstream shopping centers, which catered Chinese stores to expand their consumer base. As the case has shown in Rowland Heights' famous Puente Hills Plaza, it applied *feng shui* principles and lowered rental prices to court Chinese stores, leading to the relocation of many Chinese restaurants and bakeries in the aftermath of mid-2000s.[17]

The rapid growth of east-district Chinese economic activities, both in number and scale, gave birth to emergence of property managerial services. This kind of property management company aimed to efficiently govern complicated and lager scale co-ethnic businesses, which was unprecedented in the previous Chinese ethnic economy. Most of the local Chinese plazas presently are operated by commerce managing groups with modern managerial knowledge. The STC Management

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[16] Amanda Baumfeld, "HK2 Supermarkets in Rowland Heights offer a new look and feel to Asian markets," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, May 31, 2009; *Sina News, Los Angeles*, August 14, 2009; *Chinese Daily News*, October 13, 2011.

[17] For example, the famous Chinese bakery, 1 Fu Tang, placed its store in Puente Hill East Plaza from Diamond Plaza since 2008. See Irene Chang, "For Malls, Pressure Is From Outside," *Los Angeles Times*, December 27, 1990; California State Polytechnic University, *East San Gabriel Valley Planning Issues* (Pomona, CA: California State Polytechnic University, Department of Urban Planning, 1975), p.26.

Company is one of these companies. This company was founded in 1985 by John Hsu, a first-generation Taiwanese immigrant, in Los Angeles. From the outset, this company was heavily engaged in commercial real estate management and brokerage, and steadily evolved into a large corporation, that operated in conjunction with Chinese businesses in Rowland Heights and other towns in the eastern San Gabriel Valley. In the early 2000s, STC Management started to be responsible for the operation of many local Chinese and non-Chinese enterprises, including governance of four local Chinese outlets: the Yes plaza, an Asian-majority outlet in the intersection of Fullerton Road and Colima Road; Rowland Heights Plaza, a Chinese-Korean combination center in Colima Road; Whittier Retail Center, the one located in the intersection of Broadway Boulevard and Norwalk Boulevard of Whittier; Four Season Village, located in Nogales Road. In 2011, the total value of properties managed by STC Company reached to 15 billion dollars.[18] Most of them were ethnic Chinese enterprises,

Management companies such as STC provided a variety of services for their coethnic clients. By providing professional advisors for commercial information and investment, this kind of management company acted as the bridge to help landlords and tenants reach a win-win consensus as exhibited by the strategy of STC Management to govern Yes Plaza. This plaza originally suffered due to its proximity to local popular Pacific Square and Hong Kong Market Square, and barely catered local businesses by its high rental cost. When STC served as the manager in 2007, it stressed communicative tactics, keeping landlords and tenants well informed by holding regular meetings for them. During the Great Recession from 2008 to 2009,

[18] The website of STC Management Company: http://www.stcmanagement.com;

STC successfully persuaded landlords to lower down gross rental fees, helping the Chinese tenants overcome financial difficulties. This strategy, along with its Chinese culture based promotion activities,[19] proved to be instrumental for both landlords and the renters which drove this outdated plaza into a welcoming place.

STC's remodeling of the Whittier Retail Center showed another function that a Chinese management company was capable of benefiting for its coethnic enterprises. Located in Whittier, an unincorporated area mainly populated by Latino residents, this dining mall was not attractive due to its outdated appearance and remote distance to the local Chinese community. STC utilized several strategies to promote this Chinese business majority plaza: advising a joint donation from settled business owners to improve plaza's facility; asking established business owners to redecorate stores, redesign their menus, and hire bilingual or multilingual employees; catering American businesses, by discounting rental prices, to increase non-Chinese patrons; aggressively advertised the plaza in local Chinese media and newspapers; holding a series of campaigns in corresponding to specific holidays to propagandize the plaza, as shown Fiestas Patrias, the celebration of Mexican Independence Day, on September 17, 2012.[20] All these strategies contributed greatly to promote the Whittier

[19] For instance, in recent years, STC ever held joint celebration for four outlets it managed in Chinese New Year, which was characterized by invitations of popular Chinese/Asian singers, entertainers, and art performers. Besides, a variety of Chinese-clients-aimed activities in specific Chinese folk holidays were also operated in last few years. *Chinese Daily News*, January 20, 2008; *Chinese Daily News*, February 2, 2009.

[20] Similar activities were also seen in STC's "Korean Cultural Day" activity, which was regularly held, in late June since 2008, in the Rowland Heights Plaza. This plaza was populated both by Chinese and Korean businesses. These publicized activities included introduction of Korean folk dance, food, garments, and arts, as well as exhibition of modern Korean TV shows. Other programs also included a combination of Chinese and Korean cultural performances, aiming to attract both Chinese and Korean clients. *Chinese Daily News*, May 22, 2010; *Chinese Daily News*, June 18, 2010; *Chinese Daily News*, October, 29, 2010; *Chinese Daily News*, January 26, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, October 7, 2011; *Sing Tao, Los Angeles*, October 16, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, July 9, 2009; *Chinese Daily News*, July 20, 2010; *Sing Tao, Los Angeles*, October 16, 2011; STC website: http://stcmanagement.blogspot.com/2010/01/success-3-countdowns-yes-plaza-seasons.html;

Center, which increased 50% of its gross amount of sale in STC's five-year management, which mostly came from the patronage of non-Chinese customers.

Overall, the development of Chinese economic campaigns in the eastern San Gabriel Valley were essentially divided into two categories in corresponding areas: the location of Chinese manufacturing sectors in the City of Industry with increasing Chinese transnational trade and requirements of larger space and lower rents; The booming Chinese service sectors centering in Rowland Heights followed a synchronous pace with the dynamics of massive coethnic eastward migration, which demanded an ethnic-based economy with reciprocal patronage. The case shown in three decade of robust development of Chinese service sectors, particularly ethnicization of many Chinese outlets, in Rowland Heights, illustrated the development of the Chinese ethnic economy in the east San Gabriel Valley. The presence of professional management groups, as well as Chinese gradual interlinking to mainstream markets and customers, signified that the Chinese economic growth was far more than an exclusively ethnic enclave economy.

Conclusively, the four-stage Chinese migration clearly demonstrated the strength of the Chinese immigration momentum, driven by different Chinese subgroups, in the Los Angeles ethnoburbia over the past thirty years. This expansion of Chinese settlements from Monterey Park to the whole San Gabriel Valley not only represented substantial Chinese residential distribution, but also illustrated virtual "spatial assimilation," symbolized by Chinese immigrants eagerly pursuing better living amenities. These included better schools, cleaner streets, larger houses and more Americanized lifestyles. Particularly for the last phase of east-bound movement, it

had genuinely created a self-run ethnic entity with distinctive socioeconomic constituent that was independent from ethnoburban core in the western San Gabriel Valley. Loosely aligned by the pattern of diffusive residences in the inland suburbia, this growing Chinese community in east San Gabriel Valley more depended upon ethnic organizations and social networks for intra-ethnic bonding, while developed their local ethnic organizations productive for their incorporation to the American society.

Table 3-4: Chinese Businesses in Selective Cities of the Valley, 1996 and 2012

Cities or incorporated area	The numbers of Chinese Businesses In 1996	The numbers of Chinese Businesses In 2012
Monterey Park	1,692	1,806
Alhambra	1,527	2,431
San Gabriel	1,214	2,255
Rosemead	809	769
Montebello	149	403
Total of West SGV	**5,391**	**7,664**
Arcadia	514	725
San Marino	110	420
Pasadena	311	591
South Pasadena	86	230
Total of North SGV	**1,021**	**1,966**
El Monte	491	640
South El Monte	330	245
Total of Central SGV	**821**	**885**
Rowland Heights	541	2,034
Hacienda Heights	353	842
Diamond Bar	121	350
City of Industry	444	532
Walnut	260	603
West Covina	150	322
Total of East SGV	**1,869**	**4,683**
SGV Total	**9,656**	**1,6031**

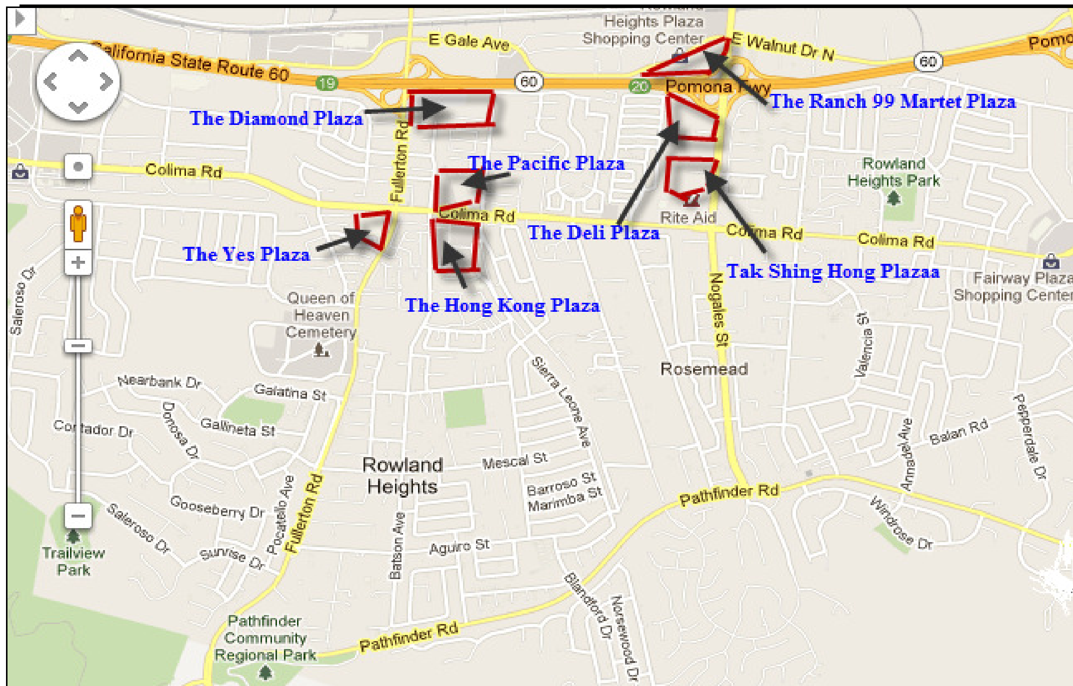
Source：Li Wei, *Spatial Transformation of an Urban Ethnic Community from Chinatown to Chinese Ethnoburb in Los Angeles*, p.166; *Chinese Consumer Yellow Pages, 2012*.

Table 3-5: The numbers of Chinese Banks in Los Angeles
— By city or unincorporated area, 1980-2012

Cities or unincorporated area	1980		1990		1999		2012	
	HD	BR	HD	BR	HD	BR	HD	BR
Alhambra	—	—	1	9	4	17	7	20
Monterey Park	1	2	4	10	2	11	2	15
Rosemead	—	—	—	2	1	3	1	5
San Gabriel	—	—	1	1	1	4	2	16
Total of west SGV	1	2	6	23	8	35	12	56
Arcadia	—	—	—	2	—	8	5	24
San Marino	—	—	—	4	2	5	—	7
Pasadena	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	15
South Pasadena	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	4
Total of north SGV	—	—	—	7	2	15	8	50
El Monte	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	4
South El Monte	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1
Total of central SGV	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	5
Diamond Bar	—	—	—	1	—	3	2	10
Hacienda Heights	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	6
Industry City	—	—	—	6	3	10	—	16
Rowland Heights	—	—	—	1	—	4	5	22
Walnut	—	—	—		—	2	1	4
West Covina	—	—	1	1	1	2	—	7
Total of east SGV	0	0	1	10	4	22	8	65
Artesia	—	—	—	2	—	4	1	9
Cerritos	—	—	—	3	—	3	2	10
Glendale	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	4
Los Angeles	5	6	8	19	7	25	14	64
Torrance	—	0	—	2	1	5	1	18
Whittier	—	0	—	—		1	—	3
Total of Other cities	5	6	8	29	9	49	18	116
Total	6	8	15	68	23	120	46	283

Source: Wei Li et al., *Chinese-American Banking and Community Development in Los Angeles County*, p.788; *Chinese Consumer Yellow Pages, 2012*. HD: headquarter; BR: branch.

Figure 3-4：The Chinese commercial Plaza in Rowland Heights



Source: Google Map, made by the author.

Chapter IV

The Development of Chinese Social Organizations

Residential dispersion made eastward Chinese heavily depended upon "social space" and ethnic networks beyond the physical boundaries of the ethnic settlements that functioned as the ethnic communal solidarities. This gave birth to a variety of Chinese organizations. In general, as many ethnic studies showed, ethnic organizations are pillars of the ethnic community.[1] Particularly for post-1965 Chinese immigrants, a more ample and complex social network based on kinship, friendship, alumni and other hometown relationships were utilized by them to materialize "social capital." These kinds of relationships developed by certain individuals or groups to pursue shared goals also included economic benefits or ethnic cohesion. As sociologists theorize, this web of social capital or *guanxi*,[2] which literally is described

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[1] Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions (*Oxford, N.Y.: A Division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004); Llyod A.Fallers, *Immigrants and Associations* (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1964); Shirley Jenkins edited, *Ethnic Associations and the Welfare State: Services to Immigrants in Five Countries* (New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1988); Agyemang Attah-Poku, *The Socio-Cultural Adjustment Question: the Role of Ghanian Immigrant Ethnic Associations in America* (Brookfield, V.T.: Avebury, 1996).

[2] Many academic studies indicated the importance of *guanxi* to form Chinese social networks that worked in many dimensions of Chinese lives. As J. Bruce Jacob claimed, *guanxi* is unique in Chinese culture that depends upon two or more persons having a commonality of shared identification, which may be connected with their native places, lineages, or their shared experiences. The extensive use of *guanxi* based on consanguine and affinial kinship ties in Chinese society is well found in Frank Pieke's study of China's bureaucratic operation or Andrew Kipnis investigation of "everyday *guanxi* production," pertaining to wedding, funerals, gift giving, banquet etiquette and "kowtowing" in the village life of Communist China. The utility of *guanxi* for the transnationalization of business operations in Asia or other Chinese-concentrated areas are well documented by social scientists. *Guanxi*, as they confirmed, basically depends upon personal trust and the resources of the middlemen, could be used for financing, employment, and the maintenance of firms and give business transaction a certain degree of predictability. *Guanxi*, thereby, becomes a significant factor for explaining the economic success among the world-wide overseas Chinese. See Frank Pieke, "Bureaucracy, Friends, and Money: The Growth of Capital Socialism in China," *Contemporary Studies in Society and History* 37 (July 1995), pp. 494-518; Andrew Kipnis, *Producing Guanxi: Sentiment, Self and Subculture in North China Village* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997); Bruce Jacobs, "A Preliminary Model of Particularistic Ties in Chinese Political Alliances: Kan-ch'ing and Kuan-his in Rural

as social relationships and peculiar ties, proved to be significant to the development of Chinese ethnic organizations with the growth of their physical ethnic community and the thriving ethnic economy. The emergence of these ethnic organizations, particularly those civic ones, not only helped eastward Chinese to incorporate into the host society, but also to maintain their coethnic connections with communities both in the United States and Asia.

In the past three decades, there were two major categories of Chinese voluntary associations that developed in the San Gabriel Valley: at-large or regional organizations; and localized ones which focused on specific cities or towns. The regional service organizations marked by its enormous members with extensive influence upon the ethnoburb and were typified by three systems— alumni, *tongshanghuai*, and the language school— most of participants were linked by the relationship of transnationality rooted in their pre-immigration experiences. For eastward Chinese migrants, at-large voluntary associations both functioned significantly as a base of ethnic cohesion, and supported their incorporation to the new circumstances. This is especially true when the Chinese community in the east district was fledging without organized local service associations in 1980s and early 1990s. The localized Chinese civic associations were the product of eastward movement in relation to the concerns for special issues taking place in local communities. These two categories of ethnic service organizations, sometimes complementary to each other, both functioned profoundly for eastward Chinese

Taiwanese Township," *China Quarterly*, Vol. 78 (1979), pp. 237-273; Henry Wai-chung Yeung, "Business Networks and Transnational Corporations: A Study of Hong Kong Firms in the ASEAN Region," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 73, No. 11(Jan., 1997), pp. 1-25; Bernard P. Wong, "Transnationalism and New Chinese Immigrants Families in the United States, " in Carol A. Mortland edited, *Diasporic Identity* (Arlington, V.A.: American Anthropological Association, 1998), pp. 158-174; Bernard P. Wong, *The Chinese in Silicon Valley: Globalization, Social Networks, and Ethnic Identity* (New York, N.Y.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006).

migrants. In this chapter, I will introduce the development of these two kinds of Chinese organizations in regarding with their mutual influence upon the evolution of local Chinese American community in Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights and other towns in the eastern San Gabriel Valley.

A. The presence of regional Chinese service organizations:

The development of Chinese ethnic organizations in Los Angeles could trace back to the Chinese Exclusion Era. In Chinatown, three types of ethnic organizations were usually dominant: (a) family associations: based on common surname, ancestral descent, and village of origin, and functioned like extended families or clan; (b) district association or *hui guan*: based on a common dialect and/or common region of origin, and usually named after a county, township, or province in the homeland; (c) merchant association and *tong*: instead of relating by blood, surname, ancestral descent, or village of origin, tongs depended upon brotherhood and operated as secret society. All these three types of Chinese organizations served as mutual aid societies, providing newcomers with credit and finance, employment-related services, translation assistance, and necessary protections from discriminatory practices. In most U.S. Chinatowns, *tongs* usually absorbed family and district associations and run under both legitimate and illegitimate layers of social order. Legitimately, they acted as a powerful organization to control internal affairs of Chinatowns, ensuring community solidarity and security, as well as protecting their ethnic people from hostility and hate crime. Illegitimately, they dictated the economic interests and

territorial use in Chinatowns with military forces.[3] The formation of the Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association of Los Angeles (CCBA of L.A.) could be encapsulated to represent tong style association in the Los Angeles Chinatown, where the Cantonese predominantly presided over it with over thirty associations of family, surname, and district groups.[4]

Contrary to Cantonese organizations in Chinatown, which were inconsistent with new immigrants speaking Mandarin or Taiwanese, a broader array of ethnic organizations, run by post-1965 Chinese immigrants and their descendants had transferred from Los Angeles Chinatown and replenished the ethnoburbia since 1970s. Statistics compiled by Taiwan's Commission for Overseas Chinese Affairs showed that social, cultural, and political organizations among Chinese American immigrants increased rapidly from about six hundred during the 1950s to a veritable explosion of

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[3] Min Zhou and Rebecca Y. Kim, "Formation, Consolidation, and Diversification of the Ethnic Elite: The Case of the Chinese Immigrant Community in the United States," *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, Vol. 2 (2001), pp. 230-233.

[4] CCBA (The Six Companies of Los Angeles) was founded by Cantonese immigrants in 1880. Since its establishment, CCBA of Los Angeles dictated Los Angeles Chinatown, and expanded to become a combination of 27 associations divided by different clans of families, district groups, and business organizations: Bing Kong Association; Chinese Women's New Life Movement Club; Gee Poy Kuo Association; Bow An Association; Eng Family Benevolent Association; Gee Tuck Sam Tuck Association; Chew Lun Association; Fong Lun Association; Hop Sing Tong Association; Chinese American Citizens Alliance (mostly comprised by American-born Chinese and served as a tunnel for Chinese community to the mainstream society); Gee How Oak Tien Association; Hoy Pin Benevolent Association; Hoy Sun Ning Yung Association; Lee On Dong Benevolent Association; Ning Kui Kong Wue Association; Jan Yin Benevolent; Lim's family Association; Soo Yen Fraternal Association; Kong Chow Benevolent Association; Louie Family Association; Southern California Yee Family Association; Kuo Ming Tang; Lung Kung Tin Yee Association; Wong Family Benevolent Association; Mar's Family Association); Ying On Merchants & Labor Benevolent Association; The Great China Enterprise. All these organizations had the rights to send one to four representatives to join the Board of Director and Board of Trustees of CCBA to elect its president, vice-president, trustee-chairman, and vice-trustee-chairman (the Big Four leaders of the CCBA). In the second half of twentieth century, three organizations, Chinese Confucius School, the Governing Board of Chinese Grave-land Commission, and the Fujian Commission of CCBA, were formed and joined in CCBA. See CCBA, *Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association of Los Angeles: 120 Anniversary* (Los Angeles, C.A.: CCBA, 2009); Him Mark Lai, "The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association/*Huiguan* System," in Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions (*Oxford, N.Y.: A Division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), pp. 39-76; Pei Chi Liu, *A History of The Chinese in the United States of America, 1848-1911*(Taipei, Taiwan: Lin Min Publish Co., 1976), pp. 149-244.

over two thousand in 1980s, approximately half of them dispersing in the greater Los Angeles area. Serving Chinese groups from diverse countries of origin, these organizations engaged primarily in cultural, educational, charitable, occupational, recreational, social, or religious activities. About 90 percent of these Chinese organizations were non-profit social service organizations, and were relevant with community cultural centers, Chinese language schools, cultural programs in public libraries, religious institutions, history societies, English classes, job training projects, employment referral services, health clinics, youth programs, daycare centers, and welfare, housing, legal, and family consultative services. About seven to eight percent of these organizations were connected with ethnic economic activities and occupations, while politics was the primary focus of the remaining small percentage.[5]

Among these post-1960s Chinese immigration organizations in Greater Los Angeles, three regional Chinese service organizations rose to prominence: the formation of the Joint Chinese University Alumni Association of Southern California, Southern California Council of Chinese Schools and Taiwanese *Tongshanhui*, each served as the joint association of its kinds to fulfill their purpose with collective efforts. All these three organizations were tied together by common bonds based on their pre-immigration social networks. Their numerous memberships created extensive ethnic *quanxi* that not only played a significant role of ethnic cohesion in the Los Angeles ethnoburbia but also interlinked Chinese immigration community with their homelands in Asia.

[5] Him Mark Lai, "Expressing Their Commonality: Chinese Locality and Dialect Group Associations," in Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions (*Oxford, N.Y.: A Division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), pp. 219-220; Min Zhou, *Contemporary Chinese America: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Community Transformation*, pp. 77-96.

(A) Joint Chinese University Alumni Association of Southern California:

In general, the alumni association essentially is the social organization prevalent in the post-1960s immigration groups. Higher percentages of advanced educational attainment among most new Chinese immigrants mirrored the particular creation of this kind of clubs formed mainly by alumni of schools outside the United States. The formation of Joint Chinese University Alumni Association of Southern California (JCUAA), a joint organization with over thirty respective university alumni clubs, most represented this new type of organization with memberships determined by matriculation at the specific educational institutions.[6]

JCUAA was originated in 1978 when several activists of alumni clubs from Taiwan, including National Taiwan University, National Chengchi University, National Cheng Kung University, and National Chung Hsing University, decided to organize a large Chinese New Year celebration banquet at the Westin Bonaventure Hotel, Los Angeles. This festival hosted over 1,600 Chinese and non-Chinese attendants, an unprecedented gathering in contemporary Chinese American community.[7] Initially each of individual alumni association was conceived with the purpose of providing a social and communication space for graduates from alma maters, however, this gather brought attendants to envision that a greater combined alumni resource would be a great asset not only to the members themselves, but also to the Chinese American community as a whole. Consequently, JCUAA was formally established on March 20, 1982 as a non-profit service organization. Although most of members were alumni from universities in Taiwan, the leaders decided to use the

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[6] JUCAA was the most representative Chinese alumni association in 1980s and 1990s. Other alumni clubs formed by immigrants from Hong Kong and Mainland China tended to be smaller with limited resources and influence.

[7] Interview with Mei-Chih Lin, Date: June 26, 2012; Website of JCUAA: http://www.jcuaa.org.

name of "Chinese," rather than "Taiwanese," in order to broaden its future recruitment.[8]

When it was founded in 1982, JCUAA contained memberships from 27 university alumni associations, and continued to include more alumni of colleges and universities in Taiwan and Mainland China in the following years. It became a large club consisting of 37 Chinese university alumni associations with more than 40,000 alumni members in 2012.[9] Each alumni association elects several representatives to preside on JCUAA's board of directors, which increased the seats from 52 in 1990s to 55 in 2012. The board holds absolute power in the organization as the ultimate decision-maker and is supervised by elected board of trustees composed of delegates from each registered alumni association.

As the largest Chinese service club in the greater Los Angeles area, JCUAA brought far-reaching influence upon local Chinese community in its thirty-year history. Since most members of JCUAA were first-generation immigrants, one of its missions was to help immigrants soon adapt into the new environment, including providing lectures pertaining to visa, tax, health, and insurance, as well as setting up an

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[8] Interview with Mei-Chih Lin, Date: June 26, 2012.

[9] The thirty-seven alumni associations include: National Taiwan Normal University alumni, National Tsing Hua University alumni, National Chung Hsing University alumni, National Chiao Tung University alumni, National Cheng Kung University alumni, Tunghai University alumni, Soochow University alumni, National Chengchi University alumni, National Sun Yat-Sen University alumni, National Central University alumni, Chung Yuan Christian University alumni, Chinese Culture University alumni, Fu Jen Catholic University alumni, Chung Shan Medical University alumni, Tatung University alumni, alumni of Chung Cheng Institute of Technology, Ming Chuan University alumni, Providence University alumni, Shih Chien University alumni, Shih Hsing University alumni, Yuanpei University alumni, alumni of National Taipei University of Technology, National Taiwan Ocean University alumni, alumni of National Taiwan University of Arts, alumni of R.O.C. Air Force Academy, alumni of Ming Chi University of Technology, alumni of R.O.C. Naval Academy, Tamkang University alumni, alumni of National Defense Medical Center, alumni of R.O.C. Military Academy, Feng Chia University alumni, Christ's College (Taipei) alumni, Chu Hai College (Hong Kong) alumni, alumni of Management College of National Defense University, alumni of Guangzhou University (Guangzhou city, China), alumni of Guangdong Kuo Ming University (China), See JCUAA staff, *The 2012 Yearbook of Joint Chinese University Alumni Association of Southern California* (Los Angles, CA: Joint Chinese University Alumni Association of Southern California, 2012).

"employment committee" in mid-1980s to give its members access and information to labor market. Besides, given that most alumni had young children in local elementary or high schools, in 1986, JCUAA also established a "workshop for junior Chinese students," offering a hot line for unaccompanied Chinese children confronting adjustment problems. This workshop also printed handbooks containing names and phone numbers of alumni members available for teenagers to counsel, as well as represented students at local schools about their adaption matters. In the late 1980s, with many members of JCUAA migrating eastward, this organization also turned part of its outreach efforts towards the east district Chinese community, providing networks with housing, working, and schooling in east district.[10]

Varied recreational programs marked another kind of dedication JCUAA used. It strived to enrich lives of its coethnic compatriots. JCUAA regularly launched parties and festivals in Chinese New Year, Moon Day, Chinese Senior Day (September 9th), as well as its most important celebration, initialized in 1987, an annual Mother's Day, characterized by a splendid award ceremony for chosen "model mothers" with a fair teeming with booths of food and entertainment. During the 1990s, more diverse social activities were created by JCUAA: holding karaoke, golf, ping-pong, and shooting competitions in 1993, 1997, 1998, and 1999, respectively; a multitude of meetings, lectures, and exhibitions concerning art, music, and literature were provided in every year; regular trips in and outside the country were also organized in spring and autumn. Moreover, as the largest regional Chinese organization with the most members, JCUAA was the major sponsor in organizing or

[10] Mark Arax, "Families Send Their Children to Go It Alone in New Land," *Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1987; JCUAA staff, *The 2012 Yearbook of Joint Chinese University Alumni Association of Southern California*, p.7

funding various local Chinese activities as well. For example, the JUCAA usually headed and presided over the annual celebration of Taiwan's National Holiday, the Double-Ten Festival, in Los Angeles Chinatown and Monterey Park. This festival celebrated the Revolution of 1911, which overthrew China's Qing Dynasty on October 10, 1911, and was considered by local Chinese/Taiwanese community as the most significant ceremony, which usually gathered thousands of guests with the sponsorship of dozens of Chinese organizations, in 1980s and 1990s. JCUAA was also the prime supportive force for annual *Hai Hawai* sports meeting, a noted social congregation for local community, by providing finances and participating teams.[11]

Charitable and social assistance was another domain that JCUAA focused on. It provided large amounts of donations, by fundraising, for disasters happening in America, including California flood in 1993, Northridge earthquake in 1994, September 11 attacks in 2001, Hurricane Katrina in 2005, the wildfire disaster in southern California in 2008, and etc. JCUAA also routinely with the sponsorship of its voluntary members, assisted people in need by offering free food and clothes to the homeless in every Christmas Eve, as well as frequently visiting and donating Chinese and non-Chinese clubs of senior clinics and orphanages.[12]

Promotion of local Chinese political activities was another arena that JCUAA contributed. In the early 1980s, it formed an "Asian American committee," and heavily engaged in local elections. They heavily supported Lily Lee Chen's campaign for Monterey Park's city council seat in mid-1980s. In these pro-Chinese political participation activities, the "Asian American committee" not only held fundraising

[11] *Chinese Daily News*, August 12, 2012; Website of JCUAA: http://www.jcuaa.org.; JCUAA staff, *The 2012 Yearbook of Joint Chinese University Alumni Association of Southern California*, pp. 7-9.
[12] JCUAA staff, *The 2012 Yearbook of Joint Chinese University Alumni Association of Southern California*, pp. 1-10.

parties and endorsed Chinese political aspirants, but also used alumni networks to persuade Chinese voters to vote for their coethnic candidates.[13] In recent years, this JUCAA's committee also zealously worked in concert with the Association of Chinese-American Elected Officials (CEO) to set up the booths, worked by voluntary members, of voting registration for newly-naturalized Chinese immigrants, and provided Chinese youths who were interested in politics the opportunities of internship in offices of governmental or elected officials.

Furthermore, JCUAA has made a great deal of devotion in defending civic rights of Chinese Americans, including: congregating a meeting to support the forced retirement of Monterey Park's Chinese librarian in 1994, an event regarded by local Chinese as racial discrimination; from 1999 to 2000, forming the "Committee for saving Wen Ho Lee," to support Wen Ho Lee, a Taiwan-born American scientist trapped in a spy suitcase of being charged of stealing U.S. nuclear arsenal secrets for the People's Republic of China, a case that many Chinese thought as a plotted conspiracy by American authority against Chinese Americans; joining a protesting parade before the CNN building in Los Angeles on April 20, 2008 to refute CNN's commentator, Jacky Cafferty, who made a remark on a April 16 program to describe Chinese as "the same bunch goons and thugs…in the past fifty years"; mobilizing its

[13] As Pin-hau Shai, the early activist of JCUAA, reminded, many volunteers of JCUAA and respective alumni associations devoted hard for campaigns of Lily Lee Chen, an alumni of National Chung Hsing University, in April, 1982. They held three large fundraising parties, and spent day-long time ahead of the election to make at least four thousands calls to all people they knew, asking their votes for Lily Lee Chen. This kind of cohesion for ethnic-based voting bloc was also visible in east district in the aftermath of 1990s. Many Chinese political aspirants in Rowland Heights and Hacienda Heights, such as Joseph Chang, Melody Wang, Judy Chen Haggerty, credited the importance of JCUAA's network to help them earn office in the local school districts. See Pin-hau Shai, "The relationship of Alumni Associations and the Chinese Political Participation in Southern California," a manuscript of Project of "Three Decades of Chinese Achievements in Southern California – 1980-2012"; Interview with Melody Wang, Date: March 10, 2012; Interview with Judy Chen Haggerty, Date: May 3, 2012.

members in the period of 2007 to 2009 to participate in meetings and hearings and raising funds for campaigns in terms of House Resolution 683 (H. Res. 683), a bill advanced by Chinese Congresswoman Judy Chu to ask an apology from American Congress for its passage of Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882.[14]

Since that JCUAA was constituted by various alumni associations, it was embodied by ingrained fractured structure, signified by two membership withdraws in its thirty-year history— the separation of some alumni members which reestablished Collegiate Alumni Associationn of Taiwan (CAAT) in 1994, and the disengagement of National Taiwan University alumni (NTUAA) in 2006. The formation of CAAT was the response of some members of JCUAA who felt disgruntled for the decision of this organization to host Taiwan's Premier, Hou Bo-Tsuen, who belonged to Kuomintang Party, in 1993. They thought that the hosting of a Taiwanese official with a background of a specific political party was inappropriate and at odds with the non-profit organization. This conflicting ideology among members for the first time divided the JUCAA, creating a newly-founded joint alumni association of CAAT, characterized by its stronger connection with Taiwan's oppositional party, Democratic Progress Party, after it was established in 1994. In comparison to the JCUAA, CAAT only constituted a few individual university alumni clubs with nearly 500 members.[15]

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[14] JCUAA staff, *The 2012 Yearbook of Joint Chinese University Alumni Association of Southern California*; Ling Woo Liu, "California Apologizes to Chinese Americans," *U.S. Time*, July 22, 2009; Staff writer, "H. Res. 683 Passes to Express Regret for Chinese Exclusionary Law," *Asian Week*, June 19, 2012; Wen Ho Lee, *My Country Versus Me: the first-hand account by the Los Alamos scientist who was falsely accused of being a spy* (New York, N.Y.: Hyperion, 2001); Dan Stober, *A Convenient Spy: Wen Ho Lee and the Politics of Nuclear Espionage* (New York, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 2001); Da-wei Ma, "The Progress Era of Pursuing of Chinese American Civil Rights," a manuscript of Project of Three Decades of Chinese Achievements in Southern California – 1980-2012; David Pierson, "Protesters Gather at CNN: A China commentary draws an angry crowd to the L.A. offices," *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 2008.

[15] Collegiate Alumni Associationn of Taiwan was also a joint university alumni, but only constituted by a few alumni of Taiwan universities. It registered members was about 500 in 2012. Its mission aimed to assist activities of Taiwan Center. The most important activity of this club was the annual

The divorce of the NTUAA with the JCUAA in 2006 marked another kind of dilemma for a joint alumni club. As the most prestigious and representative university in Taiwan, National Taiwan University was proud of its vast alumni web worldwide. Its Los Angeles chapter, created in 1974, had 1,400 registered members out of an estimated eight thousand alumni, including a host of Chinese American elites in every professional field.[16] Therefore, the large amount of members with far-reaching influence in southern California made NTUAA become the most significant single alumni association in JUCAA. For example, Yen-Shih Gu, one of the founders of NTUAA of southern California, worked as the convener for the pre-JCUAA's New Year party in1978. From 1982 to 2006, five delegates from NTUAA headed JCUAA and another four served as the chairman of the board of trustees. However, the ascendancy of NTUAA power in JCUAA sometimes marginalized the significance of other smaller alumni associations on policy decisions and personnel arrangements, brewing a hidden sentiment against it. Besides, dissatisfaction also happened within NTUAA. Some were disaffected with the overrepresentation of some smaller alumni associations in JCUAA, in which they blamed the board of directors should be reorganized proportionately in accordance with scale of every alumni association. Some worried that the over-involvement in the operation of JUCAA would jeopardize the base of NTUAA. They proposed that they effectively concentrate resources on its own alumni activities. All these contributed to a widening gap between NTUAA and

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Karaoke game, which usually attracted over a hundred of attendants. Interview with David Lee, Date: May 9 and May 16, 2012; Taiwan Center, *Taiwan Center: 2002 Year Book*, p.89; Taiwan Center, *Taiwan Center: 2004 Year Book*, p. 95.

[16] National Taiwan University Alumni Association of Southern California (NTUAASC) was established in 1974 by the advice of its former chancellor, Chien Shih Liang, who visited Los Angeles in 1973. National Taiwan University Alumni Association of Southern California, *The 2010 Yearbook*, p.5; National Taiwan University Alumni Association of Southern California, *The 2011 Yearbook*, p.7; *Chinese Daily News*, August 12, 2012; Interview with Alan Hsu, Date: May 9, 2012.

JCUAA that eventually resulted in the division in 2006. Nevertheless, these two organizations continued to maintain a close relationship in some activities in the following years. In 2007, both NTUAA and JCUAA sent representatives to attend mutual activities, and in 2008, JCUAA's "youth-leadership speech class," which was initialized by its president, Sam Lo, also earned sponsorship from members of NTUAA.[17] The improvement between JCUAA and NTUAA continued when leaders of these two organizations developed a consensus to work together. His-Sheng Alan Hsu, the current president of NTUAA, has advocated for a reunion with JUCAA in NTUAA in last few years.[18]

The composition of the JCUAA also experienced transformation in the 2000s as graduates from universities and colleges of Mainland China increased at an explosive rate in the Los Angeles area. In the 2000s, JUCAA were joined by three Mainland China alumni associations: Chu Hai College alumni, alumni of Guangzhou University, and alumni of Guangdong Kuo Ming University. This transformation also took place in part of JCUAA's registered alumni clubs of certain universities, such as National Tsing Hua University, National Chiao Tung University, National Sun Yat-Sen University and Fu Jen Catholic University, all of them were reformed in Taiwan in 1949 after the completion of civil war in China. These Taiwanese-based alumni clubs started to recruit alumni fellows who graduated from the universities in Mainland China. For example, the alumni association of Chiao Tung University [19] was essentially created by those who graduated from Hsinchu (Taiwan) campus in 1980s.

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[17] Interview with Lo Sam, Date: January 9, 2012.

[18] Interview with His-Sheng Alan Hsu, Date: May 1, 2012; Interview with Sam Lo, Date: January 9, 2012.

[19] Chiao Tung University was created in Shanghai in 1896, and gradually expanded into five respective universities titled with same names: four located in Mainland China (Shanghai Chiao Tung, Beijing Chiao Tung, Southwest Chiao Tung, Xi'an Chiao Tung); and Hsinchu Chiao Tung in Taiwan.

This club was joined by alumni members from other four Chiao Tung universities in Mainland China, making it to expand into a large five-university joint alumni club of nearly one thousand registered members. The increasing Mainland Chinese members made Chiao Tung alumni club become more influential in JCUAA, giving birth the first president, Tony Y. Din, who graduated from Shanghai Chiao Tung University, to head JCUAA in 2008.[20]

(B) Southern California Council of Chinese Schools:

Chinese school has long been an integral part of the organizational structure of Chinese American society dating back to the 1ate 1870s when a few Chinese schools were established in San Francisco Chinatown. In comparison to multiple functions that alumni associations stood for, the existence Chinese schools had a simpler mission to preserve mother-tongue language and cultural heritage in the second and succeeding generations. From the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act to the outbreak of World War II, Chinese schools mostly were confined in Chinatowns. Most of them were private, financed primarily by tuitions and donations from *hui guan* or Chinese business organizations. These early Chinese schools provided instructions in Cantonese with daily classes that aimed to cultivate American-born children and adolescent eventually returning to China. It made Chinese schools usually being perceived by mainstream society as competing with public education and inhibiting assimilation.

The post-1960s influx of Chinese American immigration marked the new transformation for the development of Chinese schools. Unlike their counterparts in

[20] The Website of Chiao Tung University Alumni Association of Southern California, http://www.ctuaa-sc.com/index.php/2003-2005p.html;

Chinatowns, Chinese schools run by new immigrants were mostly concentrated in suburbia and characterized by its weekend classes with Mandarin instruction. With the successive Chinese immigration flow into the America, the new type of suburban Chinese schools expanded phenomenally in the following two decades: from 122 in thirteen states in 1978-1979, 137 schools in sixteen states in 1980, to 304 schools in thirty-five states in 1985-86. The number of Chinese schools in the United States reached to its peak in mid-1990s. According to a 1995 survey conducted by the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS), a total of 634 registered Chinese schools, with over five thousands teachers and students of eight hundred thousands, were present in the United States, with nearly one-sixth clustering in San Gabriel Valley. The flourishing of local Chinese language schools in Los Angeles ethnoburbs gave birth to the formation of Southern California Council of Chinese Schools (SCCCS), which represented as a joint association constituted by local Chinese schools.[21]

The development of SCCCS epitomized the history of Chinese schools in the southern California. SCCCS was established in 1976 and registered as the non-profit organization in 1979. It was first headed by Tom Woo who also was the principal of San Fernando Valley Chinese Language School. At the outset, SCCCS only included thirteen member schools, but expanded rapidly in the following three decades: 48 member schools with over 4,000 students in 1981; 68 member schools enrolled in more than 8,000 students in 1986. In 1987, SCCCS reorganized itself with a presiding

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[21] Min Zhou, "Chinese Schools and the Ethnic System of Supplementary Education," in Min Zhou edited, *Contemporary Chinese America: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Community Transformation*, pp.148-158; Him Mark Lai, "Chinese Schools in America before World War II," in Him Mark Lai edited, *Being Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*, pp. 271-308; Him Mark Lai, "Chinese Schools in America after World War II," in Him Mark Lai edited, *Being Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*, pp.309-351; Website of NCACLS: http://www.ncacls.org/.

general assembly consisting of representatives from every member school. The general assembly elects annually a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, financer to form its board of directors, responsible for its daily operation. By 2012, SCCCS expanded into an organization with over 110 member schools, serving 1,200 teachers and twenty-two thousands students. Its members included schools with enrollment varying from ten to more than one thousand at the largest; over half schools had more than seventy-five students. The location of its member schools ranged greatly, as far away as Frenso, San Fernando Valley, Santa Barbara, San Diego, and Phoenix, Arizona.[22]

As a joint association, SCCCS dedicated itself into issues related to Chinese language instruction both in national and state levels. It pursued the nationwide reform of incorporating Chinese courses into the American public education system by the persuasion of its member schools to accommodate their instructions with the SAT, SATII, and AP. In 2007, SCCCS also helped to ask funds of "Foreign Language Assistant Program" (FLAP) from Federal Government, and urged their members to capitalize on the "Star Talk Program," a fund offered by Department of Defense for foreign language learning, to develop after-school Chinese classes. In all these applications, SCCCS not only played as a negotiating representative for rights of language schools, but also provided assistance for its members with translation, legislative explanation, as well as launching meetings for registered schools' administers to gather and discuss.[23]

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[22] Website of SCCCS: http://www.scccs.net; Interview with Teresa Hsu Chao, Date: January 3, 2012; Him Mark Lai, "Chinese Schools in America after World War II," p. 324.

[23] Interview with Teresa Hsu Chao, Date: January 3, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, November 3, 2008.

The promotion of legislation pertaining to the status of Chinese language school symbolized one of the greatest contributions of the SCCCS made. For a long time, Chinese schools in California faced an uncertain quandary, since they aren't able to be categorized as the public school regulated by Title1 of California Education Department or under the category of being trade school of Title 5. This dilemma became troublesome when *Chiao Hsin*, a Chinese Language School in Monterey Park, first underwent inspection by the Department of Social Services of California (DDS), which claimed Title 21 (the day care center clause) for the Chinese language school in 1992. According to the regulation of Title 21, DDS ruled that *Chiao Hsin* was illegally run, because of its improper toilet equipment, over 6-to-1 student/teacher ratio, unsafe classrooms. It was penalized with a progressive fine daily costing hundreds of dollars, pushing it to the verge of closing down. This case eventually was settled with the help of staff from the Monterey Park School District and local elected Chinese officials who earned a grace period from DDS, allowing the school to improve its facility to conform to the regulation of Title 21. The *Chiao Hsin* case demonstrated the first attempt of the California Government to govern the inordinate growth of Chinese schools, setting an unfavorable precedent for Chinese schools whose operations, with students of varying ages in multiple classified classes, were contradictory to the model of day care center.

The *Chiao Hsin* case did not evoke longstanding concerns. DDS's inspection only focused on a few Chinese schools in west San Gabriel Valley. Its main concern placed on schools with over 16-hour instructions per week. Given that most weekend-class language schools would not exceed the limit, these administrators of

Chinese schools and staff of SCCCS remained aloof until the end of 1990s.[24] In the summer of 1999, the Confucius Chinese School of Walnut was inspected by DDS, bringing a new round of challenges for local Chinese schools and SCCCS. Considering that the inspection specifically aimed at summer classes, which usually took a form of three-hour/daily instruction, the school easily violated the maximum limit of 16 hours per week. According to Rex Yee, who was on the board directors of Confucius Chinese School of Walnut, the school asked help from SCCCS and Chinese elected officials in local school districts with several meetings, and was advised by them to join American Campaign Association, a national recreational and educational organization, to obtain a certificate for running the summer camp. This solution temporarily allowed the language schools being exempt from Title 21 in summer time.[25]

Unlike the difficulty *Chiao Hsin* faced in 1992, the situation that the Walnut Confucius School encountered in 1999 imposed extensive impacts upon most local Chinese schools which operated similar summer-classes. This crisis also rippled through the growing number of Chinese schools with daily after-school tutoring programs, which usually exceeded 16 hours weekly. This new type of Chinese supplementary education, particularly prevalent in east district, with English, math, chemistry and physics courses aimed to help younger Chinese students perform better in formal schools.[26] The collective worry about the schools' future survival was spread among local Chinese schools. As the representative, SCCCS undoubtedly felt the pressure from membership schools, which looked forward to legislative solution.

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[24] Interview with Teresa Hsu Chao, Date: January 3, 2012.

[25] Interview with Rex Yee, Date: July 29, 2012.; Interview with Christina Hsu, Date: July 29, 2012.

[26] Min Zhou, "Chinese Schools and the Ethnic System of Supplementary Education," pp. 159-160

Nevertheless, as a non-profit organization with insufficient funding, SCCCS was incapable of sponsoring costly political activities or to advance related policy research. It was until mid-2000s that SCCCS earned the attention from local politician, Bob Huff, who worked together with it on legislative attempts.[27]

SCCCS's contact and cooperation with Bob Huff, who served on the Diamond Bar City Council in 1990s and later became as state assemblyman in 2000s, was also supported with the assistance of Mei Mei Ho, the wife of Bob Huff. As a first-generation Chinese immigrant active in local community, Mei Mei Ho unsuccessfully ran for a seat on the Diamond Bar City Council in 1996 and served as the manager of noted Pacific Palms Resort in the City of Industry in 2000s. Effective as a communicator, Mei Mie Ho had received many complaints from operators of local Chinese schools, particularly those in the eastern San Gabriel Valley, and transferred these concerns to her husband's office. In 2007, Bob Huff developed a cooperative relationship with SCCCS (serving as consultant), to initiate several draft bills concerning Chinese schools in state's educational subcommittee: in 2007, he first proposed Assembly Bill 344, a measure addressing the need for a license requirement for language schools. In the following two years, three unsuccessful legislative attempts in terms of language school's status were proposed by Bob Huff, including Assembly Bill 1888 and Senate Bill 370 in 2008, and Senate Bill 129 in 2009. All these three bills tried to provide language schools with their own clear set of health and safety requirement. They were also regulated with an attempt to remove language school from day care center category, and to redefine it as "private school" in current state code, the way contradictory against expectations of some people in SCCCS who

[27] Interview with Teresa Hsu Chao, Date: January 3, 2012.

worried about increasing expense to operate their schools in the future. Hence, with the SCCCS's lack of a consensus regarding the status of Chinese schools, along with Bob Huff's political position, a Republican in overwhelming-Democrat state assembly, there is a less optimistic vision for Chinese schools in prior to 2009.[28]

The legislation with respect to language schools issue encountered a turning point in early 2009 when an accident happened: a Chinese child, who was hit on campus by a careless driver in the after-school class of the Elite Chinese School in Cupertino, California. This accident, broadly reported by the public newspapers and TV programs, put the agenda of Chinese school's security and management on table, driving extra attention to California's Government. It led DDS for the first time to conduct a comprehensive and overall examination on all Chinese schools statewide, particularly those in the northern California. DDS's investigation frightened local administrators, forcing them to change their indifference toward the legislation, which they used to think as a local issue concerning their counterparts in Southern California. Through the access of Association of North California Chinese Schools (ANCCS)[29], Chinese school faculty and students collectively asked local state senator, Leland Yee, a Chinese Democrat, to include this in his agenda. Leland Yee cooperated with Bob Huff to introduce a new language school bill, the Senate Bill 1116 in 2010. Senate Bill 1116 was to create a new category of "heritage school," and provided language schools with freedom from the regulation of California Education Code. The only requirement for a "heritage school" was to register under certain cultural associations,

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[28] Staff writer, "Assemblyman Bob Huff's AB 1888 Clears Assembly Human Services Committee," April 17, 2008 in Bob Huff's website: http://cssrc.us/web/29/news.aspx?id=5127; *Chinese Daily News*, July 17, 2009; Interview with Teresa Hsu Chao, Date: January 3, 2012; Interview with Rex Yee, Date: July 29, 2012; Interview Christina Hsu, Date: July 29, 2012;

[29] ANCCS is a similar joint organization as SCCCS built in North California in 1978 and grew as an association with 110 member schools and twenty thousand students in 2012. See ANCCS website: http://www.anccs.org/.

such as SCCCS or ANCCS, which were authorized with the power of supervision. To support this bill, SCCCS created a twelve-person committee to be responsible for legislative affairs and provided related statistics and opinions. According to Christina Hsu and Rex Yee, both of them in SCCCS's twelve-person committee, the representatives of SCCCS and ANCCS all attended four meetings and hearings for bill drafting, providing their concerns and support for the bill. These two organizations also utilized the way of collecting a dozen of signatures of faculty and students to demonstrate their base. Besides, several seminars, which hosted a lot of educational specialists and related governmental officials, were also co-held by these two organizations. All these efforts contributed to the passage of SB1116 on May 24, 2010, with vote of 28-0. As Teresa Hsu Chao, the president of SCCCS from 2008 to 2009, claimed, "the passage of Senate Bill 1116 in 2010 marked a revolutionary reform for status of Chinese language school, and it's the product of a collective effort that SCCCS, ANCCS and a host of Chinese school operators strived for longtime.[30]

In addition to advancing Chinese schools, a wealth of activities to promote Chinese language instruction was provided by SCCCS as well. Since the early 1990s, SCCCS regularly exercised a chain of competitions in spring and autumn, including games of poetry, writing, translation (English to Chinese), Chinese speeches, and calligraphy. It also routinely held a multitude of programs and seminars on the cultivation of inexperienced Chinese language teachers. These programs were usually supported and financed by Taiwan's National Taiwan Normal University and China's

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[30] Interview with Rex Yee and Christina Hsu, Date: July 29, 2012; Interview with Teresa Hsu Chao, Date: January 3, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, March 16, 2010; *Chinese Daily News*, March 17, 2010; Staff writer, "Senator Huff's Heritage School Bill Passes Crucial Hurdle," May 10, 2010, in Bob Huff's website: http://cssrc.us/web/29/news.aspx?id=8157; Staff writer, "Senator Huff's Heritage School Bill Clears the Floor," May 28, 2010, in Bob Huff's website: http://cssrc.us/web/29/news.aspx?id=8166.

Jinan University. In recent years, SCCCS also held regular summer camps in U.S. or China for young Chinese Americans.[31]

(C) *Tongshanhui*:

Tongshanhui was another common type of social and service organization prevalent in post-1965 Chinese American society. Parallel to *hui guan* in traditional Chinatowns, the formation of a *tongshanhui* usually was based on the geographical locality of origin or dialect-group affiliation or both, and titled by the names of province, city, or township in their home countries. Most of these *tongshanhuis*, built in the period of 1970s to 1990s, were run by immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Indo-China, and many of them usually did not have permanent gathering locations. They depended upon a loose connection with irregular meetings, operated with meager membership payments.[32] In general, the creation of a *tongshanhui* is motivated by the need for mutual aid and comfort in adjusting to new surroundings, as well as by the purpose of socialization with their compatriots. However, the complex *guanxi* networks and resourceful social capital among post-1960s Chinese immigrants

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[31] Website of SCCCS: http://www.scccs.net.

[32] *Tonshanghwai* is also the most common civic organization developing in groups of Mainland Chinese immigrants in the Los Angeles, pioneered by *Heilong Jiang tonshanghwai* (established in 1995). In 1996, two clubs were created by Chinese from Mainland China: Chinese CEO Organization, which was constituted by enterprises and businessmen; *Tian Jin tonshanghwa*. These two organizations both were ill-organized with only a few registered members and seldom held activities. It was until mid-2000s that the obvious explosive development of Mainland Chinese clubs was fulfilled, exemplified by the formation of Roundtable of Southern California Chinese-American Organizations (ROSCCAO) in 2005. This joint association included a variety of 56 clubs, most of them were *tonshanghwai* from different provinces or significant cities of Mainland China, with thousands of supporters. The establishment of ROSCCAO marked the rising influence of Mainland Chinese immigrants, who held a host of socioeconomic and cultural activities, exemplified by a series of grand celebrations on October, 2010 for the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist China. See Yu-Ju Hung, "The Development of Chinese organizations in Los Angeles," a manuscript of Project of Three Decades of Chinese Achievements in Southern California – 1980-2012; Gin Chen, *The History of Chinese in Southwestern part of United States: 1992-2012* (Ontario, C.A.: Chinese Overseas Think Tank, 2012).

made *tongshanhui* far more than a simple socially communicative space. Rather, many *tongshanhuis* functioned greatly both in regional and transnational levels.

In the 1980s and 1990s, aside from apparent congregation of VCL *tongshanhuis*, formed by the joint efforts of the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian Chinese American populations, in Orange County,[33] a large number of *tongshanhuis* mainly composed of those from Taiwan were present. The formation of Taiwan *Tongshanhui* is the representative. This organization was created in 1970s and consisted of those who claimed strong Taiwanese identity. It became the most organized *tongshanhui* with the most registered members in the greater Los Angeles in the aftermath of 1980s. In 1998, this club expanded and was renamed as the United Taiwanese Foundation of Southern California (or Taiwan Center of Southern California), a complex of Taiwanese immigration organization headquartered in Rosemead. In 2000, there were 51 organizations registered as members of the Taiwan Center. In 2012, the registered organizations belonging to the Taiwan Center increased to 62, including the Southern California Taiwan Innkeepers Association (SCTIA), Taiwanese American Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, Taiwanese American Foundation, Taiwanese American Citizens League, Formosan Association for Public Affairs, Los Angeles (FAPA, Los Angeles), Taiwan American Association of East San Gabriel Valley, North America Taiwanese Professors' Association (NATMA-SCC), Taiwanese American Senior Association (TASA), Southern California Taiwan Hakka Association (THA of southern California), Taiwanese American Affiliated Committee on Aging (TAACA), Collegiate Alumni Association of Taiwan (CAAT), and etc. All these registered

[33] The development of VCL-based *tongshanhui* could be found in some Chinese American studies. See Him Mark Lai, "Expressing Their Commonality: Chinese Locality and Dialect Group Association," in Him Mark Lai Him Mark Lai edited, *Being Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*, pp. 225-230.

organizations had the rights to elect for the board of directors of Taiwan Center, which possessed absolute authority over all members and spoke for local Taiwanese American society.[34]

As a *tongshanhui* exclusively constituted by Taiwanese, particularly the *benshengren* (people from this province or Taiwan-born), Taiwan Center provided a multitude of services for their compatriots with the strong orientation towards the preservation of Taiwan American identity. For example, in 1988, Taiwan Center held donations, with other Taiwanese organizations, to develop the construction of Flamingo Garden Apartment in El Monte, a residence with suitable facility for retired Taiwanese seniors. In 1998, it further worked with Taiwanese American Senior Association to create the "Club for Taiwanese Aged" that provided many entertainment programs for Taiwanese elder people. Besides, in 2003, a Taiwanese-language class was created, targeting at instructing younger and American-born Taiwanese Americans, and another Hakka-language classes, along with a couple of programs (such as computer or Taiwanese-writing classes), were added in the following years. The ping-pong and baseball teams, as well as Taiwanese choral society, were also formed in recent years to serve members with varying ages and interests. The exhibitions, art performances, and lectures concerning Taiwanese culture were regularly introduced and sponsored by Taiwan Center.[35] In 2002, Taiwan Center also made its debut in the Pasadena Rose Parade by dispatching a float with "Enjoying Taiwan" characters to promote the visibility of Taiwan in the mainstream society. The Taiwan Center was usually the most significant sponsor responsible for activities of Taiwan American Heritage Week in May, part of an annual Asian/Pacific

[34] The Taiwan Center, *The Taiwan Center: Special Edition (*Rosemead, C.A.: Taiwan Center, 1998).
[35] Taiwan Center, *Taiwan Center: 2004 Yearbook*, p. 14, 22; *Chinese Daily News*, 2008, May 9.

Islanders American Heritage Month.[36] Nearly every registered Taiwanese organization would be assigned by Taiwan Center with certain activities, such as art exhibition, cultural or music performances and speeches in relation to Taiwan, and all co-supported an annual grand celebration party to introduce Taiwanese culture to American society at the end of each May.

The Taiwan Center also represented itself as the defendant for Taiwanese Americans' rights. It was particularly reflected in its long-term devotion to urge U.S. Congress to regard the people of Taiwan as an independent ethnic group other than an appendage to a broad definition of overseas Chinese in the United States. This effort partly made the U.S. Government to provide Taiwan a specific twenty-thousand immigration quota in 1981, as well as to define the Taiwanese as an independent ethnic group from Chinese column in the U.S. Census of 1990. In recent years, witnessing the explosive growth of population of Chinese Mainlanders in Los Angeles, the Taiwan Center has tried hard, sometimes to an extreme extent, to prevent Taiwanese American community from "being penetrated and controlled" by newly-arrived Chinese. The dispute of "Miss Taiwan" in 2010 was an example.

Miss Taiwan was created, in 2000, by Jack Liu, who also founded the Collegiate Alumni Associationn of Taiwan in 1994 and served as the long-term decision-maker in the Taiwan Center. This pageant, sponsored by the Taiwan Center, aimed to elect

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[36] Asian/Pacific Islanders Heritage Month originated in 1978 when U.S. Congress passed Public Law 95-419, designating the week beginning in May 4, 1979 as Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week. In 1992, the U.S. President, George Bush, officially signed the Act HR5572,,co-authored by Congressmen Frank Horton and Norman Mineta. This Act regulated that every May would serve as the Asian Pacific American Heritage Month to celebrate and praise the contribution made by Asian Pacific Americans to the United States. In 1999, under the efforts of many Taiwanese American organizations, headed by Taiwan Center, U.S. Congress specifically designated a week in Asian/Pacific Islanders American Heritage Month in May as Taiwanese American Heritage Week (TAHW) to appreciate fhe contribution made by Taiwanese American to the U.S. society. The Taiwan Center, *The Taiwan Center: Special Edition*; The Taiwan Center, *The Taiwan Center: 2002 Yearbook*, p.22; Interview with David Lee. Date: May 9 and May 16, 201.

young Taiwanese American ladies as a speaker and voluntary worker to provide ethnic representation at social and charitable events, including being present to support Taiwan Center's various activities; visiting Taiwanese senior apartments or the needy organizations for social assistance; representing Taiwanese to attend local celebrations such as Los Angeles Chinatown New Year's Parade, Hacienda Heights July-4th Parade, and etc. However, in 2010, Miss Taiwan, Kaisarin Candy Su, accidentally showed up on the float of World Exposition 2010, the one supported by Chinese Government to promote the 2010 Shanghai World Exposition, at the Pasadena Rose Parade on January 1, 2010. Despite that both Kaisarin Candy Su and Jack Liu underscored that the appearance on the float tended to promote Taiwan's status on the Exposition, this decision to collaborate with Communist China was instantly considered by Taiwan Center and its supporters as a betrayal to ethnic identity. In a press conference held in Taiwan Center's building in Rosemead on January 7, its speaker, Hui-na Lin, expressed serious protest against Jack Liu, announcing the permanent expulsion of Jack Liu from board of directors of Taiwan Center. Now in order to compete in with Jack Liu's Miss Taiwan, the Taiwan Center also created another pageant of "Miss Taiwanese American."[37]

The "Miss Taiwan" controversy showed that the Taiwan Center holds strong adherence to the homeland allegiance so that transnationality inevitably marked a significantly embedded element in this organization. It made Taiwan Center pursue intense concerns for the domestic matters in Taiwan, characterized by their various activities against the Kuomintang's one-party governance. As many studies have

[37] *Chinese Daily News*, January 2, 2010; *Chinese Daily News*, January 7, 2010; *Chinese Daily News*, January 21, 2010; The Taiwan Center's Press Conference on January 7, website: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mtHGbVHzbsQ

illustrated, overseas Taiwanese organizations had close affiliations with the democratization movement in the Taiwan Island. Taiwan Center of Los Angeles showed a sound representative.[38] Their involvements varied widely: serving as important supporter abroad for Taiwan's political reforms in 1970s and 1980s that eventually promoted Taiwan to lift its martial law in 1987. It gave the Taiwanese the freedom of moving, speeches, and assembly; holding a general Congress election in 1991;[39] absolving political dissents in 1992; the first direct presidential election in 1996. When Taiwan marched to the normalization of party politics in the aftermath of 1990s, the Taiwan Center also heavily engaged in Taiwan's electoral activities, supporting candidates of the Pan-Green Coalition, led by Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and Taiwan Independence Party (TID).[40] During the period of 2000 to 2008, when the Democratic Progressive Party first replaced the Kuomintang as the governing party, the Taiwan Center also soundly backed DDP's governmental policy of overseas Taiwanese immigrants, and cooperated frequently with the Cultural Center of Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Los Angeles.[41]

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[38] Related studies include: Fupian Chen, *A History of the Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement:: The Development and Challenge of "Taiwan Independence" Organization in the United States, from mid-1950s to mid-1990s* (Taipei, Taiwan: Vanguard Press, 1998); Howard Wang, *The Taiwan Independence Movement in the United States: A New Identity Revisited* (Thesis: University of California at Berkeley, 1997); Wei-Der Shu, *Transforming National Identity in the Diaspora: An Identity Formation Approach to Biographies of Activities Affiliated with the Taiwan Independence Movement in the United States* (Dissertation: National Taiwan University, 1991).

[39] In prior to 1991, most representatives of Taiwan's National Assembly and Legislative Yuan were people elected in 1947 in Mainland China. These "old representatives" tended to represent Mainland China constituencies, without resignation until they passed away.

[40] Taiwan Center, *Taiwan Center Foundation of Greater Los Angeles: Ten-Year Annual book* (Rosemead, CA: Taiwan Center Foundation of Greater Los Angeles, 1988); *Chinese Daily News*, August 6, 2012. Interview with Chi-Yin Lee, Date: April 24, 2011.

[41] After it retreated to Taiwan, Kuomintang's "Overseas Chinese Policy" emphasized its connection with broad definition of fellows of Chinese birth or descents, which nearly thirty-five millions worldwide. This policy, working together with overseas Chinese, functioned as part its grand plan against Communist China, leading most of overseas Chinese organizations (like CCBA) to regard Kuomintang's Republic of China (R.O.C.) as the authoritative representative of China. After Shui-bian Chen of the Democratic Progressive Party was elected as the first non-Kuomintang President in 2000 and continued to be reelected in 2004, Taiwan's "Overseas Chinese Policy"

The organizations registered in Taiwan Center also marked their keen enthusiasm to promote Taiwan's interests and identity, especially in the formation of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) and Taiwanese American Citizen League (TACL). The FAPA was created in February, 1982 in Washington D.C, and continued to expand its chapters to 55 in 2012 throughout the United States. FAPA of Los Angeles gradually became the leading group due to its location and the highest concentration of Taiwanese immigrants. In essence, FAPA played as a political and lobby organization in the U.S. Congress to protect the rights of Taiwan. As the first Taiwanese lobby club, it was well-organized and financed, with an executive committee, congressional lobbyists, and policy researchers. In the last three decades, FAPA made profound contributions for both its fellow people in Taiwan and the United States: (a) asking American Congress to hold a variety of hearings on issues of Taiwan's human rights, as well as urging the American authority to concern the exercise of the martial law in Taiwan; (b) helping Taiwanese activists who fought

encountered earthquaking change. The DDP government proposed a new policy in 2000 that divided all overseas Chinese into three parts: Taiwan-born, the foreign-born ever studied in Taiwan, and the rest of overseas Chinese. This ranking would decide the budget use of Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (which was renamed as Overseas Chinese Affairs Council in 2012), a Cabinet-level department of the Executive Yuan of the Taiwan Government, that concentrated resources on Taiwan-born compatriots. This policy evoked serious confrontations of most Chinese (Cantonese) organizations in the United States, many of them turned their support to Communist China, which devoted full efforts with enormous funds to absorb overseas Chinese as part of its global strategy in the aftermath of 1990s. However, for Taiwan Center and other pro-Pan-Green-Coalition organizations, this policy won their applause, making them to support DDP Government's activities, including backing up the establishment of "Global Alliance for Democracy and Peace, Los Angeles Chapter," a semi-official Taiwanese organization, in 2003. Besides, Taiwan Center also aggressively participated in most activities held by "Culture Center of Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Los Angeles," which most anti-Kuomintang Taiwanese organizations refused to cooperate with in the past. Related studies pertaining to Taiwan's "Overseas Chinese Policy" and its influence upon American Chinese organizations could see: Hon-yuan Ju, "The Transformation of Overseas Chinese Policies of R.O.C.," *Chiao Shai Magazine* (Taiwan) (2003), pp. 19-40; Shu-Shan Liao, "The Overseas Policy of President Shui-bian Chen, 2000-2002," in Chi-Shuan Chang edited, *Overseas Chinese in Last Two Decades* (Taipei, Taiwan: The Society of Overseas Chinese Studies, 2003), p4; Yu-Ju Hung, *The Status Quo of Taiwanese American Policy (1980-2004)* (Taipei, Taiwan: Overseas Chinese Culture and Education Foundation, 2006); Shi-Shan Wang, *The Taiwan's Overseas Policy Since 1971* (Thesis: National Chi Nan University, 2002).

against Kuomintang in 1970s and 1980s to get visas to the United States; (c) forming the Congressional Taiwan Caucus to promote bills concerning Taiwan-U.S. diplomatic relationship.

In contrast to the FAPA which was concerned more about Taiwan's domestic and security issues, TACL paid full attention on the younger generation of Taiwanese Americans, as well as on the promotion of status of Taiwanese Americans. This L.A.-based club was most characterized by its youth-leadership programs: (a) it operated a summer internship program (SIP) since 1992, selecting Taiwanese youths in high school or university to be staffed for American governmental offices. It brought opportunities for younger Taiwanese to familiar with American politics and helped them establish networks with political activists;[42] (b) it developed the summer and winter camps of "Leadership & Identity Development (LID) since early 2000s, educating and immersing them in Taiwanese culture and identity; (c) since 1999, it has been providing internships for some Taiwanese youth in its "Journalism Internship Program," which was sponsored by Taiwan Center's main voice—the *Pacific Times*. It aimed to cultivate younger-generation Taiwanese in public media area.[43]

In 1978, in competition with the Taiwan Center, some Taiwanese sympathetic to the Kuomintang government founded the social organization Taiwan *Tongshang Lianyihui* (Taiwan Benevolent Association). Compared to Taiwan Center which was comprised by *benshengren*, members of Taiwan *Tongshang Lianyihui* mainly were *waishengren* (people from the outer provinces), who retreated from Mainland China

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[42] For example, in 2012, its summer internship program included 13 local senior high school students with ethnic backgrounds of Taiwanese, other Asians, and European Americans. They were distributed to offices of John Chiang, the former California State Controller and current Chairman of California Board of Equalization; two California assemblymen, Mike Feuer and Jeff Miller; Adam Schiff, the Congressman. See *Chinese Daily News*, August 6, 2012.

[43] Taiwan Center, *Taiwan Center: 2002 Yearbook*, p.3; Interview with Chi-Yin Lee, Date: April 24, 2011.

with the Kuomintang government to Taiwan in 1949. Hence, the services of Taiwan Benevolent Association tended to cover for "overseas Chinese, rather than serving Taiwanese compatriots. This *tongshanghuai*, partly funded by Kuomintang government, was characterized by its semi-official function to support Taiwan's overseas campaigns and policies during its early years. The celebrations of the annual Double Ten National Holiday in Chinatown and Monterey Park were often sponsored and led by the Taiwan Benevolent Association, which was also responsible for circulation of Taiwan Government's diplomatic policies in local Chinese community. The close relationship of the Taiwan Benevolent Association with the Taiwanese Government allowed many of its chairmen and leaders to be elected as the official representatives of Taiwan's Overseas Chinese Commission and overseas compatriot legislators in Taiwan.[44]

In addition to Taiwan Center and Taiwan Benevolent Association, in the 1980s and 1990s, most *tongshanghuais*, even those named after China's provinces and cities, were mainly comprised of Taiwanese immigrants. It wasn't until the mid-1990s when the flood of immigrants from Mainland China gradually altered the composition of Los Angeles's *tongshanghuais*. For example, the founding group of the *Shandong* Association of Southern California in 1983 was almost exclusively Taiwanese who moved from the *Shandong* Province of Mainland China to Taiwan in 1949 and re-migrated to United States in the aftermath of 1960s. In the mid-1980s, the *Shandong* Association was joined by a great number of Korean Chinese, who moved from *Shandong* to the neighboring Korean peninsula in the first half of the twentieth

[44] Interview with George Chen, Date: April 25, 2012; Website of Taiwan *Tongshang Lianyihui* of Los Angeles: http://www.tbala.us/; Him Mark Lai, "Expressing Their Commonality: Chinese Locality and Dialect Group Associations," pp. 243-246.

century, and then re-immigrated to United States when Korean Government enacted anti-Chinese laws in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1990s and 2000s, the *Shandong* Association of Southern California continued to absorb a large number of Shandong compatriots from Mainland China. The diverse membership transformed this association into a *tongshanghuai* shared by three Chinese subgroups, each in turn headed with its own presiding board.[45] Similarly in the *Hubei tongshanghuai of Los Angeles*, which was exclusively sponsored by the Taiwanese *waishengren* of *Hubei* Province descent in 1980s, experienced this transition as well. This *tongshanghuai* added its Mainland Chinese members in the following years, which presently account for one third of its constituents, supporting the presence of its first Mainlander vice president, Li-hua Din, who was elected in 2009.[46]

The development of regional Chinese service organizations showed meaningful implications for development of Chinese society in the San Gabriel Valley. First, all these three joint organizations obviously acted as a repository of social capital that Chinese immigrants drew on, particularly during times of transition. Their extensive *guanxi* web woven by a wealth of socialization activities led to intertwined and ethnic-based personal friendships. Through an alumni or a compatriot from *tongshanghuai* a coethnic immigrant might receive help with: the purchase of homes in certain desirable neighborhoods in east district by recommendation of the right realtor; promoting businesses with credible ethnic bargain; advice for children's schooling. In this regard, the *guanxi* evolved from regional organizations provided reliable and accessible tunnels for immigrants' upward mobility and incorporation.

[45] Interview with Joey Yu, Date: July 25, 2012; Interview with Marshall Chuang, Date: July 19, 2012.
[46] Interview with Sam Lo. Date: January 9, 2012; Interview with Li-hua Din, Date: June 2, 2012.

This also explained the phenomenon that most aggressive activists in these regional Chinese organizations tended to people engaged in service businesses, such as insurance and real estate, which demanded a wider web of *guanxi*. Moreover, this ethnic-based social network was further reinforced by the kinship metaphor implied by these regional Chinese organizations. As scholars Francis L. K. Hsu and Bernard P. Wong suggested, transforming friendship and normal social relationship into kinship is an obvious characteristic of Chinese/Taiwanese interpersonal relations. This was evident in alumni associations such as JCUAA which usually used kinship terms such as *tong xue xiong di* (classmate-brother) or *tong xue zhi mei* (classmate-sister) to addressed each other. These familial extension meanings made personal relationship beyond the limitations of age and social status, and created a sense of a closer relationship. Similar quasi-kinship creation was also found in varied *tongshanghuais*, which usually claimed *shan chin* (compatriot-relatives) relationship, stressing a family analogy. This family metaphor provided local Chinese stronger intra-ethnic warmth that closely bonded them both to fight loneliness and marginalization, as well as to build a base for collective purposes. Particularly for eastward migrants who lived in dispersed and multi-ethnic communities this seeming-kinship affinity produced sentimentality, binding them with ties with regional ethnic organizations.[47]

Transnationality characterized another engrained characteristic that regional Chinese service organizations possessed. It affected their membership composition and operations of activities. Since that most of at-large Chinese organizations were comprised by first-generation Chinese immigrants with a specific goal-pursuing

[47] L. K. Franklin Hsu, *The Challenge of the American Dream: The Chinese in the United States* (Belmont, C.A.: Wadsworth Publishing, 1971); Bernard Wong, *Patronage, Brokerage, Entrepreneurship and the Chinese Community of New York* (Armonk, N.Y.:M.E. Sharpe, 1988), pp. 65-66.

orientation, their members tended to be distinctive based on pre-immigration backgrounds. Their activities were also underscored by the inseparable connection between host country and their homelands, ranging from normal hosting of Asian guests, charitable assistance for the needy in Asia, to mutual socioeconomic and cultural exchange. Despite the fact that transnationality inherently produced a divisive parameter, embedded with certain political allegiance and ethnic identity, among different subgroups of Chinese immigrants, however, this strong connection with their homelands also created an un-replaceable umbilical cord, which functioned as inward bonding. As the case of Taiwan Center showed, even as most Taiwanese dispersed in the eastern San Gabriel Valley or further inland by the 1990s, Taiwan-oriented faith also tightly bonded them with any activities held by Taiwan Center.

B. The development of local Chinese organizations

Prior to early 1990s, when the Chinese community in the eastern San Gabriel Valley was still inchoate, it was those at-large organizations that functioned as the bonding network and influenced all living aspects of local Chinese. However, with Chinese increasing migration inland, and the dysfunction of regional ethnic organizations on coping with local affairs, such as information on schools, environmental issues, and interracial conflict, it prompted the establishment of local Chinese organizations. This kind of local Chinese organizations tended to be smaller with less participants, but its activities were central to impulses of local community. All these booming localized Chinese organizations provided an alternative type of *guanxi* network that acted not only as an ethnic cohesion mechanism but also served as a bridging access of mechanism between eastward migrating Chinese and the local community.

(A) Chinese Association

Chinese Associations or *hua shai* are the most common local Chinese social service organization prevailing in the east district. The presence of a *hua shai* reflects entry of substantial Chinese population in specific city or area, demanding service and coalition for coethnic people.[48] In east district, the emergence of Chinese Associations was commensurate with time sequences of the evolution of local

[48] *Hua shai* is also the most common local ethnic club in Chinese immigration settlements in north San Gabriel Valley, signified by Chinese Club of San Marino (established in 1979) and Arcadeia Chinese Association (established in 1980). However, it is interesting to find out that this kind of organization did not develop in Chinese ethnoburban core in west San Gabriel Valley until around 2010. For instance, both Chinese Associations in cities of San Gabriel and Alhambra were created in 2012, while this ethnic organization was never advent in Monterey Park and Rosemead. The un-developing phenomenon of *hua shai* in Chinese communities in west San Gabriel Valley might result from existent well-organized ethnic service networks that made the *hua shai* unnecessary.

Chinese settlements in different towns: Hacienda Height Chinese Association (HHCA) in 1983, Rowland Heights Chinese Association (RHCA) and the Chinese American Association of Walnut in 1989, the Diamond Bar Chinese-American Association in 1990.

In general, the motive of formation a *hua shai* usually came from necessity of mutual assistance for newly-settled coethnic migrants. However, in the eastern San Gabriel Valley, the founding of a *hua shai* also accompanied with it the practical mission of interlinking with local Chinese language schools. For example, the emergence of HHCA was the direct response of local Chinese concern for transmission of ethnic heritage to their descendants. According to Philip Mo, HHCA was formed by people of Hacienda Heights Area Chinese School (founded in 1982).[49] They aimed to utilize a non-profit status of *hua shai* for fundraising that kept the school in long-term operation. Similarly, the establishment of two Chinese Associations both in Walnut and Diamond Bar were accompanied with the creation of their own Chinese language schools and supported with donated funds and workers.[50]

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[49] This school was created by Lin-yuan Sun and his Taiwanese fellows. Starting by a "garage pattern," this school was fully operated and funded by voluntary Chinese parents. During its early days, this school frequently relocated itself due to insufficient budget to rent a permanent spot. However, as the first Chinese weekend-school formed by post-1960s Chinese immigrants surrounding Hacienda Heights, it gained sound support from local Chinese/Taiwanese, giving rise to the expansion of its student body and the number of classes in this period, from only 40 students (one class) in 1982 to over 600 in 1990, with 20 different classes, including several after-school classes. Since that the school was mainly owned by eastward Taiwanese migrants, it was well cooperated and sponsored by Taiwan's Overseas Chinese Commission, which provided textbooks and instructors from National Taiwan Normal University. Hence, standard Mandarin character and phonetic system, the way Taiwan used in its public education system, was also applied in this school in early times. Nevertheless, the changing demography in the east San Gabriel Valley gradually transformed school's component, adding by overwhelming students from Mainland China. It altered school's board of trustees, and brought a different instruction way, with the introduction of simplified Chinese character and *pin-yi* system, the way prevailing in Mainland China. Nowadays, the Hacienda Heights Area School utilized a dual policy to serve the demand of its students from different origins of countries. See Staff writer, *Hacienda Heights Area Chinese School: 20th Anniversary Book* (Hacienda Heights, CA: Hacienda Heights Area Chinese School, 2002), pp. 18-24; Interview with Jeffery Tsang, Date: August 22, 2011; Interview with Philip Mo, Date: August 23, 2011.

[50] Interview with Philip Mo, Date: August 23, 2011; Diamond Bar Chinese-American Association,

Another vital function of *hua shai* was, on behalf of local Chinese parents, to deal with local public schools, concerning cases of adaption problems on the campus. Especially for Chinese families in Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights in 1980s, the incorporation of their "parachute kids" was a difficult task. Considering that no elected Chinese person sat on board of directors of Hacienda La Puente Unified School District (HLPUSD) and Rowland Unified School District (RUSD) until the early 1990s, *hua shai* became a significant vehicle for local Chinese parents to depend upon. Judy Chen Haggerty, the founder of RHCC, observed that most issues the Chinese were concerned about and asked help from her in 1980s surrounded their children's academic performance; campus bullying and ESL (English as Second Language) courses in the schools. Anyoke Lee, who created Chinese American Association of Walnut, noted that 99% of cases that Walnut *hua shai* handled centering in school matters. Experiences with local schools made members of these Chinese Associations feel the necessity to be familiar with American educational system so that many of them chose to participate in a host of American organizations. For instance, Anyoke Lee noted that being president of Walnut *hua shai* did not empower him with enough reliability in the initial process of negotiation with schools' staff. He was advised to join the organization of Masonic Education, a local organization concerning public education, and later become a Masonic shovel-ring member. This new membership in an education-related American organization gave him the credit to negotiate with local schools in regard with Chinese pupils' issues, leading him eventually to run for seat of board of Walnut School District in 1997. In a

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Diamond Bar Chinese-American Association 22n Anniversary Yearbook, 2012, pp.7-8; Imani Tate, "Diamond Bar Chinese American Association's Saturday School is an education in Tradition," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, July 17, 2009.

similar vein, Judy Haggerty Chen, and Norman Hsu, who was one of the founders of the HHCA, both tried to link operation of RHCA and HHCA in 1990s to local American organizations, such as Rotary Club and Lions Club, gaining credibility. These efforts not only benefited their mutual communication with local schools but also promoted their political participation for public offices in the following years.[51]

In addition to dealing with difficulties that the younger Chinese encountered in local schools, *hua shai* was also functional on the part of educating Chinese parents. Many early Chinese activists in *hua shai* had argued that they served as an intermediate ground between the immigrants' homes and the American schools, helping their fellow immigrants to navigate the American education system. Through a *hua shai*, immigrant parents might gain a way to connect to Chinese PTAs or local Chinese language schools that become informed about specific interests crucial to their children's educational success. They were able to exchange valuable information about child rearing and to share success lessons learned from their counterparts in this ethnic-based service organization. In recent years, *hua shai* also has become one of the significant fundraising supporters for local schools' finance.

Due to their longstanding role in representation for Chinese parents on school issues, members of most *hua shai* inevitably became the creators or major supporters for the establishment of local Chinese Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) in towns in the eastern San Gabriel Valley. For example, the Hacienda Heights Chinese PTA was formed by same group of people who involved in Hacienda Heights *hua shai* and Hacienda Heights Area Chinese School in late 1980s, accepting funds from these two organizations until it became self-sustaining in late 1990s. The emergence of both

[51] Interview with Anyoke Lee, Date: March 10, 2012; Interview with Judy Chen Haggerty, Date: May 3, 2012

Chinese PTAs of Diamond Bar Senior High School and Walnut Senior High School was supported by members of the Diamond Bar Chinese-American Association and Walnut Chinese Association.[52] Although most Chinese PTAs gradually became financially independent in the 1990s, they still heavily depended upon *hua shai*'s support, particularly for certain long-term programs.[53] This was evidenced by a joint effort of the HHCA, Hacienda Heights Area Chinese School, and Hacienda Heights Chinese PTA to request that the HLPUSD to form a Chinese-language course in Wilson High school. According to Philip Mo, who headed the effort in the1980s:

> In the late 1980s, the Hacienda Heights Chinese PTA was a new organization supported by Hacienda Height's *hua shai*, and both worked closely to promote the rights and welfare of local Chinese students. They advocated for the introduction of a Chinese-language course into the local public school. In the meantime, several foreign-language programs, including French, Italian and German, were already practiced in local schools. Considering that Chinese/Asian population accounted for more than one-quarter of total students in HLPUSD, local Chinese citizens felt the necessity to advance compatible courses of their mother-tongue language in local schools. This suggestion was

[52] The Hacienda Heights Chinese PTA was the earliest one in east District, founding in early 1990s. This organization was the combination of different smaller Chinese parental groups in local elementary schools and expanded to include members of Chinese parents in junior and senior high schools in following years. In 1990s, the Hacienda Heights Chinese PTA turned to the one mainly comprised by Chinese parents with children in local high schools, particularly the Wilson High School. Another influential local one in east San Gabriel Valley is the Chinese PTA of Walnut High School, formed in 1997. The Rowland Heights Chinese PTA was the latest one forming in 2011.

[53] Given that members of Chinese PTAs were those with descendants in local schools, their involvement would be terminable after their children graduated, causing unstable personnel structure of most Chinese PTAs, which would demand experienced participants to represent their counterparts without proficiency of English. Besides, most Chinese PTA did not have sufficient operating funds as most *hua shai* and also tended to be individual-school-exclusive, making them incapable to cover a cross-schools representation. In so doing, in most situations, Chinese PTAs in east district usually cooperated with *hua shai* in each town to yield more influences

supported by Hacienda Heights Chinese PTA, Hacienda Heights *hua shai* and the Hacienda Heights Area Chinese School. It led to a collective effort over the next few years to overcome an unfriendly HLPUSD school board, comprised by one Korean, one Latino and three whites. Chinese activists first asked help from local Korean residents, to build a bridge to contact and try to win the support of Korean board member on HLPUSD. Later at the urging of these three Chinese organizations, several hearings were held in 1991, each with several hundred supporters of Chinese language inclusion. The last meeting in August, thousands of Chinese were mobilized to be present, asking the HLPUSD board director to vote publicly, leading to a 5-0 passage for addition of a Chinese-language course to the schedule of Wilson High School in 1992. Although this campaign did not last long, it still marked an achievement worked together by different local Chinese organizations.[54]

By the mid-1990s, the composition of most Chinese Associations in the eastern district steadily transformed from mainly voluntary Chinese parents into a diverse combination of Chinese elected officials, professionals and businessmen, orienting their activities from school-focused into the multiple activities and social services in local community. For instance, the HHCA, in conjunction with other Chinese organizations, headed and financed the commission responsible for the annual July 4th Parade in Hacienda Heights for the last ten years. Rowland Heights *hua shai*'s sponsorship of festival of Buckboard Days in 2010 to 2012 was another example. The "Buckboard Days" was a famous local festival originated in 1970 by Rowland

[54] Interview with Philip Mo, Date: August 23, 2011; Staff writer, "Hacienda La Puente's Bilingual Plan Studied," *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 1991.

Heights Junior Women's Club, Rowland Heights Woman's Clubs Federated and the local Rotary Club. This event was for the first time suspended for financial reasons in 2009. Through the encouragement of Don Kanabe, Los Angeles County's Supervisor representing the east San Gabriel Valley, Rowland Height's *hua shai* headed the "Parade Committee," and fully supported this community-based activity by providing both funds and volunteers starting in 2010. In 2011 and 2012, RHCA increasingly "took over" this Festival with more financial support and voluntary workers.[55]

This tendency of gradual "Americanization" or "localization" took place in most of Chinese Associations in the eastern San Gabriel Valley was also reflected by their increasing application of English, rather than Chinese, as the communicative language, in accordance with their recruitment of members of younger generation Chinese and non-Chinese locals in recent years. Take RHCA for example, it used exclusively Chinese language communication for the majority of its first-generation Chinese members in prior to 2000, and began to apply a bilingual policy (Chinese and English) around the year of 2000 when it added a small number of American-born Chinese members. After RHCA reorganized itself in 2010, younger Chinese, along with a few of non-Chinese participants (the spouses to Chinese), accounted for nearly one-third of its constituents, leading it currently to adhere to an English-only policy in its monthly meetings, press conferences, and activities.[56]

Despite the fact that most Chinese Associations served as the dominant ethnic civic organization in the eastern San Gabriel Valley, the functions and significance of

[55] The website of Buckboard Day Parade: http://buckboarddayparade.blogspot.com; Karen E. Weber, "Buckboard Days Celebrate 21 Years," *The Highlander*, October 17, 1991; *Chinese Daily News*, September 21, 2010; *Chinese Daily News*, October 21, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, October 21, 2012; Staff writer, "Rowland Heights' Buckboard Parade," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, October 26, 2011.

[56] Interview with Interview with Judy Chen Haggerty, Date: May 3, 2012; Interview with Phillip Wang, Date: May 3, 2012; Interview with Charles Liu, Date: April 25, 2012; Website of RHCA: https://sites.google.com/site/rowlandheightschineseassoc.

the Chinese Associations upon local Chinese community should not be exaggerated. Generally, a Chinese Association usually included one to five hundred registered members, only a small portion of local Chinese population. Its attendants usually were businessmen, mostly insurance and real estate agents, who showed a strong orientation to use Chinese Association as an arena to broaden the accessibility and visibility of their businesses.

Moreover, most Chinese Associations did not require the area-bounded membership, partly because of fluid Chinese residential mobility. From my observation, many presidents and staff of RHCA and HHCA were residents of Fullerton or neighboring cities. Anyoke Lee, the founder of Diamond Bar Chinese-American Association, lived in Walnut, rather than in Diamond Bar. This flexible recruitment policy, to a varying degree, tended to be efficient to magnify the membership base in early years, but it also jeopardized future development of a Chinese Association, whose establishment was supposed to serve people in specific towns. Besides, although most local Chinese organizations, such as Chinese PTAs or Chinese schools, usually were originated from or had cooperative relationship with the *hua shai* in their community, most Chinese Associations, which were sustained by small amount of membership fees, did not have authoritative power over them, with only a symbolic leadership.[57] As Osman Wei, a local Chinese activist, put it: "In many ways, a *hua shai* is just like a decorated vase. It means nothing, particularly in

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[57] Diamond Bar Chinese American Association is the only *hua shai* in east San Gabriel Valley that had the authority over its subordinated Chinese school, senior club, and Chinese PTA, which depended upon its financial support. Walnut Chinese Association only kept a nominal bonding over its fraternally Chinese Confucius school and senior club, both were self-operated. Both HHCA and RHCA were even less authoritative upon local Chinese society. For example, in late 1990s, HHCA was seriously challenged by local Chinese PTA, whose people thought that they were more representative because the school district was the supreme public body. Interview with Ivy Kuan, Date: May 30, 2012; Interview with Norman Hsu, Date: June 21, 2012; Interview with Joseph Chang, Date: April 29, 2012.

2000s, for the representation of local Chinese community in the east San Gabriel Valley."[58]

In short words, the development of the Chinese Associations in eastern San Gabriel Valley revealed an apparent characteristic of localization to serve its ethnic people bounded in specific towns. Their functions witnessed transformations: from an early negotiating representative for Chinese parents with local schools to the vehicle providing diversified community-based services. This transformation demonstrated the adaptable path that local Chinese integrated into the community they resided. Despite that most Chinese Associations, challenged by the rise of a variety of local Chinese organizations, gradually lost significance upon the local Chinese community, they were still the most important local organization influencing both Chinese and non-Chinese community, which will further discussed in the following chapters.

(B) Chinese Churches:

The emergence of Chinese Christian churches was another type of localized Chinese organization prevalent in the east district. According to Rev. Wu-don Huang, only 70 Chinese/Taiwanese Christian churches were set up in the United States in 1986, with nearly one-fourth in Southern California. In 1997, a survey showed that 195 Chinese Protestant Christian churches were found in Los Angeles area, and it rose to 207 in 2011, with 25 in the four towns of Chinese Triangle Area of the east district.[59] These localized Chinese churches were represented by Evangelical

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[58] Interview with Osman Wei, Date: March 28, 2012.

[59] Wu-don Huang, *A History of The Development of Taiwanese Christian Churches in North America* (Los Angeles, CA: Taiwan Christian Church Council of North America, 1986), p. 17; John Dart, "Poll

Formosan Church (EFC), Chinese Christian Zion Church, and Chinese Gospel Business Men's Fellowship.

The development of Evangelical Formosan Church symbolized Taiwanese residential distribution in the Los Angeles ethnoburb in post-1960s period. As a self-developing ethnic worship organization, this church was launched by four Taiwan-born Christian youths, who joined the sermon meetings of pastor Hsing-chung Tsai in 1965 in Los Angeles Chinatown. They started to register their small-group meeting as the "First Evangelical Church" in 1966, and established its first Taiwanese-language-only religious sermon in 1970. In succeeding years, EFC characterized itself as an ethnic-based church for Taiwanese immigrants, and expanded aggressively by "planting" numerous chapters across the United States in the aftermath of 1980s. In 1982, EFC set up its first chapter, Evangelical Formosan Church of East Valley (EFCEV), in Covina, and in 1995, EFC had formed 32 chapters in the United States. This number rose to over one hundred in 2010 (including a dozen of ones locating outside the country) with approximately ten thousands members.[60] In 1989, EFC founded the "Logos Evangelical Seminary" to nurture its own preachers.

In concert with growth of inland-bound Taiwanese population, the east San Gabriel Valley became a key region the EFC paid attention to. Three chapters were established in this area since 1980s: the formation of EFCEV in Covina in 1982; the creation of EFC of Hacienda Heights (EFCHH), a re-planting result by EFCEV, in 1988; in 2000, EFCHH sent Rev. Livingstone Liu and a group of young voluntary workers to plant a Mandarin-speaking church in the Rowland Heights area— EFC of

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Studies Chinese Americans," *Los Angeles Times*, July 5, 1997; *Chinese Consumer Yellow Pages* (southern California): 2011.

[60] EFC staff, *Evangelical Formosan Church: 40th Anniversary Commemorative Volume (1970-2010)*, (Los Angeles, CA: Evangelical Formosan Church of Hacienda Heights, 2010), pp. 20-22。

Rowland Heights (EFCRH). Each of these three chapters constituted seventy to eighty percent Taiwanese, added to by a growing number of Mainland Chinese, as well as few other participants in recent years.[61]

Although three EFC in east San Gabriel Valley were marked by mainly-Taiwanese followers, their compositions ranged widely. More than sixty percent of people in EFCEV and EFCHH were first-generation Taiwanese with the age over 60, signified by their exclusive "Tai-yu tong" (Taiwanese language sermon). Their "Mandarin tongs," targeting second-generation and newly-migrated Chinese Mainlanders, were created in late 2000s. In comparison to its two counterparts formed earlier, EFCRH was the only chapter with more young attendants, partly because Rev. Livingstone Liu was originally responsible for the youth quarter in the EFC system. In 2000, half of this church's attendants were over 50 years old, and in 2011, its below-30-years-old people accounted for over 60%. Therefore, considering its changing composition, EFCRH was the only EFC church in east district with both English and Mandarin sermon congregation.[62] The Chinese Christian Zion Church was another example of an ethnic church nurtured by Chinese eastward migration and localized in the east district. This church was created by Mou-thon Goo, a first-generation Taiwanese immigrant, in Pasadena in 1983, and moved to Alhambra

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[61] During its early years, EFCEV was almost comprised by first Taiwanese, and in 2000, Taiwanese still accounted for over seventy-percent body of its 400 regular attendants; Similarly, about ninety-five percent of members of EFCHH were Taiwanese when it started in 1989, and, in 2008, only twenty-percent of its regular believers was non-Taiwanese; The constituency of EFCRH was also demonstrated Taiwanese-dominated situation, accounting for 95% regular attendants in its first decennium. See EFCHH staff, *Evangelical Formosan Church of Hacienda Heights: Twentieth Anniversary Commemorative Book* (Hacienda Heights, CA: Evangelical Formosan Church of Hacienda Heights, 2008), pp. 20-22; Interview with Rev. Chien-Kou Shieh, Date: October 5, 2011; Interview with Rev. Livingstone Liu, Date: August 6, 2011

[62] EFC staff, *Evangelical Formosan Church: 40th Anniversary Commemorative Volume (1970-2010)*, pp. 124-137; Interview with Rev. Livingstone Liu, Date: August 6, 2011; interview with Rev. Chien-Kou Shieh, Date: October 5, 2011

in 1988. In 1996, both the attraction of cheaper land and the growing demand of members in eastern suburbs made pastor Goo decide to resettle the church to Rowland Heights' Fullerton Road, where had congregated a host Asian American churches. Different from the EFC system identifying strongly with the Taiwanese-based community, the Chinese Christian Zion Church absorbed a broader membership of different Chinese subgroups since its establishment, leading it to become the largest Mandarin-speaking Chinese Christian congregation in the area. Its congregation numbers close to one thousand in 2012. From my personal observations at its Sunday meetings the church demonstrates a diverse membership: 50% of Taiwanese, 40% of Mainland Chinese, while the rest including of immigrants from other parts of Asia, as well as a dozens of European American participants.[63]

Comparing to former two self-evolved Chinese/Taiwanese Christian churches, the Chinese Gospel Business Men's Fellowship tended to be more of an Americanized religious group. This Chinese religious group was the chapter of Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI), an American Christian denomination established in 1952 by Demos Shakarianand. This FGBMFI currently has expanded into a large religious organization with nearly seven thousands chapters dispersing in 142 countries globally. The first Chinese Gospel Business Men's Fellowship in Southern California was present in Los Angeles in 1994, and continued to develop several units in the inland area, each with members from ten to fifty. This religious group was characterized by its style of male-only members, and lacked chapels and pastors. Its mission aimed to share their experiences of religion and life through regular lunch meetings. Since this religious group stressed the recruitment of business

[63] Interview with Bao-shu Yu, Date: August 7 and August 14, 2011; Christian Zion Church in Los Angeles, *Voice of Worship* (February, 2000).

people among different ethnic backgrounds, it built a more extensive network for Chinese professionals and entrepreneurs. As an attendant joining their meetings several times in April and May, 2012, I found that lunch-style convention gave an alternative for Chinese Christians who loved social congregation without the ritual constraint. This combination of religion and commerce was magnetic for some Chinese Christian businessmen who desired to expand their social networks to mainstream counterparts shared with both religious belief and business experiences.[64]

In functional aspects, all these types of Chinese/Taiwanese Christian churches, along with their counterparts in the east San Gabriel Valley, apparently not only instilled their ethnic people with religious faith, but also provided a sense of ethnic fellowship. As many scholars indicated, immigrant religious congregation is a social space teeming with ethnic solidarity, social belonging, and recreation. In an ethnic church, people shared ethnicity by gathering to speak their mother-tongue language, having their hometown foods, and celebrating their customs and folk holidays.[65] Almost every respondent in these three churches I interviewed told me that the church eased social isolation, bringing them group belonging and security. Moreover, a church's various social activities enriched their social lives. As one EFCRH attendant concluded: "While faith might be the main explicit purpose for some attendants to go the church, it would not be far fetched for me to say that socializing marked the highlight of these gatherings and activities."[66]

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[64] Interview with Felix Xu, secretary of Chinese Gospel Business Men's Fellowship, April 23, 2012; I ever attended their meetings in Hacienda Heights and Diamond Bars in May, 2012.

[65] Carolyn Chen, *Getting Saved in America: Taiwanese Immigration and Religious Experience* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 6-7; Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz, "Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregation," *Social Forces*, No. 78 (2002), pp. 585-612.

[66] Interview with Shu-li Lo, Date: January 9, 2012.

Apart from ethnic belonging, these Chinese churches were the vehicle to reconstruct members' identity with western concepts that was conducive to their Americanization and localization. Carolyn Chen's study of Taiwanese churches in southern California clearly showed that Taiwanese immigrants used religious institutions and practices to reconstruct their belonging, identity, and morality in a manner that made them more American in the process of evangelization. Their religious meetings, as well as the participation of joint sermon gatherings with other American churches, provided Chinese attendants alternative opportunities to interact with non-Chinese Christians that furthered their Americanization.[67] Many interviewees contacted in local Chinese churches, showed the common view that being Christianized, even in an ethnic church, was as a symbol to act, think, and being regarded as an American. As Jim Chu, the chairman of Chinese Gospel Business Men's Fellowship of Hacienda Heights, simply put: "You should become a Christian as soon as you arrived the United States. It's the fast way to become an American."[68]

Moreover, the wide array of formal and informal social services that these local ethnic churches offer also helped their members to build a sense of civic duty that facilitated their social and psychological adjustment to local community. For instance, in recent years, "Chinese Gospel Business Men's Fellowship in east district," worked together with "East San Gabriel Valley Coalition for the Homeless," to launch the charitable assistance for the homeless during February. The Chinese Christian Zion Church worked in collaboration with the local Chinese Christian Herald Crusades to develop social and medical assistance. The EFCs also engaged in this kind of social

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[67] Carolyn Chen, *Getting Saved in America: Taiwanese Immigration and Religious Experience*, pp. 155-156.
[68] Interview with Jim Chu, Date: May 8, 2012.

services promotion. The EFCRH routinely provided voluntary workers and funds for Blandford Elementary School, where it once held its religious meetings before purchasing the site in Farjardo Street in 2010. Its new church space was shared with local Korean and Mexican ministries, making regular collective congregation activities. In addition, from its establishment, EFCRH routinely launched a program called "Sending Love to Neighbors," that included setting up charitable booths in front of local Chinese supermarkets in every December to collect free food cans and clothes for the local homeless. Its annual concerts on Mother's Day, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas Eve were joined and supported by both its Taiwanese members and local American residents. Parallel to the efforts of the EFCRH, the EFCHH also maintained its voluntary services and membership recruitment in Wilson High School, where they used to congregate. Its college youth group regularly visited and assisted local orphanage and senior clinic, and worked as voluntary workers in local libraries. After 2008, EFCHH also utilized its members with medical training to launch free health clinic for the needy. In 2010, EFCHH joined a collective fundraising party, launched by seven Christian churches in Hacienda Heights, to assist local schools with the financial crisis. Its classes concerning dancing, flute, computer, painting, and *tai chi* were welcomed by its members and non-Chinese residents as well.[69] All these various social activities paved the way for the Chinese to interact with local police offices, libraries, clinics, religious and cultural institutions and a variety of social welfare associations beneficial to their incorporation to the local community.

[69] EFCHH staff, *Evangelical Formosan Church of Hacienda Heights: Tenth Anniversary Commemorative Book, 1988-1998* (Hacienda Heights, CA: Evangelical Formosan Church of Hacienda Heights, 1998), pp.54-55; EFCHH staff, *Evangelical Formosan Church of Hacienda Heights: Twentieth Anniversary Commemorative Book, 1998-2008* (Hacienda Heights, CA: Evangelical Formosan Church of Hacienda Heights, 2008), pp. 20-22; Interview with Rev. Chien-Kou Shieh, Date: October 5, 2011; Interview with Rev. Livingstone Liu, Date: August 6, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, May 1, 2010.

(C) Senior Clubs:

The senior clubs was also significant type of local Chinese civic organizations developing in the eastern San Gabriel Valley. The presence of this kind of Chinese organization was highly related with the growing local elder population accompanying Chinese family-migration to the area. According to the 2000 U.S. Census the Chinese/Taiwanese population over 65 in region was 4,200, with 1,300 in Rowland Heights, 1,440 in Hacienda Heights, 774 in Diamond Bar, and 665 in Walnut. One local senior club chairman also estimated that at least twenty thousand Chinese people with age over 55-year-old living in the region. The substantial existence of aged Chinese residents created ethnic-based senior associations; most of them were established in 1990s and early 2000s.

In general, the development of Chinese senior organizations in the Los Angeles ethnoburb can be encapsulated into four types: (a) the club that was constituted by seniors with specific dialect or locality group in their homelands, exemplified by the Taiwanese American Senior Association and the Elderly Indo-Chinese Association; (b) the senior clubs belonged to respective Chinese *hua shai*, the cases shown by the Diamond Bar Chinese Senior Club; (c) the type formed by people of specific senior apartments, signified by the clubs formed by people in “Royal Park Apartment” in the Hacienda Heights and “Victoria Heights” in the Rowland Heights; (d) The senior clubs registered in local community centers of specific towns with members of different ethnic backgrounds. The last type was the most common pattern prevalent in the east San Gabriel Valley. The Golden Age Association, Rowland Heights Evergreen

Seniors Association (RHESA), and Take it Easy Club (Hacienda Heights) represented the examples.

The Golden Age Association was established in March 2000 with Taiwanese-majority members of ages over 55. It was a registered club in Rowland Heights' Pathfinder Community Center. Since its founder, Tin-quan Lin was a retired Taiwanese veteran, this club had a close relationship with Taiwan's veteran club, "Glory *Huai of Los Angeles*," which constituted most of its participants in 2000. In the next decade, this association grew rapidly with over one thousand registered members in 2012: currently including 10% non-Chinese members and about one-third Mainland Chinese members, with the rest Taiwanese elders.[70] Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association was another club based in the Pathfinder Community Center. This club, established in 2007, was a fraction that separated from Golden Age Association and included a membership of nearly 130; 50% Taiwanese, 30% newly-arrived Chinese Mainlanders, and the rest made up of Asians from different countries. The Take it Easy Club was a relatively small senior organization with about 50 regular members. They meet in Hacienda Heights' Schabarum Regional Park's community center, where they regularly gathered for various activities. Generally speaking, members of these three Chinese senior associations, along with neighboring Chinese elderly clubs, were usually characterized by high mobility. Many Chinese elders often joined multiple senior clubs to make his/her weekly schedule occupied.[71]

[70] Interview with Tin-quan Lin, Date: January 9, 2012.

[71] Interview with James Hu, Date: April 9, 2012; Interview with Lisa Wu, founder of The Take it Easy Club, Date: June 15, 2012.

Considering majority of Chinese elders were foreign-born immigrants who endured strict socioeconomic barriers and more isolated socialization, all these three senior clubs, together with other Chinese elder associations, created strong ethnic bond. Their regular gatherings with various activities, including Mahjong games, dancing, karaoke, birthday parties, and group tours, gave lonely Chinese elders the social space to get along with people of their ages. Golden Age Association member Celicia Huang, addressed her feelings: "To me, the Golden Age Association is like the home where I gain familial warmth from people of my age. In this space, we speak same language, dance and sing together, and share matters of our children and grandchildren."[72] Yo-wei Hu, the member of Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association, also expressed similar sentiment: "It will be difficult for a seventy years old man as me to find a suitable organization to join besides the Chinese senior club. In this kind of association, we both easily made friends with compatriots sharing common history, and enriched our after-retirement lives with a variety of programs."[73]

The belonging fellowship that senior clubs brewed acted as a magnet to retain strong in-group attachments. Since that Chinese senior clubs usually resided and held activities in local community centers, they congregated with many American public, social, and recreational clubs. Some Chinese elderly associations were thereby embodied with opportunities to build interracial relationships with people sharing same physical space. For instance, many members of the "Take it Easy Club" were voluntary workers for weekly lunch-meetings, welcomed by senior locals of different races, in Schabarum community center. These Japanese, Korean, and European people who shared meals with Chinese also attended and supported dancing party or other

[72] Interview with Celicia Huang, Date: January 9, 2012.
[73] Interview with Yo-wei Hu, Date: April 9, 2012.

activities of “Take it Easy Club.” Similar occurrences took place in the Golden Age Association and Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association, both were well communicative with other ethnic groups through diverse activities in the Pathfinder Community Center.

In addition, locating in local centers sometimes also created a niche for Chinese seniors to be further involved in local community affairs. For instance, weekly congregations in the Pathfinder Community Center made Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association maintain a close relationship with local Rowland Heights Community Coordinate Council (RHCCC), a pseudo-governing resident association holding monthly meeting in Pathfinder Community Center. Chinese elders of the Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association were thereby invited as regular attendants for its monthly panel, and Chinese representatives, such as Charles Liu, who headed the Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association in 2009, was even elected as the vice president of the RHCCC in 2010. This friendship with the local resident organizations allowed the Rowland Heights Chinese senior clubs to be involved in many community matters, exemplified by their collaborative efforts with the RHCCC to propose a new community center project in the aftermath of 2006: helping to collect supporting signatures; working with Rowland Heights Chinese Association in 2010 to do the survey for the project; and mobilizing supporters to attend related public hearings. All these contributed to a final approval in 2011 by the County’s Board Supervisors to provide $18 million dollars funding for a new community center locating in the intersection of Pathfinder Road and Fullerton Road. This 3.3-acre construction plan, which was basically designed for the elderly population, will include a 15,000-square-foot center, tennis courts and parking. As

James Hu noted: "It was a valuable experience for local Chinese seniors to work with RHCCC and other local organizations for the new community center. This involvement helped us to cultivate the civic duty for where we lived and showed the determination of local Chinese for the welfare of local community."[74]

(D) Chinese Lions Clubs:

The booming presence of local lions clubs demonstrated the development of American-style Chinese social associations in east district. In general, a lions club is a common service organization that is recognized internationally. Hong Kong and Taiwan, two important exporting sources of post-1960s Chinese immigration, both established their first chapter of lions club established in 1955 and 1958, respectively.[75] Many Chinese/Taiwanese were organized or involved in certain lions clubs during their pre-immigration period. After they moved to the United States, the lions club naturally became the most familiar American service organizations they preferred to join, and many Chinese, based on their experiences in homelands, also created Chinese-only lions clubs in the ethnoburb of San Gabriel Valley. Among them, the creation of the Little Taipei Lions Club in Monterey Park in early 1980s was the pioneer. Afterwards, there were 12 Chinese lions clubs in "4-L2 District," which roughly covered San Gabriel Valley, established in 1990s. In east district, four Chinese lions clubs were essentially formed in the 2000s: Hacienda Heights Royal

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[74] Interview with Charles Liu, Date: April 25, 2012; Interview with James Hu, Date: April 9, 2012; James Wagner, "Hacienda and Rowland Heights Communities Celebrate Park Plans," *Whittier Daily News*, August 9, 2009; Juliette Funes, "Residents Discuss Survey on Mew Rowland Heights Community Center," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, September 28, 2010; Juliette Funes, "County Moves Forward With Proposed Community Centers in Rowland Heights and South Whittier," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, April 2, 2011.

[75] "The website of Lions Clubs International: http://www.lionsclubs.org/.

Lions Club in 2005; Rowland Heights Lions Club in 2005; City of Industry Royal Lions Club in 2007; West Covina Diamond Lions Club in 2009. Each of these four Chinese lions clubs had 30 to 50 members, most of them are professionals who were attorneys, accountants, architectures, realtors, business owners to retirees between the ages of 40 and 60.

As the local branches of American service organization, most activities of the Chinese lions clubs were usually sponsored in the tradition of Lions Club International, focusing on voluntary works for the blind. The convention originated from Helen Keller's speech at the its International Convention in 1925 that inspired lions' members to be the "Knights of the Blind." Every year around October 15, the International White Cane Day, local Chinese lions clubs would launch joint activities in regard with the sight protection, including collection of used glasses to the aged, free sight inspection and medical care for eyes, funds for training guide dogs, as well as visitation of ill-sighted patients, particularly those plagued by diabetes and cancers.[76] In addition to collective activities with other lions' fellows, almost every individual Chinese lions club in the east district marked by its own charitable and service programs, usually collaborated with local Chinese and non-Chinese organizations. For example, the City of Industry Royal Lions Club routinely launched youth speech contest for neighboring high school students since 2007, and collected recycling and reuse of household appliances during December to local senior centers and children's homes. Hacienda Heights Dynasty Chinese Lions Club was another example. In 2006, it worked together with the Golden Age Association and Diamond Bar Chinese Senior Club to hold glasses-donation booths in spots of local Chinese

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[76] *Chinese Daily News*, October 22, 2009; *International Daily News*, June 14, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, June 12, 2012; Interview with Bryan Lee and Osman Wei, Date: March 28, 2012.

outlets, and collected close to three thousands glasses distributing to local senior clinics and apartments. In 2009, this club, along with STC Management and other local lions clubs, funded the "Sunshine Day Program," a local social organization devoted to help developmentally disabled adults to acquire self-help. In 2010, it also worked together with the West San Gabriel Valley Boys & Girls Club to hold a fundraising party for local Chinese and non-Chinese teenagers in need.[77]

Overall, the development of different localized ethnic associations reflected the substantial Chinese community in the east San Gabriel Valley, requiring different patterns of ethnic cohesion that regional Chinese service organizations failed to achieve. Moreover, localization of ethnic organizations both retained strong in-group attachments, while built access, through diverse social service involvement, to motivate Chinese to participate in community affairs. Especially for younger generation Chinese, who had no concrete relations and backgrounds to the regional Chinese social networks, this ethnically local system provided additional access for them to be involved both with their ethnic peers and senior fellows. This bridging function that Chinese localized associations intermediated reinforced more participation from American-born Chinese in local Chinese Associations, Chinese PTAs, ethnic churches. Lions clubs, and continued to function profoundly in the mobilization of Chinese civic and political activities.

In addition, the development of various Chinese ethnic organizations in the Los Angeles ethnoburb demonstrated a duality of social networks for eastward Chinese.

[77] Hacienda Heights Dynasty Lions Club, *The Yearbook: 2006-2007*, pp. 11-12; Hacienda Heights Dynasty Lions Club, *The Yearbook: 2009-2010*, pp. 1-9; *Chinese Daily News*, April 10, 2009; *Chinese Daily News*, June 10, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, December 13, 2011; Interview with Bryan Lee and Osman Wei, Date: March 28, 2012.

Depending upon regional ethnic organizations, interlinked with transnational umbilical cords, it was instrumental as the base of ethnic coalition and familial ties. The localization of the Chinese social infrastructure became more significant trend in conjunction with the gradual Americanization and suburbanization in the Chinese community of inland suburbs. This was proved by the fact that the evolution of several east-district Chinese Associations and other local Chinese clubs were highly associated with Chinese growing community awareness and civic activities in the next decades.

Chapter V
The Chinese Incorporation to the Local Community

Chinese residential dispersion, along with their rapid development of ethnic businesses and social organizations, laid the cornerstone of the prosperous Chinese community in the eastern San Gabriel Valley. However, the substantial Chinese presence also generated a profound impact upon local community where the established ethnic groups and Chinese newcomers strove to interact to one another. Capitalizing on their ethnic voluntary organizations as the channel to local civic activities, the Chinese gradually showed more concerns with interethnic relations, civic duties and the general well-being of the large, ethnically diverse community as a whole. They aggressively implemented their social and cultural agenda and integrated it into the pluralism of local society.

A. Interethnic Relationship and Accommodation:

When the Chinese were moving into Hacienda Heights in late 1980s, interracial relationships tended to be a major sticking point for Chinese and other local ethnic groups. Like their counterparts in the western San Gabriel Valley, eastward Chinese and other Asian immigrants greatly altered the formerly typical suburban bedroom community. They changed the residential landscape of single family houses towards high density multifamily dwellings, and "aliened" local economic activities with the inpouring of enormously diverse Chinese/Asian businesses. This transformation inevitably bred tension among some rooted locals who recognized the Chinese/Asians

as an “invading force” to their homes.[1] Hilary Chang, the secretary of EFCHH living in Hacienda Heights 1980s, expressed how her American friends complained about the displacement of Albertson and Vons in early 1990s by the Chinese supermarkets in the crossroad of Hacienda Boulevard and Azusa Boulevard.[2] Phil Williams, a Hacienda Heights’ local businessman, conveyed his discontent about the Asianized environment around his neighborhood: “something disturbing me is the no-English signs. It looks like these Chinese or Asians will bring where they came from over here and transplant it, rather than adapt to our towns;”[3] Carl Allen Schoner, a thirty-year Diamond Bar resident, also felt displeased by crowds of Chinese/Asian in his hometown, and remarked: “To my astonishment and utter disbelief, my suburbia had been invaded by (Asian) Samurai.”[4] All these complaints from locals were articulating the unfamiliarity in their initial contact and impressions for Chinese newcomers.

However, in comparison to serious ethnic turmoil in Monterey Park in 1980s, people of Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights, as well as other parts of east district, showed less hostile actions against their new neighbors. This treatment

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[1] The various realization of living circle, rooted in different cultural traditions, was also responsible for the conflict between Chinese and non-Chinese. According to Jimmy Liao, who worked in the Los Angeles County Regional Planning Department, normal Americans tends to live and shop in a circle centering in their homes within a radius of 5 to 8 miles. This thought reflected in the phenomenon of development of dispersed small plazas serving neighboring residents. However, Chinese apparently showed a larger living circle, based on their pre-immigration living experiences, which will extend widely their shopping, entertaining, and normally social activities far beyond where they resided. Therefore, once one Chinese supermarket or related social or religious organizations are formed in one town, its attraction for Chinese is far beyond the neighborhood, bringing extraordinary flow of Chinese. This phenomenon was able to be testified by the establishment of Ranch 99 Market in Nogales Road, Rowland Heights, in 1988, which attracted Chinese people far from Counties of San Bernardino, Riverside, and Orange, instantly handicapped the local traffic. Therefore, this different notion concerning living circle made American suburbanites feel at odds with Chinese businesses and firms. Interview with Jimmy Liao, Date: April 24, 2012.

[2] Interview with Hillary Chang, Date: October 5, 2011.

[3] Interview with Phil Williams, Date: October 5, 2011.

[4] Carl Allen Schoner, *Suburban Samurai: The Asian Invasion of the San Gabriel Valley* (Diamond Bar, CA: CAS Associates, 2006), p. 5.

toward Chinese/Asian migrants is attributed to several reasons. First, no/slow-growth activities in east district did not agglomerate stronger momentum as those in contemporary west and north San Gabriel Valley. Whereas residents in Monterey Park, South Pasadena, Alhambra, Rosemead, Pasadena and San Marino yielded anti-immigration initiatives and forced their city governments to develop restrictions on the construction of multiunit apartment buildings and large developing plans during the period of 1980s to 1990s, in east district only Diamond Bar ever witnessed similar growth-control combat in their drive towards cityhood in 1989. The battle was more concerned about revenue, rather than immigration issues. Rowland Heights, underwent the most intense regional growth, only a minor confrontation ever took place in late 1980s to mid-1990s, launched by residents on foothill side of south 60 Freeway against fast development of dense residential projects in their neighborhoods. Most of these resistant locals, instead of blaming Chinese homebuyers as the scapegoat, mainly targeted large American developers (such as Shea Homes), which they thought responsible for regionally increasing growth and exploitations.[5]

Chinese demography in eastern San Gabriel Valley also reduced the worry from locals. In 1990, Chinese only accounted for nearly one-tenth of total populations in four towns of east district, overwhelmingly outnumbered by European and Latino locals. In 2000, after an explosive influx of eastward migration, Chinese in Hacienda

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[5] Steven R. Churm, "Hill Dwellers Fear Loss of Paradise If Project Passes," *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 1986; Edmund Newton, "After Years of Unchecked Growth: Developers Encounter New Opposition," *Los Angeles Times*, March 19, 1987; Steven R. Churm, "Houses-for-Road Deal Debated for its Effect on Hills," *Los Angeles Times*, March 29, 1987; Jeffery Miller, "Seek to Control Growth: Diamond Bar Voters Take Another Look at Cityhood," *Los Angeles Times*, December 13, 1987; Jeffery Miller, "Details Divide Incorporation Supporters," *Los Angeles Times*, July 10, 1988; Jeffery Miller, "Diamond Bar Cityhood Drive Draws Opposition," *Los Angeles Times*, January 26, 1989; Irene Chang, "Diamond Bar Incorporated a Year Ago: A Bedroom Community Adjusts to Being a City," *Los Angeles Times*, April 15, 1990; Kevin Uhrich, "Diamond Bar's Loss of Luster: The 5-Year-Old City Is Beset by Lawsuits, Recall Attempts and Other Squabbling," *Los Angeles Times*, August 11, 1994.

Heights, Diamond Bar, and Walnut simply made up 20 to 30 percent of population in these three towns, while in Rowland Heights, the highest percentage of Chinese residents in the region, they also did not exceed one-third of its total population (See Table 5-1) The medium-size Chinese population in comparison with other local ethnic groups, to a certain extent, eased locals' anxiety that Chinese would demographically take over their hometowns. Chinese socioeconomic characteristics, to a varying degree, quelled fears of original residents as well. Their middle class status, as indicated by fluent English ability, higher medium household income, educational attainment, homeownership rate and employment in mainstream markets, demonstrated that they had proceeded to a mature immigration stage unusual to typical American suburbanites. As local Chinese elected official, Cary Chen, observed:

> Eastward Chinese were characterized by their conformity to the American and suburban lifestyles. They worked in the mainstream companies; they went to churches, and participated in civic service as their American neighbors. This feature shortened their adaption period to the local community and made them easier to be accepted by local people.[6]

Furthermore, many eastward Chinese had ever been through serious interracial conflict in Monterey Park and other cities of the western San Gabriel Valley, leading them to be more communicative and sensitive in a community of diverse ethnicities. All these contributed to a relatively advantageous base for the establishment of a good

[6] Interview with Cary Chen, Date: April 1, 2011.

relationship between the Chinese and the locals from different ethnic backgrounds. Nevertheless, as a great number of Chinese immigrants continued to settle and develop their ethnic residential neighborhoods and business districts, the hidden racial tension and unstable intergroup relations sometimes surfaced, especially when it was motivated by controversial issues, such as cultural or religious ones, which were considerably different from the norms and cultural behaviors of established residents. This was exemplified by several cases in the last three decades targeting Chinese/Asians in the communities of east San Gabriel Valley, particularly those in Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights, whose unincorporated status left more room for local Chinese to use zoning regulations to enhance their religious and cultural facilities and activities. The disputes surrounding Hsi Lai Temple, the California Yuan Yung Buddhist Temple and the Confucius Classroom illustrated how some locals reacted, with nativism sentiment and racial misunderstanding. It also showed how interethnic relationship was gradually improved through mutual communication and realization.

Table 5-1 The Ethnicity in four areas of East San Gabriel Valley, 1990-2010

	1990				2000				2010			
	CA (%)	AS (%)	EA (%)	LA (%)	CA (%)	AS (%)	EA (%)	LA (%)	CA (%)	AS (%)	EA (%)	LA (%)
Hacienda Heights	15.0	27.1	39.2	31.1	26.0	36.1	41.0	38.3	24.6	37.1	40.5	45.5
Rowland Heights	11.1	23.0	41.2	29.0	32.0	50.0	16.7	28.3	36.2	59.8	23.5	27.0
Diamond Bar	8.0	24.8	63.8	16.5	20.0	42.8	41.1	18.5	21.4	52.5	33.2	20.1
Walnut	13.0	17.1	48.1	23.0	31.0	55.75	28.4	19.3	49.1	63.6	23.7	19.1

CA: Chinese American; EA: European American; LA: Latino American; AS: Asian
Source: U.S. Census of 1990, 2000, and 2010.

(A)The Hsi Lai Temple Dispute and Repercussion:

In general, transplantation of traditional culture and religions to the host country is fairly prevalent for immigrants, with the intention to maintain ethnic inheritance and identity. However, the cultural transmission to the new territory often accompanied profound challenges for locals. In American history, the introduction of non-WASP religion and cultural ceremonies tended to be unwelcomed by mainstream society, leading to structural discrimination and conventions against the newcomers. Hence, even as a Christian denomination, the plan of Evangelical Formosan Church of Hacienda Heights built its local chapel in 1995, it caused serious confrontation in the neighborhood. Many local residents showed opposition in several public hearings, worrying that the formation of this church would attract crowds of minority people to their neighborhoods. Fortunately, the established congregation at Wilson High School had built confidence with certain local influential individuals, and, through them, successfully convinced neighboring residents to drop opposition.[7] Similar to the EFCHH case, in 1992, the proposal for the Chinese Christian Zion Church in Rowland Heights also evoked critical resentment from nearby residents, who were disgusted with the inundation of minority religious chapels gathering at Fullerton Road and adjacent areas. This quarrel, depended on the assistance of Rowland Heights *hua shai* to negotiate with local residents, had eventually developed compromises to gain the approval for construction at the cost of lowering the heights of the chapel building and donating funds for local traffic improvement.[8] In so doing,

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[7] EFC staff, *Evangelical Formosan Church: 30th Anniversary Commemorative Volume*, pp.192-193; Interview with Rev. Chien-Kou Shieh, Date: October 5, 2011; Interview with Hillary Chang, Date: October 5, 2011.

[8] Since its establishment in Fullerton Road, Rowland Heights, Chinese Christian Zion Church had longstanding tensions with locals, partly because of its staunch attitude to respond to the complains

when the Taiwanese *Fo Kuang Shan* Buddhist Society, a foreign religious organization without community connection, first proposed in 1978 for the project of the Hsi Lai Temple (its name means "coming to the West"), the largest Buddhist monastery and temple complex in the Western Hemisphere, the resistance from the community was expected. According to Anthony Yang, one of three architects designing the temple complex, six major hearings on zoning for the proposed temple's 14-acre site were held, and over one hundred small meetings with hostile community groups were convened before Los Angeles County's Board of Supervisors eventually issued a construction permit in 1986, on the condition of scaling down the original seven-story pagoda to a two-story one and reducing the golden statue of Buddha to 80 feet.[9] In this 8-year negotiating process, the dissenters from the community, composed of mainly conservative and affluent European Americans, expressed a wide range of concerns and fears: nearby homeowners doubted the temple's qualification as a "planned church," charging that it would be "oversized for a neighborhood of single-family homes, and jam surrounding streets with traffic;" some doubted that the lager-sized construction would cause the hillside grading and adverse environmental

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of locals concerning the noise and traffic problems plaguing neighborhoods. It also arbitrarily annexed private path for the church use. Therefore, when the church planned to expand the chapel in 2001, it met serious resistance from nearby residents, including many former Chinese supporters (such as Judy Chen Haggerty), forcing it downscale the expansion project. Michelle Rester, "Churches, Neighborhoods at odds; Rules on Zoning Create Conflicts in Residential, Business Areas," *Pasadena Star News*, November 11, 2001; Interview with Judy Chen Haggerty, Date: May 3, 2012.

[9] The Temple's shrine is a scale-down version of the sect's main site in Taiwan, down to the 10,000 interlocking ceramic tiles covering the roofs of the campus building. All the cost of the complex reached to $ 15 million, including a museum, a library, private apartments, an United Nation-style conference hall with language translation facilities and nearly 11,000 statues of Buddha. See Scott Fagerstrom, "Huge New Temple Symbolizes Influx of Buddhists to Southern California," *Orange County Register*, July 17, 1988; Louis Torres, "Largest North American Buddhist Temple Near Completion in L.A. Suburb," *Associated Press*, July 10, 1988; Edmund Newton, "East Settling into West: Buddhists Near End of Battles over Temple," *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1988. Edmund Newton, "Architect of a Dream: Designer's All-Consuming Project Nears an End as Buddhist Temple Rises in the Hills," *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1988; Edmund Newton, "Plodding' Architect Triumphs with Temple," *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 1988.

impacts.[10] **R**esidents demonstrated prejudiced impressions that the nuns and monks would startle neighbors with pre-dawn gongs, loud chanting, and firecrackers. Others were concerned the "adverse influence" on the youth resulting from the unfamiliar clothing of Buddhist monks and nuns.[11]

Apparently, the uneasiness of locals, and the blocking the creation of Hsi Lai Temple developed partly from a distrust of Chinese/Asian, and the change they were bringing. Alta Fuller, a longtime resident, expressed: "We moved here 10 years ago because it was kind of like country. I thought it was terrible to build this thing (Temple) in a residential area and bring all these kinds of people here that we are not used to…There have been a lot of changes here. A lot of foreigners have bought homes up in the hills. There is so many of them that they have begun to claim it as 'Slant Hill;" Gene Smith, another long established resident, was in accord with Fuller: "Before the influx it was a good community. You could do a little business in town, and people were friendlier. We've become a concrete jungle with condos and town houses and unbelievable traffic." His wife Bonnie Smith added, "I was raised to feel that everyone is created equal. It bothers me, the dislike I have in my heart for these people. I've tried to deal with it, but I just can't. I guess I hurt too much." The observance of Rev. Paul Louie, a retired local Presbyterian minister, confirmed the point: "There was suspicion about the temple but also resistance due to the fact that lots of Asians were moving into the neighborhood." This kind of prejudice against the Temple was elevated and exacerbated with the growing number of Chinese flowing

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[10] Irene Chang, "Temple Achieves Measure of Peace in Hacienda Heights," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1990.

[11] Irene Chang, "Temple Achieves Measure of Peace in Hacienda Heights," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1990; Zhiying Fu, *Handing Down the Light: The Biography of Venerable Master Hsing Yun* (Taipei, Taiwan: The Book Zone, 1995), p. 252.

into the region. In 1989, one year after the completion of the Temple, one nun, Yi-sheng, noted that she still felt hostile eye-contact and treatment when she shopped in the local Vons.[12]

In addition to the distrust toward newcomers, the opposition against the Hsi Lai Temple was embedded with racial prejudice and cultural misinterpretations that farther distanced established residents and the new Chinese town people. For example, some residents claimed that Buddhists would practice animal sacrifice and that it diminished the values of their properties and polluted the environment. It was an apparent misconception of Buddhism which strongly forbids killing animals.[13] Other rumors were also erroneously spread: the neighborhood dogs would become victimized because "Chinese all eat dog meat;"[14] the temple would seek to entrap children to conduct certain cult ceremony; or as Rev. Paul Louie reported, "some residents thought it would be some kind of religious cult, some kind of Hare Krishna thing with people chanting and parading through the streets with tambourines." This misunderstanding of Chinese/Asian culture and religions made some local Chinese feel that activities against the Temple were racialism related. As one anonymous Chinese who visited the Temple in the1980s expressed, "I think it would be peaceful and no-fight if it was a project in terms of European Christian church….They just thought our Buddhism and Oriental culture is the devil."[15]

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[12] Melissa Balmain Weiner, "Temple Leaves Some Neighbors Unhappy," *Orange County Register*, June 11, 1989.

[13] Melissa Balmain Weiner, "Temple Leaves Some Neighbors Unhappy," *Orange County Register*, June 11, 1989.

[14] Zhiying Fu, *Handing Down the Light: The Biography of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, p. 254; *Los Angeles Times* (10 Jan., 1988).

[15] Luis Torres, "Largest North American Buddhist Temple Near Completion in LA Suburb," *Associated Press*, July 10, 1988.

However, this sense of mutual distrust steadily cooled down when the Hsi Lai Temple made an effort to communicate with locals and gradually built confidence in the community in the subsequent years. They did this by a series of friendly activities: Proposing an alternative plan to improve traffic. In 1989, during the first Chinese New Year after the temple's completion, there were 2,000 visitors descending on the temple, raising complaints from residents and it received a warning from Pete Schabarum, the County's Supervisor, that the large crowd violated a conditional use permit. After that, the Temple showed intense concern to resolve this traffic problem. Through close cooperation with local police force, the Temple both provided transfer buses in neighboring shopping plazas, and voluntary workers to guide the massive vehicles, trying their best to lessen the local traffic in days of particular Chinese congregations;[16] A variety of charitable and social relief projects were regularly practiced as well. Since its establishment, the Temple had formed a "local-care committee," regularly visiting and offering food and funds for seniors citizens in San Gabriel Hospital. Its monthly mobile-kitchen program prepared free food and garments for the homeless. Besides, the Temple also devoted itself, with donations and volunteers, to the assistance of large disasters taking place in the United States, including the Northridge earthquake in 1994, September 11 Attacks in 2001, Katrina hurricane in 2005, and etc;[17] The Temple had annual cultural exchange program, "Neighbor-favor," granting residents, teachers, students, and local officials guided

[16] Irene Chang, "Temple Achieves Measure of Peace in Hacienda Heights," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1990.

[17] Miao Yi, "The localization of Buddhism in the case of Hsi Lai Temple," *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal* (Taiwan), No. 24 (November, 2004), p. 13; Robert A. Jones, "Buddha's Lunch," *Los Angeles Times*, February 19, 1997.

trips with a free lunch;[18] The Temple also provided its space for the community services: such as serving as polling station,[19] and voluntary services were offered by the Temple to the locals. According to the Temple statistics, in 2004, 35,000 volunteers with 300,000 hours were given to local public services, including translators in public libraries, workers for the needy, and others. The Temple also heartily participated and funded Hacienda Heights' July-4th parade since 1992; The Temple also played a central role in cultural introduction. For example, the Buddha's Light Hsi Lai School and the University of the West were founded in 1989 and 1992, respectively. The formation of the Hsi Lai Temple Chorus and Buddha's Light Youth Symphony Orchestra further got the temple involved into the local community activities by providing interactive performances and concerts.[20] All these friendly overtures to the community service gradually altered the locals' impressions, making them appreciate the value the Temple, and to accept it as an integral part of their community. John Healy, who was among residents to block the erection of temple project in 1980s, addressed in 1993 that he had learned to live with the temple and its members. Jeffrey Yann, who served as the president of the Hacienda Heights Improvement Association, also agreed with Healy: "At one time, a majority of the board opposed the temple. I think now it is regarded as a positive influence on the community." He also observed in 1996:

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[18] Karen Rubin, "Temple Event Offers Reflection, New Beginning," *Whittier Daily News*, January 9, 2005.

[19] *Chinese Today* (Los Angeles). June 14, 2011.

[20] Miao Yi, "The localization of Buddhism in the case of Hsi Lai Temple," pp.19-23; Yung-lin Ni edited, *Buddha Light Newsletter* (Los Angeles version), 2006, p.23; Irene Chang, "State Gives Temple License to Confer College Degrees," July 26, 1990;Irene Chang, "Temple Achieves Measure of Peace in Hacienda Heights," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1990;

> The Temple members joined with locals to oppose expansion of a huge landfill nearby and to fight the opening of adult book stores in the neighboring city of Industry….they (temple people) managed to establish a relationship with the community. They showed a great interest in the environment and other issues, and we were able to work with the people at the temple.

Bud Welch, president of the local Kiwanis Club, originally opposed the temple project, also started to consider the Temple as "an enhancement" of Hacienda Heights: "I think it's a very attractive structure…It was nice how, after it was all done, they invited everyone in the community to come and sit down and get to know them." Ken Manning, a local activist and board member of the Hacienda La Puente Unified School District, also confirmed the temple's effort to promote Hacienda Heights: "The Temple has really bent over backward to be good neighbors, and I think most people have realized that they want to be a part of our community. People have realized that there's nothing to be afraid of." This effort to build friendship with local community, to a certain extent, reduced the resentment against the Temple and Chinese newcomers.[21]

Simply speaking, the case of Hsi Lai Temple revealed the difficulty and incompatibility of transplanting a foreign immigration religious institution into the suburban community of diverse ethnicities, particularly when fledging eastward

[21] Philip P. Pan, "Good Neighbor: Hemisphere's Largest Buddhist Temple Wins Over Residents," *Los Angeles Times*, August 8, 1993; Philip P. Pan, "Temple Finding Acceptance in Neighborhood: the largest in the Western Hemisphere has proved to be a good neighbor in a once-hostile community," *Los Angeles Times*, July 29, 1993; William Caliborne, "Site of Tranquility in Cash Controversy; Founder of Buddhist a Millionaire Monk," *Washington Post*, October 18, 1996.

Chinese still lacked community base for communication. However, the conflicting process and following mutual acknowledgement of cooperation between the Temple and local residents also implied how the immigration cultural and religious institution, instead of retarding ethnic immigrants from incorporation, could accommodate and serve as the base to promote both the local community and local Chinese.

(B) The Event of California Yuan Yung Buddhist Temple:

The formation of California Yuan Yung Buddhist Temple and Retreat Center in Rowland Heights reflected another example of racial reconciliation in the community of east San Gabriel Valley. This Temple was established in 1990 by Taiwanese Grand Monk, Tien Chi. It was first congregated in an a small building, rebuilt by an old Christian church in the Olympic Boulevard, Montebello, and formally registered in the name of Yuan Yung, in memory of Tien Chi's master, on January 1991. In the subsequent years, this Buddhist organization moved eastward and purchased land formerly occupied by a European church in Rowland Heights with more space for its 700 followers, half of them were local inhabitants. In 1998, it submitted an application to the Los Angeles County to build a new 8-acre worship lot at Fullerton Road and Pathfinder Road, with 15 buildings and permanent housing for 26 nuns and rooms for 58 visitors for quarterly retreats. This proposal was stalled until 2004, the year that a local six-year moratorium on church-building was lifted.[22]

From July 2004 to April 2005, several public hearings were held by the County's Regional Planning Commission with regard to the temple's construction proposal. Each of these hearings was crowded with hundreds of Rowland Heights residents,

[22] Ivy Dai, "Vote Delayed on Building of Temple in Area," *Whittier Daily News*, July 15, 2004.

heatedly contested by both sides. The proponents included the temple's faith-followers, sympathetic Chinese, and few local activists who promoted religious freedom. At the inception, this pro-Temple group was relatively weak-voiced, but grew in strength when the temple workers devoted to grassroots persuasion, exercising door-to-door visitation and education. After a report, conducted by the Los Angeles County on September 16, 2004, reported that the temple would not seriously impact local traffic, they gained more backers in the local community. They collected nearly 7,500 supporting signatures in the following months. The opponents were essentially composed by nearby residents with different ethnic backgrounds. They claimed several significant reasons against the temple from the standpoint of protection of their living qualities: the temple did not fit in the zoning designed for a mix of residences; since it was a tourist attraction it would create traffic congestion and safety nightmare; its only entrance and exit would send drivers onto the blind spot of a steep and fast moving Fullerton Road; its oversize planned structure (about half the size of Hsi Lai Temple), including a 50-foot tall main chapel, would ruin their environment and violate their privacy; The mediation hall and four dormitory buildings (many locals regarded it as a hotel because it would have allowed for up to 58 overnight guests), was inappropriate for a bucolic community. All these complaints were encapsulated by the remark of one local protester, Jeffrey Chang: "It's not about the religion, it's about the traffic and dangers it will bring." [23]

[23] Ivy Dai, "Temple May Get New Home Locally," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, July 13, 2004; Dai, "Residents Outraged by Temple Proposal," August 7, 2004, *Pasadena Star News*, August 7, 2004; Michelle Rester, "Opponents of Buddhist Temple in Rowland Heights Ask for Support," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, September 23, 2004; Juliette Funes, "Construction of Controversial Rowland Heights Buddhist Temple Underway," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 6, 2011.

However, for most European homeowners resistance concealed the longstanding anxiety for the loss of their religious space. In the 1990s, many local European churches were forced to relocate to further inland due to the declining membership. In the meantime, a flurry of Chinese, Korean, and other Asian churches soon filled the void. Witnessing the undermining of European religious base, many locals felt that Rowland Heights become the new capital of Asian churches, and the Fullerton Road, where most minority churches congregated, was nicknamed by disgruntled locals as "Boulevard of Churches."[24] The proliferation of Chinese/Asian churches made local Anglos to initiate an effort in late 1990s to request the Los Angeles County's Board of Supervisors to commence a moratorium on the creation of new worship houses.

The moratorium quickly stirred up local Chinese/Asians Christians to fight back. They utilized the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act, a federal law passed in 2000 to offer religious institutions a way to avoid zoning law restrictions on their property use. In the aftermath of 2004, they successfully averted the decision of the Board of Supervisors, disabling the extension of the moratorium. It brought more niches for formation of minority sanctuaries. However, this dispute centering in local Chinese/Asian churches was still unsolved, and became instantly aggravated when Redeemer Lutheran Church, a 43-year-established European church,

[24] There were close to 20 Chinese/Asian churches, with physical buildings, established in 1990s and 2000s in Fullerton Road or nearby blocks: Chinese Christian Zion Church; Rowland Heights Community Christian Church; Living Word Christian Church; Evangelical Formosan Church of Rowland Heights; Suzuki Fujiko Church, Rowland Heights Korean Foursquare Church; Rowland Heights Korean Baptist Church; Jehovah Witnesses Church; Korean Good Shepherd Presbyterian Church; St. Mary's Korean Catholic Church; Eun-Sung Presbyterian Church; Chinese Christian Herald Crusades; Christian Assembly of San Gabriel Valley (recently moved to Pomona); Chinese Holiness Church of Southern California; Chinese Mission Church; Chinese Bread of Life Christian Church; Eun-Sung Presbyterian Church; Chinese Methodist Church; Hillside Community Church of the Nazarene.

was replaced by a Korean chapel in 2004.[25] It was no question that the proposal of Yuan Yung Buddhist Temple, a non-Christian worship construction, would pique farther controversy.

The Temple plan ultimately came to a hearing on April 14, 2005, when the Los Angeles Regional Planning Commissioners voted 4-0 to approve the construction permit. However, the one-year debate and subsequent negotiation implied that transformative interracial relationship occurred in this east-district town. First of all, it was noteworthy that many local Chinese residents, represented by homeowners of Vantage Pointe, chose to ally with non-Asian opponents to hinder the plan. For instance, the Chinese headed Rowland Heights Residents Coalition and Rowland Heights Residents Against Conditional Use Permit 98044. These two community-based organizations were formed in 2004 for anti-Temple purpose. One of the leaders, Simon Lu, a local Chinese inhabitant, heavily involved in every public hearing and spoke for his neighborhoods. He led several protest demonstrations in the 2004 and 2005, represented by a gathering of over 150 people (nearly half of Chinese), wearing red shirts of "No Project 98044" and waving signs and banners with "No More Temples, Please!!" at the site of the Temple on September 25, 2004.

Besides, Chinese protesters also worked with other locals, spending free time to employ door-to-door contact to inform locals about the disadvantages of the project and collecting complaint letters and signatures for a possible petition. After the Temple gained the permit for construction, Simon Lu and Chinese locals continued to

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[25] Richard Winton, "Group Sings Praises of a Moratorium on Churches," *Los Angeles Times*, October 28, 2001; Staff writer, "L.A. County Bans Church Building," *Associated Press*, October 29, 2001; Michelle Rester, "Churches, Neighborhoods at Odds: Rules on Zoning Create Conflicts in Residential, Business Areas," *Pasadena Star News*, November 11, 2001; Christiana Esparza, "Two Lutheran Churches Closing," *Whittier Daily News*, December 5, 2004; Ivy Dai, "Changing Demographics Imperil Churches," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, March 14, 2005; Ivy Dai, "Area Residents Concerned about Church's Growth," *Whittier Daily News*, April 10, 2005.

work with other community activists to request the Temple officials to make modifications by providing traffic improvements and restrictions placed on out-of-town visitors to the temple. The intense engagement of Chinese residents against the Yuan Yung Temple not only diluted the critics' charges that the opponents were racist, but also marked a distinguished difference from the case of Hsi Lai Temple, which in 1980s was backed by most regional Chinese, aside from a few extreme Chinese Christians. This transformation of Chinese attitudes toward the Buddhist Temple signified the process of Chinese adaptation patterns, from subjectively patronizing their ethnic institutions and entity without reservation, to the formation of a community-based identity, which gradually transcended ethnic exclusivity by objectively evaluating the balance between community welfare (concerning their daily lives) and intra-ethnic solidarity. This transformation was resonated by what Simon Liu claimed in a news conference on September 23, 2004: "Ethnicity is not our priority concern….It (the Temple) will really be detrimental to our neighborhoods….this is not something that's minor to us….It's going to impact our lives."[26]

In addition, from the vital role of local Chinese Association and some Chinese representatives in Rowland Heights Community Coordinating Council (RHCCC) to bridge the gap between the Temple and rancorous residents also demonstrated the value of Chinese localization and suburbanization, as well as maturity of the local Chinese in dealing with controversial issue. Comparing the lack of access to the local community in the dispute of Hsi Lai Temple in 1980s, the longtime development of

[26] Ivy Dai, "Residents Vow to Fight Temple's Plans," *Whittier Daily News*, August 29, 2004; Michelle Rester, "Opponents of Buddhist Temple in Rowland Heights, California, Ask for Support," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, September 23, 2004; Ivy Dai, "Buddhist Temple Gets OK to Build New Worship Site," *Pasadena Star News*, April 14, 2005.

Rowland Heights Chinese Association was proved to be an effective communication tool and conflict-resolution resource. During the process of the Temple's approval process for construction, the Rowland Heights Chinese Association employed its far-reaching *guan xi* network to serve as the negotiating window for the Temple, arranging small meetings for mutual conversation, and providing necessary information concerning zoning and municipal regulations.

Chinese representatives in RHCCC also devoted time to persuade the Temple to lower down its profile, and helped to build a consensus base between the Temple and the resistant locals. It led the Temple to make a compromise to discontented protesters by funding traffic improvements and scaling down its original plan, including removing dormitories, downsizing the height of sanctuary to 50 feet, and adding parking spaces from 130 to 230. It also made the Temple donate $25,000 to install a traffic signal to increase safety on Pathfinder Road in 2005 and contribute $200,000 to add another driveway on Pathfinder Road to create a four-way intersection that would justify a traffic signal in 2006. Particularly, the last proposal concerned the purchase of a 4-acre strip of land from the Vantage Pointe community, whose homeownership association had feuded with the Temple and voted down the purchase plan on April, 2006. It relied on the collective assistance of Chinese members of the RHCCC, Rowland Heights Chinese Association and Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association to coordinate with Chinese homeowners in Vantage Pointe that successfully completed the land purchase at the end of 2006.[27] The Rowland Heights Chinese Association and the Chinese representation in RHCCC, to a certain degree,

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[27] Ivy Dai, "Temple Cuts Plan to Build Dorms," *Whittier Daily News*, June 20, 2005; Shirley Hsu, "Temple Submits Signal Proposal," *Whittier Daily News*, March 15, 2006; Interview with Charles Liu, Date: April 25, 2012.

minimized the expectable interracial spasm in the process of Yuan Yung Temple dispute.

Some non-Asian locals were also sympathetic to the Temple. For instance, Mike W. Lewis, the member of RHCCC and a West Covina-based developer, publicly backed the Yuan Yung Temple at the outset, and served as its speaker and community consultant. Diana Wood a member of RHCCC confirmed the value of Yuan Yung Temple as a safe place for new immigrants adjusting to America: "it's a wonderful idea from the point of view that there's a lot of young Asian people who need a resource…..I was an immigrant when I came here, but was received more positively because I'm white, can speak English and have blue eyes….. "It's so much harder for other nationalities," Another local resident had a similar argument from the standpoint that the Temple would enrich the local community with different cultures: "I think the community of Rowland Heights is getting to be where it's a mixed salad, with different groups that should be able to learn about other people's cultures….I think the temple would provide a perfect place for that to happen." All these remarks made by non-Asian residents showed the result of the long-term Chinese suburbanization and participation in local civic activities. The locals started to appreciate the immigration traditions and heritage as an asset, rather than a threat, to the cultural pluralism in the local community.[28]

[28] Ivy Dai, "Vote Delayed on Building of Temple in Area," *Whittier Daily News*, July 15, 2004; Ivy Dai, "Residents Outraged by Temple Proposal," *Pasadena Star News*, August 7, 2004; Ivy Dai, "Residents Vow to Fight Temple's Plans," *Whittier Daily News*, August 29, 2004.

(C) The Confucius Classroom Controversy:

The Confucius Classroom at Cedarlane Middle School, Hacienda Heights in 2010 was another controversial issue centering interracial cultural disagreement. As mentioned Chapter Four, to install Chinese language courses into the local public school was the longstanding expectation for Hacienda Heights Chinese. After they launched a short-lived Chinese language class in Hacienda La Puente Unified School District (HLPUSD) in 1992, local Chinese strove firmly to develop Chinese instruction both in private and public schools in the following years, and gained more niches when two Chinese, Norman Hsu and Joseph Chang, were elected as the board directors of HLPUSD in 1990s. There were followed by another two second-generation Chinese board members, Gino Kowk and Jay Chen, who were elected in 2007 and 2009, respectively. This helped HLPUSD become the first school district in Southern California in 2004 to apply a three-year fund of $ 520,000 from Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP) that enabled it to initiate eight after-school Chinese language and culture classes for students at Grazide, Los Altos, Los Molinos, and Mesa Robles elementary schools. All these classes focused on conversational Mandarin skills and provided reading and writing courses in both traditional and simplified Chinese characters to 160 students, during 90-minute classes held twice a week.[29] By the mid-2000s, this school district was proud of full-blown Chinese instructions in its K-12 system.

Following the installation of Chinese language instruction to the public schools, in January 2010, the Hacienda La Puente Unified School District board voted 4 to 1,

[29] Shirley Hsu, “A Touch of Chinese Culture,” *Whittier Daily News*, November 23, 2004.

with the approval of three incumbent Chinese school board members, to pass a proposal for a new Chinese language and culture class, the Confucius Classroom, at Cedarlane Middle School. In a sharp contrast to former Chinese language programs financed by American educational institutions, this Confucius Classroom was fully funded by the Chinese National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (also known as *Hanban* or Confucius Institute Headquarters). It was an organization affiliated with the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China and in 2004 provided Chinese language and cultural teaching resources and services for colleges and universities worldwide.[30] According to the agreement, the *Hanban* would provide the Cedarlane Middle School, whose student body was overwhelming Latino, $30,000 per year with one-thousand textbooks, related teaching materials, as well as sending Chinese assistant instructors from Mainland China. The entire program would be at no cost to the district.[31]

The move to bring the Confucius Classroom to Cedarlane soon sparked fervent debate, dividing the local community into two camps with advocating and opposing arguments in 2010 and 2011. The opponents wanted to halt the Chinese program essentially were comprised by few conservative community activists and longtime European residents who had accumulated distrust for Chinese/Asian immigrants. Adhering to staunch Americanism, they doubted the ethnic-centered motive of Chinese board members of HLPUSD to introduce the program, and suspicious

[30] *Hanban* currently patronized nearly 300 Confucius Institutes worldwide, with 60 Confucius Classrooms and university-level Confucius Institute programs in the United States. In 2009, *Hanban* expanded the idea, launching the Confucius Classroom to focus on kindergarten through 12th grade education in the United States. See *Hanban* website: http://english.hanban.org/.

[31] Maritza Velazquez, "Hacienda La Puente Unified School Board Votes to Implement 'Confucius Classroom'," *Whittier Daily News*, February 2, 2010; Staff writer, "Chinese Government Funding of School's Language Program Fuels Controversy," *Los Angeles Times*, April 4, 2010; *Sina News*, February 26, 2010.

whether the Chinese Government— masked by the name of ancient philosopher of the Confucius— should have a role in American public school system. This sense of fear that the Confucius Classroom would become a vessel of political propaganda of Communist China to "brainwash" local children is exemplified by public remarks of its leaders. For example, in the April meeting of HLPUSD, former Hacienda La Puente Unified Superintendent, John Kramer, fiercely criticized the program: "Our kinds need to be taught Americanism….I am not against the teaching of foreign languages, but this is a propaganda machine from the People's Republic of China that has no place anywhere in the United States?" Another Hacienda Heights retired resident, Sharon Pluth, wrote in a letter to the local newspaper, *the San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, expressing her anger: "China already owns and changed most of the shopping centers in Hacienda Heights…Do we really want them to change our kids' minds, too?" King, who had lived in Hacienda Heights for over forty years and once hosted the children's television show "Romper Room," also stated his worries about the possible invasion of Chinese communism to the local children: "If its funded by them (China), their doctrines will be part of the curriculum, It's wrong. We don't need to do this to our children."[32]

This local resistance to the Confucius program came as protesters gathered in the regular meetings held by the school district from April to August, 2010. Their protestation gradually targeted the Chinese school directors in favor of the program. On August 16, 2010, nearly one hundred opponents applauded and cheered loudly when speakers such as John Kramer and Rudy Obad, a Vietnam-War veteran, made

[32] Staff writer, "Chinese Government Funding of School's Language Program Fuels Controversy," *Los Angeles Times*, April 4, 2010; Jacob Aldeman, "Chinese Language Program Riles Some in California Town," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, April 25, 2010.

speeches. John Kramer criticized the board members and thought the district should keep out “foreign influence” on education, and suggested that the school should be “spending more time …teaching our kids patriotism and Americanism.” Rudy Obad even targeted Chinese teachers from Communist China and to accuse Chinese board members of being bribed by Chinese officials. The dispute on the Confucius program in Hacienda Heights also extended further to regional public media. The Daily Show, a satirical television program, joined the contentious battle by mocking Chinese school district board member, Jay Chen, as a Communist Chinese agent.[33] All this opposition forced the board of HLPUSD to make the decision to revoke the Chinese-language program in its monthly panel on September 9.[34]

The cancellation of the Confucius Classroom did not quell the turmoil. The activists kept on criticism about the decision of school district to continue the use of textbooks from China in local schools. This sentiment was aggravated by an article published in the *San Gabriel Valley Tribune* on February 6, 2011. This article indicated that the Los Angeles District Attorney’s office had opened an inquiry toward board member Norman Hsu, who was allegedly misusing district employees and resources to organize private trips to China.[35] Inflamed by this new event, a recall petition to unseat four board members voting for the program—Norman Hsu, Joseph Chang, Jay Chen and Anita Perez, was instantly initiated by clamoring opponents. On February 10, a “Notice of Intention to Circulate Recall Petition,” signed by 12 residents was delivered to the four board members. This recall attempt did not earn

[33] Matt Coker, “The Daily Show Fake News Report on Confucius Classroom Apparently Airs Tonight,” *Orange County Weekly*, June 7, 2010; Staff writer, “Daily Show with Jon Stewart Mocks Hacienda Heights’ Confucius Classroom,” *Pasadena Star News*, June 8, 2010.

[34] *Chinese Daily News*, September 16, 2010.

[35] J.D. Valesco, “District Attorney’s Office Looking into China Trips Sponsored by Hacienda-La Puente Unified,” *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 6, 2011.

enough attention in the Hacienda Heights in the following months and eventually was dropped in June 2011 due to the insufficient signatures.[36]

Noteworthy, this recall petition was joined and echoed by a small group of Chinese dissenters. Represented by Kai Chen, a former basketball player from Mainland China, they heavily engaged in many public protests against the Confucius Classroom and Chinese HLPUSD board members. This Chinese group, not lived locally, had a close relationship with *Falun Gong* Club,[37] leading them to be involved with the event with a strong anti-communist sentiment rather than community-based motivation. It was also noted with the abnormal attention of the *Epoch Times*, sponsored by *Falun Gong* Club, compared to other local Chinese media, on this controversy.[38]

During the debate around the Confucius Classroom, there were also many locals who chose to support this foreign-language program. The proponents ranged from Chinese board members of HLPUSD, key individuals of Hacienda Heights Chinese

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[36] Staff writer, "CA Chinese-Language Class Foes Drop Recall Effort," *Associated Press*, June 6, 2011.

[37] Falun Gong Club was founded by Hongzhi Li in 1992. It recruited millions of adherents in the extensive rural areas in Mainland China. Defined by China Government as a hybrid religion and cult with Buddhism and Tai Chi physical practices, the Communist Party feared that this club might cause political turmoil in China and began to outlaw it in 1999. After that, some followers of Falun Gong Club transferred their activities outside China, forming a sizable global constituency and publishing their own newspapers, *The Epoch Times*. See David Ownby, "A history for Falun Gong: Popular Religion and the Chinese State Since the Ming Dynasty," *The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religious*, Vol.6, No. 2 (April, 2003), pp. 223-243; Amnesty International, *People's Republic of China, the Crackdown on Falun Gong and Other So-called "Heretical Organizations"* (New York, N.Y.: Amnesty International, 2000); Craig S. Smith, "The World: Rooting Out Falun Gong; China Makes War on Mystericism," *Los Angeles Times*, April 30, 2000.

[38] Kai Chen and several anti-communist Chinese dissidents had ever showed up in HLPUSD's regular panel on April 30, 2010, to voice against the Confucius Classroom. They interlinked the formation of Confucius Classroom programs with the conspiracy of China Government to circulate communism and totalitarianism to local public schools, and sponsored the following actions against the program and the board members. For instance, it was Kai Chen, after requested and examined the school district's public records, filed the allegations against Norman Hsu to the Los Angeles District Attorney's office. Kai Chen also attended the meeting on February 10, 2011, to support the recall petition. See J.D. Valesco, "District Attorney's Office Looking into China Trips Sponsored by Hacienda-La Puente Unified," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 6, 2011; Staff writer, "Opponents of Confucius Classroom Launched Recall Effort in Hacienda La Puete Unified," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 14, 2011.

Association, most Chinese with children in the local schools, to students and faculty of Cedarlane Middle School who were benefitting from this program. Instead of considering it as a foreign cultural invasion, they claimed that presented an alternative opportunity for local students, of all ethnic backgrounds, to learn a foreign language, and would not bring financial burden upon local school district, which had been plagued by budget crisis.[39] A sixth-grade student, Ricardo, favored the Chinese class from his own experience: "The more languages I know, the better jobs I'll get….If I have kids, I can teach them Chinese. They can all get better jobs." Cecile Cowan, whose daughter attended Cedarlane, showed more positive appreciation for the program, "I believe the whole idea behind it was sort of bringing our cultures together and exposing children to languages….It only adds to their intelligence and their marketability as they get older." Jane Shults, a Cedarlane history teacher, also confirmed the value of the program and refuted the opposition, "It's jingoistic, it's xenophobic, it's not overly rational and it's really shades of McCarthyism all over again."[40]

As the activities of the anti-Confucius program reached a crescendo in February, 2011, many local Chinese organizations publicly championed the Confucius Classroom and launched anti-recall activities. On February 16, 2011, the "Committee of Reject the Recall of Hacienda La Puente School Board and Support Foreign Language Acquisition," was formed by people of "Roundtable of Southern California Chinese-American Organization," a 56-assoication joint club created by recent

[39] Daniel Tedford, "As Chinese Course Faces Changes and Debate, Students Appreciate What They Have Now," *Whittier Daily News*, March 19, 2010.

[40] Daniel Tedford, "As Chinese Course Faces Changes and Debate, Students Appreciate What They Have Now," *Whittier Daily News*, March 19, 2010; Jacob Aldeman, "Chinese Language Program Riles Some in California Town," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, April 25, 2010.

Mainland Chinese immigrants. In the press conference, this Committee referred that the Confucius Classroom is a program analogous to France's Alliance France, Germany's Goethe Institute, and U.S. State Department's Bureau of Language and Culture, which should not be regarded as a foreign menace to local students. In order to defeat the recall of the Chinese school board members, this committee launched activity of reject-the-recall signatures against the petition. On February 25, local Hacienda Heights Chinese Association and Hacienda Heights Chinese PTA also held a joint gathering to endorse for the Confucius Classroom. They criticized that a small group of local extremists and an out-of-town *Falun Gong* Club had caused a serious damage upon the local students' learning interests. This pro-Confucius Classroom activity was also echoed by Hacienda La Puente Teacher's Association, whose representative, Dani Tucker, affirmed the board members' efforts to enhance the educational qualities of the school district, and urged the locals to consider the costs of a recall and its effects on the school district.[41]

Overall, the Confucius Classroom dispute appeared to be another case of vehement interracial confrontation in Hacienda Heights, and frightened neighboring communities from applying for this language program. On the one hand, this controversy reflected the longstanding intergroup tension concerning growing Chinese/Asian power upon the community in demographical, socioeconomic and cultural ways, even though the Chinese community had localized itself for over twenty years. On the other hand, it also revealed the hidden cognitive difference among different local ethnic groups concerning the cultural transmission and language

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[41] *Chinese Today* (Los Angeles), February 17, 2011; *Sina News*, February 26, 2012; The website of "Committee of Reject the Recall of Hacienda La Puente School Board and Support Foreign Language Acquisition": http://www.thepetitionsite.com/1/reject-the-recall/.

learning. For most Chinese in Hacienda Heights, they were perplexed by the confusion of a Chinese-language program to the communist stereotype suggested by some opposed locals, who in turn presumed that local Chinese inherently prioritized their ethnic interests. This schism over foreign language instruction made many local Chinese perceive that those wrestling with the Confucius Classroom originated from racial prejudice rather than a practical consideration for the goods of the entire community. As Joseph Chang put it: "The opponents contrary to the Confucius Classroom mostly did not have children in local schools or even were non-residents in Hacienda Heights. Hence, rather than considering the reality of students' need and the integral interests of the locals, their odds with the program mainly came from an emotional reflection against anything foreign to them and a stereotype based on misunderstanding of immigrants and newcomers." Jay Chen also expressed a similar argument: "People accuse us of advancing a Chinese agenda. They say the Chinese community is taking over…..But one of the reasons to have the program is to make Cedarlane more attractive to all students, not just the Chinese."[42] The cultural collision, intertwined with latent interracial tensions, in the Confucius Classroom event suggested that more time and mutual communication would be required when Chinese attempted to fit part of their agenda into the local community.

The cases of Hsi Lai Temple, Yuan Yung Buddhist Temple and Confucius Classroom demonstrated the longstanding incompatibility of locals and Chinese newcomers in the eastern San Gabriel Valley. Assimilation and cultural diffusion was a gradual but difficult process of mutual accommodation and adjustment. Through

[42] Interview with Joseph Chang, Date: April 29, 2012; Ching-ching Ni, "Chinese Government's Funding of Southland School's Language Program Fuels Controversy," *Los Angeles Times*, April 4, 2010.

these disputes, locals and Chinese migrants had learned to find the common ground of contact and communication. The development of interracial relationships and a value of pluralism for the community were bolstered when the Chinese established their service organizations, exhibited the willingness for negotiation, and enthusiasm for engagement in diverse local organizations and civic activities.

These three cases also reflected an optional, sometimes intransigent, immigration pattern, showing that the Chinese did not unconditionally conform to, what sociologists suggested, the common model of minority spatial assimilation. The Chinese would not assimilate to the American suburban society at the cost of their ethnic characteristics. Rather, advantageous socioeconomic resources, as well as extensive social, both intra-ethnic and interethnic, networks empowered eastward Chinese with the capability to develop niches and negotiate their incorporation. This Chinese determination to retain their ethnic heritage and traditions are a unique part of the local pluralism. Not only are they exhibited by the above mentioned three cases spanning three decades, but also by multiple Chinese civic actions and political participation in the process of incorporation. It echoes what scholar Wsevolod W. Isajiw suggested that recent minority incorporation did not assume an end result of similitude. Instead, it allowed for diversity to be an integral part of the whole…and avoided the pitfalls of zero-sumness.[43]

[43] Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "On the Concept and Theory of Social Incorporation," in Wsevolod W. Isajiw edited, *Multiculturalism in North America and Europe* (Toronto, Canada: Canadian Scholars Press, 1997), pp. 79-102.

B. The Chinese Participation in Local Civic Activities:

While the Chinese sparked intermittent and sporadic discord with the local community in their thirty-year suburbanization in the eastern part of the San Gabriel Valley, their path to incorporation with the local community, despite being a Chinese-dominant pattern, is certainly ongoing. Their passionate participation in the Hacienda Heights Improvement Association (HHIA) and Rowland Heights Community Coordinate Council (RHCCC), as well as several civic activities in other cities in the eastern San Gabriel Valley, developed a sense of community identity. Ethnic leadership was developed and nurtured among local Chinese.

(A) Chinese participation of HHIA and RHCCC

In the aftermath of 1990s, with the rise of Chinese localized organizational systems and social networks, the engagement in the local American organizations was another parameter to reflect Chinese incorporation and selective assimilation. Particularly for the Chinese in Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights, whose unincorporated local status left limited channels for Chinese political participation, the involvement in homeowner-based organizations— HHIA and RHCCC was critical. These associations acted as the liaison between the residents and the County's Board of Supervisors, as the Chinese hoped to express their needs and voices in the local community.

In essence, the HHIA is a private homeowners association that unofficially supervised the area and acted as a quasi-city-council to the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County, which controlled all the funds for unincorporated areas across

Los Angeles County.[44] Established in 1955, HHIA advocated for local needs, such as road maintenance, public safety and recreation opportunities. The HHIA also led and participated in nearly every significant local activity in Hacienda Heights in the second half of the twentieth century: negotiating with Regional Planning Commission of Los Angeles to give birth to a Community General Plan in 1974, which presided over the area' subsequent growth and land use; organizing two unsuccessful fights to block the nation's largest landfill and its expansion in the local hillside bordering Whittier in 1983 and 1993; involving three attempts of Hacienda Heights cityhood movements in 1982, 1992 and 2003.[45]

The composition of the HHIA gradually evolved in its half-century history, keeping pace with local demographic change: from mainly-Europeans in prior to the 1980s, to a diverse mix of whites, Latinos and Asians members in the aftermath of 1990s. Among the non-European members, the Chinese were one of the earliest ethnic groups involved in HHIA. These Chinese forerunners mostly were representatives from Hacienda Heights Chinese Association and the Hsi Lai Temple, whose participation was mission-oriented: trying to reduce the local hostility against Chinese/Asian newcomers and served as communication conduits. In the 1990s, more local Chinese political activists, such as Norman Hsu, Cecilia L. Yu, Eugene Chang,

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[44] According to its bylaws, HHIA regularly holds meeting on the third Monday monthly at office the Hacienda La Puente School District. HHIA is governed by 12-person board of directors elected by the members. In its monthly meeting, local elected officials such as the board directors of Hacienda La Puente School District and Water District, as well as the Los Angeles County's Fourth District's Supervisor or his/her field deputy are necessary attendants to discuss about the local affairs and issues.

[45] Shirley Hsu, "It isn't a City Council," *Whittier Daily News*, November 5, 2005; Staff writer, "Hacienda Heights: Landfill Permit Renewed," *San Gabriel Valley Digest*, May 6, 1993; Staff writer, "Hacienda Heights: Landfill Expansion Rejected," *San Gabriel Valley Digest*, October 14, 1993; Ivy Dai, "Trash Turns Treasure for Two Communities," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 3, 2005; Richard Winton, "Landfill Fights Curbs On Expansion," *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1993; Richard Winton, "County Supervisors Clear Way for Landfill Expansion," *Los Angeles Times*, August 11, 1994.

David Fang, Joseph Chang, along with some Chinese residents, more fully engaged the organization. As Norman Hsu noted:

> The early Hacienda Heights Chinese usually remained within ethnic-based organizations such as Chinese Association and Chinese PTA, and focused exclusively on the arena of schools. They seldom contacted local American organizations, such as HHIA, Rotary Club and Kiwi Club. However, in 1990s, many local Chinese felt the necessity to express their opinions beyond the school issue, and some Chinese pioneers started to build friendship with senior members of HHIA, such as Barbara Fish, for critical local issue such as the landfill expansion. This Chinese small group began to attend the monthly meetings of HHIA although Chinese were still a minority group in HHIA, and seldom Chinese were in the European American-dominated board of directors.[46]

This remark by Norman Hsu both expressed the intention and constraints of Chinese participation in local American organization in 1990s. Although Hacienda Heights had transformed into a multi-ethnic community after the 1980s, the local HHIA still was controlled by European locals, which constituted over 70 percent of its 500 registered members, and took up most seats of its board directors. For instance, Barbara Lee Fish, a longtime community leader, who served as the president of HHIA for five terms (ten years); Mike Hughes, another long-term resident, filled 8-year long

[46] Interview with Norman Hsu, Date: June 21, 2012.

terms as president in the period of 1996 to 2000s.[47] Another local community activist, Mike Williams, was the president of the HHIA for two times in 1990s and mid-2000s. As a result, the Chinese were usually regarded as an observer and minor participants rather than part of decision-making body in this comparatively conservative and European-dominated organization in 1990s. Nevertheless, contact and participation with this organization had laid the foundation for Chinese voices on local matters in the future.

The Chinese had increasingly become a significant group in the HHIA during the 2000s, reflected by rising membership enrollment, which increased from 30 in 1990s to nearly 100, nearly one-fifth of the membership in HHIA in 2012. The Chinese also became active on the board of the HHIA. In 2005, the local president of Chinese PTA, Tom Chang, was elected to the board of directors for the HHIA, while in 2010 three seats were filled by local Chinese/Asians: Shan Lee (chairman of zoning commission), Mae Chu (chairwoman of public relations commission) and Chris Kakimi (treasurer). As of 2012, Chinese/Asians still occupied three of the twelve seats of the board: Shan Lee (zoning commission chairman), Jeffrey Lin (Street & Highways commission chairman) and Chris Kakimi (treasurer). This growing ethnic influence in HHIA was not only shored up by increasing Chinese enrollment, but also the product of active Chinese community service. For instance Mae Chu in HHIA's public relations commission was highly connected with her work as the speaker at the Hsi Lai Temple. It symbolized an appreciation of HHIA for contribution of the Hsi Lai Temple and the expectation for practical improvement for the relationship between the Chinese and the local community. Shan Lee's service in the board of HHIA was tied to his working

[47] James Wagner, "Longtime Hacienda Heights Leader Fish Dies," *Whittier Daily News*, February 5, 2010; HHIA, *Newsletter*, February, 2011.

experience on the Los Angeles County Business License Board. This let the HHIA use his professional and *guan xi* network at the county level.[48]

The growth of Chinese influence not only was manifested by increases in membership for the HHIA, but also marked by their growing power over the policy-decision concerning local matters. For example, the Chinese heavily championed the Hacienda Heights Fourth of July Parade, the most significant annual celebration run by the HHIA. This parade was started by local activist Barbara Lee Fish in 1988. Most local Chinese organizations, including the Hsi Lai Temple, Hacienda Heights Chinese Association Hacienda Heights Area Chinese School and Taiwan American Association of East San Gabriel Valley, were the prime financial source for this parade in the 2000s. Nearly half of volunteer teams were Chinese-organized in the last decade. As Denny Wood, board director of HHIA, remarked: "Chinese support and participation for this Parade proved that they were part of this community. They were no longer a foreign group to me."[49]

Hacienda Heights Beautification Day was another local activity that various Chinese local organizations fully supported in the HHIA. In 2011, over 100 people from Hsi Lai Temple and Hacienda Heights Chinese Association participated in this event. In 2010, many Chinese volunteers joined the "volunteer on patrol" program; a program coordinated with the local sheriff station to aid the security of neighborhoods. The Chinese also actively responded to the Census Community Walk that HHIA launched on March 27, 2010. The Hsi Lai Temple and the Chinese members of the School District Board of directors, such as Jay Chen, with about 40 Chinese

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[48] HHIA, *Newsletter,* January, 2010; HHIA, *Newsletter,* April, 2010; HHIA, *Newsletter,* February, 2011; HHIA, *Newsletter*, January, 2012.

[49] *Chinese Daily News*, July 5, 2008; *Chinese Daily News*, July 5, 2009; *Chinese Daily News*, July 5, 2010; *Chinese Daily News*, July 5, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, July 5, 2012.

volunteers sponsored this program. This intense participation and funding for local activities enlarged Chinese voice and weight within the HHIA.[50]

Along with their counterparts in the HHIA, the Rowland Heights Chinese displayed similar engagement in the local resident association —RHCCC, which was established around 1980. Compared to HHIA, RHCCC was relatively less-organized with a smaller membership base. This shorter history and smaller enrollment made the Chinese minority group possess more power in the RHCCC since its establishment. In the 1990s, two Chinese women had become active in this association: Melody Wang and Judy Haggerty Chen. As a professional accountant and the first Chinese person elected to the board of directors of the Rowland Heights School District (RHSD) in 1992, Melody Wang attended RHCCC meetings to report school issues. However, her experience in the RHCCC demonstrated a disappointment against her original high expectation in participation of this association:

> As a member of the Rowland Heights Unified School District school board, I was the regular attendant in RHCCC's monthly meetings. In 1990s, RHCCC was mostly controlled by retired European males in their ages of 50s or 60s, which hid certain structural discrimination against new members. Since I was a female in my thirties, I felt I was an outsider in these meetings, and, in most situations, my suggestions did not earn enough attentions.[51]

[50] HHIA, *Newsletter*, April 10, 2010; HHIA Newsletter, February, 2011; Bethania Palma Markus, "Beautification Project in Hacienda Heights Reaches its Final Stages," *Whittier Daily News*, December 5, 2008.

[51] Interview with Melody Wang, Date: March 10, 2012.

Melody Wang's remarks revealed the marginality of an inexperienced Chinese female in the RHCCC, reflecting the early dilemma and incapability of the Chinese in mainstream organizations. However, when time passed, this frustration toward the RHCCC was greatly altered when another Chinese woman, Judy Chen Haggerty, joined the RHCCC in late 1990s. As a Taiwan-born immigrant and wife to an American, Judy Haggerty Chen moved to Rowland Heights in 1974. She has a degree in Law from Western State University College in 1983. Judy Haggerty Chen is a professional attorney and active in the service of local community organizations, including the Mt. SAC Foundation, La Puente Valley Regional Occupational Program, Governing Board of Whittier Medical Center and Presbyterian Intercommunity Hospital. In so doing, the maturity of Judy Chen Haggerty regarding the civic service made her more comfortable and productive in the RHCCC:

> In the year of 1998, in order to bridge the Rowland Heights Chinese Association with locals, I had attended RHCCC meetings regularly. At that time, RHCCC witnessed more non-European attendants, and I was welcomed because locals increasingly aware of the necessity to know more about Chinese. In these meetings, the working and social service experiences I had possessed soon fit me into the operational structure of the RHCCC, allowing me to be a medium to report the needy local Chinese residents and businessmen. This bridging role facilitated me in dealing with many community cases concerning Chinese, including: the chapel expansion of Chinese Christian Zion Church in 2000; Chinese complaints toward requirement of addition of English characters on the business signs in 2001;

> the Yuan Yung Temple dispute in 2005, and the Trammell Crow Residential dispute in 2010.[52] This experience to work together with locals in RHCCC promoted me the thought to run for position of Board of Trustees of Mt. San Antonio College in 2000.

In comparison to Melody Wang, Judy Haggerty Chen's perception of the RHCCC tended to be more optimistic, reflecting a gradual familiarity and incorporation to local structure. It led Judy Chen Haggerty to become the first Chinese elected as the vice president of RHCCC in 2000, when more Chinese were involved in this association. According to its current vice president, Charles Liu, in the 2000s nearly one-fourth of the members of RHCCC were local Chinese, and the Chinese usually occupied two to three seats of its nine-person board directors.[53] In 2005, Ping-Yia Tong served as the secretary of RHCCC, and in 2010, two Chinese immigrants won the seats for the vice presidency of RHCCC (total three vice presidents): James Tung as the second vice president in charge of memberships; and the third vice president, Charles Liu, who was responsible for community improvement affairs. In 2011, Henry Woo and James Tung also filled the positions of correspondent secretary and historian, respectively.[54] When more Chinese joined regular panels and served as the board members, they increased their decision-making power in the RHCCC as well. Charles Liu noted that:[55]

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[52] Interview with Judy Chen Haggerty, Date: May 3, 2012.

[53] RHCCC's board directors were constituted by nine positions: president, first vice president, second vice president, third vice president, treasurer, Recording Secretary, Correspondent Secretary, historian, and past president. See RHCCC, *By-Law*, website: http://rhccc.netfirms.com/.

[54] Interview with Cary Chen, Date: April 1, 2011; Interview with Charles Liu, Date: April 25, 2012; Interview with James Hu, Date: April 9, 2012.

[55] Interview with Charles Liu, Date: April 25, 2012.

> In many recent meetings of RHCCC, Dickie Simmons, the local deputy of Los Angeles County Supervisor Don Kanabe, publicly claimed that RHCCC seemed lacking of sufficient authority to speak for the community, considering its 20 to 30 regular attendants for each meeting. In monthly panel in February, 2012, Dickie Simmons even told me that Chinese representatives in RHCCC only reflected minor voices of local Chinese. Therefore, I and other Chinese board directors decided to show our base of representation. Since that the next meeting would discuss the issue of prisoners' transferring to local jurisdictions, a controversial agenda both opposed by local Chinese and non-Chinese residents, we contacted and asked help from Rowland Heights Chinese Association, Rowland Heights Chinese Lions Club, Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association and other local organizations, collecting nearly one thousand of signatures as the rally support against the proposal. On March-16 meeting, we mobilized nearly one hundred attendants to be present to state concerns to State Assemblyman Curt Hagman and Commander Michael Rothans from the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department. The consequence of this activity launched by us considerably impressed the local officials about Chinese growing mobilization, and made them more evaluate Chinese opinions.

Admittedly, Chinese involvement in HHIA and RHCCC was inevitable as they looked for a way to increase their visibility in the local non-Asian society. Although early Chinese attendants demonstrated frustration with engagement in the local system, the Chinese continued to use rising ethnic memberships and ethnic service

experiences to increase their power in policy-making in the following years. Through engagement in the HHIA and RHCCC and similar local organizations, the Chinese not only nurtured their civic awareness and duty for local advocacy, but also earned the opportunity to link operations of their local ethnic organizations, such as Chinese Associations and senior clubs, to the mainstream organizations. It helped eastward Chinese being further localized and suburbanized, as well as more active in local events, exemplified by their active roles of Trammell Crow Residential (TCR), the Football Stadium protests in Industry City, and redistricting issue in 2000s.

(B) Trammell Crow Residential Event:

The community-based protest against the high-density residential project, proposed by Orange County-based developer Trammell Crow Residential (TCR), marked an influential local event that east-district Chinese were highly involved and mobilized. This dispute began in December 2007, when TCR completed negotiation with Southland Christian Church on a deal to purchase its 15-acre school property at Brea Canyon Cutoff and Colima Road in Rowland Heights. There they planned to develop a 775-unit apartment complex, the Canyon Residences Apartments. Because the land used to be the campus for Southlands Christian School, some church members and student families opposed the plan. They accused the church manager of favoritism and making an unfavorable deal with the developer. In the following months, when TCR submitted this residential plan to County's Regional Planning Commission on January 15, 2008, the local newspaper, the *Whittier Daily News*,

publicized the project.[56] The result was an increase of opposition and concerns of people in Rowland Heights for the following two years.[57]

From 2008 to mid-2009, neighboring citizens had organized themselves through massive meetings and activities to resist TCR's plan, which they blamed for subsequent traffic, congestion and crime.[58] At least three large picket rallies with hundreds of protesters, many of them were local Chinese residents, were initially launched on January 14, 2008, and March 28 and April 25, 2009, respectively. According to Rowland Heights' General Plan of 1980, protesters claimed that the TCR high-density housing proposal had violated the residential zoning for a maximum of 3.2-units per acre (or about 49 homes per acre). Except from public demonstrations, locals collectively wrote letters to complain to the Board of Supervisors, and prepared for a possible lawsuit. In order to evade the zoning regulations, TCR in turn filed with County's Regional Planning Commission a text amendment to the General Plan, in hope to create a new zoning designation of 50-units per acre. This proposal was to bring more expectable high-density residential plans to the local society in the future. This dispute surrounding the amendment rippled through beyond the neighboring area of Brea Canyon Cutoff to the entire Rowland Heights area after a September-29 public hearing by the County's Regional Planning Commission on July 7, 2010.

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[56] Ivy Dai, "Battle Looms over Homes Development," *Whittier Daily News*, March 31, 2005; Shirley Hsu, "Homes Project May be Revived," *Whittier Daily News*, October 21, 2005; Bethania Palma, "Apartment Project Concerns Residents," *Whittier Daily News*, December 25, 2007; Bethania Palma, "Apartment Proposal Draws Residents' Ire," *Whittier Daily News*, January 15, 2008.

[57] Ivy Dai, "Battle Looms over Homes Development," *Whittier Daily News*, March 31, 2005; Shirley Hsu, "Homes Project May be Revived," *Whittier Daily News*, October 21, 2005; Bethania Palma, "Apartment Project Concerns Residents," *Whittier Daily News*, December 25, 2007; Bethania Palma, "Apartment Proposal Draws Residents' Ire," *Whittier Daily News*, January 15, 2008.

[58] Bethania Palma, "Residents Angry over Apartment Complex," *Whittier Daily News*, June 20, 2008; The Website of "We Say No! Save Our Community":www.wesayno.com.

On August 25, TCR, based on an updated environmental impact report, proposed a compromised plan, reducing the original project's density, size and heights by thirty percent to a total 537 units (with 35-units per acre). TCR also promised to green neighborhood landscapes, utilize environmental protection building materials and to increase traffic capacity.[59] Despite these design changes it did not mitigate the anger of locals, who as expected to over-fill the Royal Vista Golf banquet room on September 29 with over 1,200 people, including many from neighboring cities of Walnut and Diamond Bar. The protestors collectively chanted with "We Say No!" to express their opposition to the project. The situation forced the officials of the Regional Planning Commission to cancel the hearing. Using local Chinese school board members, Cary Chen and Judy Nieh, as negotiators the commissioners rescheduled the hearing to November 6 at Rowland High School.[60]

The public hearing on November 6 again attracted over 1,500 attendees. The hearing started with a presentation from the TCR project manager, Michael Genthe, addressing how this project would enhance the local community with tax revenues, more work opportunities and the improvement of public facilities. After a 10-minute report from the Regional Planning Commissioner concerning the community plan amendment, nearly 70 attendants, about one fourth were Chinese, were given a chance to speak for 2 minutes each explaining their side of the argument. Except for two speakers, one of which was a TCR representative and other one represented a

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[59] *Sing Dao Daily News*, March 29, 2009; C*hinese Daily News*, April 27, 2009; *Chinese Today*, August 26, 2010; Staff writer, "RH General Plan Sets Housing Priorities," *The Highlander*, August 8, 1979; Staff writer, "RH General Plan Calls for Special District Formation," *The Highlander*, August 15, 1979; Bethania Palma Markus and Brian Day, "Residents Protest Proposed Apartment Complex," *Whittier Daily News*, March 28, 2009.

[60] Juliette Funes, "Huge Crowd Causes Cancellation of Rowland Heights Planning Meeting," *Whittier Daily News*, September 30, 2010; *Chinese Today*, August 26, 2010; *Chinese Daily News*, October 1, 2010; The Website of "We Say No! Save Our Community":www.wesayno.com.

local youth sport league, all the speakers, represented by local school board members Maria Ott, Cary Chen and Judy Nieh, spoke, from the position of protecting the community from exploitation and over-growth, against the TCR project. The explosion of local attendees in the public hearing and with the majority of arguments in opposition to the TCR project made the County Commissioners, headed by Wayne Rew, to vote 3 to 0 to deny TCR's amendment to the community's general plan. This decision marked a victory for local petitioners.[61]

During this year-long protest movement, the effort that the Chinese community contributed was unprecedented. Given that the Brea Canyon Cutoff and the neighborhoods were a concentrated Chinese location, local Chinese and Chinese families with children in Southlands Christian School fully supported the protest from the inception. On March 28, 2009, a dozen Chinese residents, led by Lily Woo and Yen-Hon Hsu, organized a protesting rally with slogans of "Say No to the 775-units Apartment," "No on Traffic Congestion and Crime," and "Save Our Land" at the intersection of Brea Canyon Cutoff and Colima Road. This group of Chinese residents later sponsored three local parades and a petition signature collection on April 25, June 20, and August 1, 2009.[62] Afterwards, Lily Woo became as the important member of the steering committee of the grass roots organization "We Say No! Save Our Community," the most powerful local organization against TCR project. As the dispute grew in 2010, more Chinese residents joined to back the organization. Local Chinese Bin-Wen Lin had formed "Rowland Heights Community General Plan Protection Association," holding related campaigns with "We Say No! Save Our

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[61] Juliette Funes, "Rowland Heights Housing Plan Denied," *Whittier Daily News*, November 7, 2010; The Website of "We Say No! Save Our Community":www.wesayno.com

[62] *Chinese Daily News*, April 27, 2009; *Chinese Daily News*, June 21, 2009; *Chinese Daily News*, August 2, 2009.

Community." The Rowland Heights Chinese Association also publicly denounced TCR activity. Led by its board director, Wei-de Gu, it mobilized members to attend many demonstration activities and voice opposition against TCR in the November 9 public hearing. The Rowland Heights Chinese Lions Club and other local organizations also underpinned the activity, dispatching their members to sponsor related meetings and activities.

The Chinese in local American organizations also devoted to organize oppositional momentum against the project, as the case shown by Charles Liu, Ping-Yia Tong and other Chinese representatives. They persuaded the RHCCC to issue a public statement against TCR. The three local Chinese elected officials, Judy Chen Haggerty, Cary Chen and Judy Nieh, also participated in many protest activities and served as the public advocates for both the Chinese and non-Chinese to County's related departments. As Judy Haggerty Chen concluded:

> It is the first time I observe that the whole community is united for a joint mission to guard where we lived. Particularly for Chinese, who usually kept distant from this kind of civic duty, they demonstrated unprecedented enthusiasm to stand together with locals and showed the capability to lead and organize the civic activity.

The full-blown devotion of local Chinese, along with functional Chinese organizations, not only promoted the protesting momentum but offered leaderships for the local multiethnic coalition. It also demonstrated the result of a thirty-year suburbanization and Americanization of local Chinese in east San Gabriel Valley, who,

depended upon their far-reaching social and ethnic networks, were willing to become a force for the community[63]

(C) Football Stadium Protest:

Parallel to the TCR event in Rowland Heights, the football stadium dispute signified another case of collective action led by local Chinese in the east San Gabriel Valley. In September, 2008, the billionaire developer Ed Roski Jr., chairman and CEO of Majestic Realty Group, proposed building a 600-acre football stadium in City of Industry. This stadium would be located near the interchange of the 60 and 55 Freeways, bordering Walnut, Diamond Bar and Rowland Heights. Since this giant project was supposed to bring both commercial and environmental impacts, it instantly caused controversial response from residents in neighboring communities.[64]

From 2008 to early 2009, city councils of Diamond Bar and Walnut, as well as the RHCCC, had expressed serious concerns for this project. "Citizens for Communities Preservation Inc.," a grassroots organization mainly formed by Walnut Chinese residents, was established in October, 2008, targeting the stadium, and launching related protest meetings. On February 8, 2009, people from this organization formed Walnut Citizens Recall Committee to initiate a recall activity against two council members, Mary Su and Nancy Tragarz, who were accused of not showing enough opposition to the stadium project.[65] After the Industry City Council

[63] Interview with Judy Chen Haggerty, Date: May 3, 2012.
[64] Bethania Palma Markus, "Plans for NFL Stadium Hit Snag with 1-year Delay," *San Bernardino County Sun*, December 9, 2008; Jennifer McLain, "Walnut Renews Push to Prevent NFL Stadium," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, January 4, 2009; Brian Day, "Protesters Slam Stadium Plan," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, February 1, 2009; Jacob Adelman, "SoCal City Approves Proposal for NFL Stadium," *Associated Press*, February 27, 2009.
[65] Brian Day, "Council Members Oppose Recall," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, February 17, 2009;

examined the environmental report and approved the plan on February 26, 2009, Walnut City Councilman Joaquin Lim, Chinese activist Shiuh-Ming Ellis and Da-Shian Yang, and many locals of Walnut and Diamond Bar had launched a protest gathering at the corner of Grand Avenue and Diamond Bar Road on March 8. The protestors wore shirts saying "Say No to Stadium" to express their concerns. Urged by these opponents, two lawsuits against the City of Industry were filed by Walnut City Council and "Citizens for Communities Preservation Inc.," in March and April, respectively. Citing concerns about severe traffic and noise made by the project, these two lawsuits both challenged the economic assessments and environmental analysis produced by City of Industry consultants, and accused them of violation of the California Environmental Quality Act. In so doing, both accusations claimed the invalidity of permission of construction for the stadium project.[66] On May 11, "the Citizens for Open Public Participation," an organization formed by Diamond Bar citizens, also filed another lawsuit against Industry and Majestic Realty. This Diamond Bar citizen-based lawsuit was a local response to Diamond Bar council's settlement with the City of Industry and withdrawal its lawsuit in April. It charged that Industry City violated the Ralph M. Brown Act, failing to publicize a public hearing on Feb. 26 regarding the final draft of its environmental report.[67]

Staff writer, "Recall Effort Against Two Walnut Council Members Fails," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, July 16, 2009; *Chinese Daily News*, February 9, 2009; Interview with Shiuh-Ming Ellis, Date: June 25, 2012.

[66] Bethania Palma Markus, "Walnut Files Lawsuit over NFL Stadium," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, March 25, 2009; Bethania Palma Markus, "Walnut Files Lawsuit to Stop Proposed Stadium," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, March 26, 2009; Staff writer, "Diamond Bar on Right Track," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, April 6, 2009; Bethania Palma Markus, "Walnut, Industry to Discuss NFL Stadium," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, May 4, 2009; Brian Day, "Local Activists Proceed with Lawsuits Against Proposed NFL Stadium in Industry," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, May 30, 2009.

[67] Ralph M. Brown Act is a Californian law passed in 1953 that guaranteed the rights of citizens to participate in meetings of local legislative bodies. It regulated that local legislative bodies, including city and county boards, commissions, councils, and committees, should inform the public before holding any meetings, and aren't able to make decisions without holding

In order to mitigate opposition against the stadium project, Majestic Realty returned with counteroffers. Since that major resistant group was local Chinese, Majestic Realty had hired help from local Chinese business people. Mei Mei Huff, the spouse of California Senator Bob Huff, was its community coordinator and speaker to the Chinese media. Mei Mei Huff ever worked for Majestic Realty in 2001 and ran the entertainment business in the City of Industry with far-flung social networks in local Chinese community. She helped to hold several education meetings for the stadium project, which co-organized and sponsored by the Filipino American Association of the San Gabriel Valley and some people of Walnut Chinese American Association.[68] In addition to catering to the local Chinese, the Majestic Realty Group also utilized strategies to neutralize three lawsuits against its plan. In April, it first filed documents to Los Angeles Superior Court to dismiss the litigation initiated by "Citizens for Communities Preservation Inc.," which was revoked by Judge David Yaffe in September, 2009. In April and September, the Majestic Realty Group continued to make agreements with the city councils of Diamond Bar and Walnut, providing them funds for millions of dollars for local road improvements, landscaping, sound walls, new public safety costs and other concessions to nullify their lawsuits. On October 14, it successfully passed the State Senate, with vote of 21 to 14, to approve Assembly Bill 81x3, exempting the stadium project from the regulation of state environmental law. This decision of state Senate declared a victory for the Majestic Realty Group, although "Citizens for Communities Preservation Inc." swore

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meetings with public participation and attendance. It also empowered the rights for the public, including the media, to inspect the meeting records as well as any documents that were presented during the open meetings. See California Attorney General's Office, *The Brown Act: Open Meetings for Local Legislative Bodies* (Sacramento, CA: California Attorney General's Office, 2003).

[68] James Wagner, "Lawmaker, Wife Both Lend Support to Majestic's NFL Stadium Project," *Whittier Daily News*, August 29, 2009.

a never-quitting effort to stop the plan. The opposition came to a sudden end when Majestic Realty Group was lured by an alternative proposal to relocate the stadium project to Los Angeles downtown in December, 2009.[69]

Apparently, the Chinese were the major organizing and participatory group to launch civil resistance against the stadium proposal. Many locals perceived the stadium plan as a remedy for a tough local economy by bringing customers, increased tax revenues and plenty of job opportunities.[70] Conversely, local Chinese demonstrated strong resistance to this NFL stadium. The majority of 500-members of "Citizens for Communities Preservation Inc." were comprised by Walnut Chinese residents, and only one European resident, Brigid Bjerke, was in its 8-person steering committee. Its chairwoman, Shiuh-Ming Ellis, a first-generation Taiwanese immigrant lived in Walnut twenty-years, was the major activist launching most of the protests in 2009. They were bolstered by members of Walnut Chinese American Association, Walnut Confucius School, Chinese American Parents Association of Walnut High School and Rowland Heights Chinese Association. The Diamond Bar-based

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[69] Jennifer McLain, "Walnut Renews Push to Prevent NFL Stadium," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, January 4, 2009; Brian Day, "Protesters Slam Stadium Plan," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, February 1, 2009; Bethania Palma Markus, "Walnut Files Lawsuit to Stop Proposed Stadium," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, March 26, 2009;Staff writer, "Diamond Bar on Right Track," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, April 6, 2009; Bethania Palma Markus, "Walnut, Industry to Discuss NFL Stadium," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, May 4, 2009; James Wagner, "Industry NFL Stadium Proposal Faces Some Skeptics," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, July 11, 2009; James Wagner, "Roski Seeks Relaxing of Environmental Laws for NFL Stadium Project," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, September 4, 2009; James Wagner, "Walnut to get $ 9 Million, Other Concessions to Drop NFL Stadium Lawsuit," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, September 23, 2009; James Wagner, " Walnut Hoping to Move Forward After NFL Stadium Settlement," *San Bernardino County Sun*, September 30, 2009; James Wagner, "Environmental Exemption for Industry NFL Stadium Earns State Senate Approval," *Pasadena Star News*, October 14, 2009; Paul Shigley, "Stadium Bill Approved," *California Planning & Development Report*, October 15, 2009; James Wagner, "Walnut Citizens Group Defends its Stance in Failed Settlement Talks over NFL Stadium," *Whittier Daily News*, October 16, 2009; James Wagner, "Objections to NFL Stadium Exemption Rise As Possible Vote Nears," *San Bernardino County Sun*, October 3, 2009; James Wagner, "Industry Stadium Rival Emerges," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, April 20, 2010; Staff writer, "L.A. Football Stadium Plan Still Faces Major Hurdles," *Los Angeles Times*, September 28, 2012; Interview with Shiuh-Ming Ellis, Date: June 25, 2012.

[70] Corina Knoll, "Walnut Residents Feeling Bullied by NFL Stadium Project," *Los Angeles Times*, October 24, 2009.

protesting organization, the Citizens for Open Public Participation, was also formed and mainly operated by local Chinese. Grace Lim-Hays, an English teacher in Walnut High School, worked to network together with Walnut Chinese locals.[71]

Chinese dominant protesting campaigns against the stadium reflected the growing civic consciousness and locally rooted identity in the local Chinese community. The employment of diverse resistance techniques, including rallying, council negotiation, as well as litigation, was a result of the Chinese three-decade process of suburbanization and Americanization in the east San Gabriel Valley. It demonstrated that local Chinese had possesses organizing capability and networks to run civic activities that both defended their interests and promoted the local community.

(D) Redistricting issue:

If the TCR and football stadium disputes were events central to east-district Chinese civic mobilization, participation in local redistricting activity in 2011 showed a growing Chinese consciousness regarding local political agenda. In general, after each decennial census, political office districts are reconfigured to reflect changes in population.[72] Redistricting is critical for the political interests of racial groups

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[71] Bethania Palma Markus, "Walnut Files Lawsuit to Stop Proposed Stadium," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, March 26, 2009; James Wagner, "Lawmaker, Wife Both Lend Support to Majestic's NFL Stadium Project," *Whittier Daily News*, August 29, 2009; Interview with Shiuh-Ming Ellis, Date: June 25, 2012; Interview with Ivy Kuan, Date: May 18, 2012.

[72] In theory, redistricting is a straightforward task driven by demographic facts and figures. In reality, however, the redistricting process is complicated by a variety of factors, including the self-interest of incumbents who are eager to keep their seats, as well as the racial politics of a highly diverse and rapidly changing county. See Jason Babaras and Jennifer Jerit, "Redistricting Principle and Racial Representation," *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* (Winter, 2004), pp. 415-435; Leland T. Saito, "The Case of Redistricting: The Growing Organizational Scale of Politics and Interracial Alliances," in Leland T. Saito, *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb*, pp. 158-180; Staff writer, "Giving Redistricting a Little Respect," *Los Angeles Times*,

because it creates local, state (assembly and senate), and federal (congressional) districts from which officials are elected. In so doing, Los Angeles County's gerrymandering creates a redistricting battlefield intertwined with the conflicting power of different local ethnic groups to attain political representation.

In July, 2011, Plan A2, which proposed minor changes to original district boundaries, had been submitted by the Los Angeles County's Boundary Review Committee, with ten representatives appointed by supervisors. This proposal was opposed by Gloria Molina, the only Latino Supervisor on the board, who asked the County to redraw the boundary of districts in the interest of Latino representation, which made up 48% of the County's total population in 2010.[73] Claiming the Voting Rights Act, a federal law that protects minority voting rights, and *Garza v. County of Los Angeles* (1990), a Californian Supreme court case ruling that Latinos had been consistently divided into separate Los Angeles County supervisorial districts, Molina argued that A2 Plan had diluted the voting power of a growing Latino population, and required the County to redraw a second Latino-majority district.[74] Molina's proposal against the A2 Plan led to three alternative plans submitted by members of the Board

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September 27, 2011.

[73] Current five members Board of Supervisors: (a) District 1: Gloria Molina (Latino); (b) District 2: Ridley-Thomas (black); (c) District 3: Zev Yaroslavsky (white); (d) District 4: Don Knabe (white); (e) District 5: Michael D. Antonovich (white).

[74]The *Garza v. County of Los Angeles* (1990) was a Supreme Court case marking the achievement of Latino civil rights movement in Los Angeles. This case, brought on behalf of an Arcadia woman, asserted that the boundaries for supervisorial districts had been deliberately drawn in Los Angeles County to dilute the Latino votes. The Judge Alex Kozinski, the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, ruled that Los Angeles County had engaged in intentional discrimination in the drawing of district boundaries after the U.S. Census of 1980, which was in violation of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and 1982 amendment that prohibited practices that result in minority vote dilution through redistricting plans. This case made a redrawn district of consolidated Latinos in the San Gabriel Valley being created in 1991, paving the road for the election of the first Latino, Gloria Molina, to the Board of Supervisors in 1992- the first minority to win the seat in a supervisor's race since 1875. See Leland T. Saito, "On Common Ground: From Agricultural Struggles to Urban Politics among Latinos and Asian Americans," in in Leland T. Saito, *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb*, pp. 138-139; Chandler Davison edited, *Minority Vote Dilution* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1984). Mark Rosenbaum, "Drawing Fair District Lines," *Los Angeles Times*, September 27, 2011.

of Supervisors in the public hearing on August 16— Don Kanabe's "Voting Rights Act Compliant A3 Amended" (A3 Plan), Gloria Molina's "The Voting Rights Compliant" (T1 Plan), and Mark Ridley-Thomas's "Community Empowerment Plan" (S2 Plan) were presented. The A3 Plan essentially retained the basic framework of the current supervisorial boundaries, while the T1 Plan and S2 Plan both created Latino-majority districts by profoundly refiguring current districts 3 and 4, of supervisors of Zev Yaroslavsky and Don Kanabe. This reapportionment controversy led to two public hearings being held at in Los Angeles on September 6 and September 27 that would ultimately decide the final version of supervisorial boundary.[75]

Unlike the silence and indifference in the Los Angeles County's reapportionment in the 1990s and early 2000s, the redrawing boundary of Board of Supervisors in 2011 caught high attention of Chinese community in the east San Gabriel Valley. They responded with different attitudes toward these three plans: showing favoring opinions for the A3 Plan, while opposing the other two plans, especially expressing strong resistance against the T1 Plan. Consideration of the political reality and ethnic

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[75] Molina's T1 Plan essentially would keep her District First most unchanged to include most of west San Gabriel Valley. However her suggestions of the Third District to include the San Fernando Valley basin into downtown Los Angeles and unincorporated East Los Angeles would make the Third District become another Latino-majority district, threatening current European American Supervisor, Zev Yaroslavsky; Ridley-Thomas's S2 Plan shifted the South Bay, Long Beach, and east-district towns from the Fourth District to the Third District. It would change the Fourth District to a Latino-vote majority of 52 percent. See Beiqe Luciano-Adams, "Identity Politics Shade Public Hearing on San Gabriel Valley Redistricting," *Whittier Daily News*, May 1, 2011; Staff writer, "Two Supervisors Sharply Criticize Status Quo Map County: Numbers Merit Second Latino Majority Voting District, Some Say," *Daily News* (Los Angeles), August 10, 2011; Mark Ridley-Thomas, *Community Empowerment Plan*, August 16, 2011; Gloria Molina, *The Voting Rights Compliant*, August 16, 2011; Don Kanabe, *Voting Rights Act Compliant A3 Amended*, August 16, 2011; Rong-Gong Lin, "Bid for More Latinos on County Board Sets Up Fight," *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 2011; Christina Villacorte, "Two Supervisors Sharply Criticize Status Quo Map," *Daily News*, August 10, 2011; Jonathan Llyod, "Proposed Latino Majority District Could Shake Up County Leadership," *NBC News*, August 11, 2011; Staff writer, "LA County Supervisors Present Competing Redistricting Plans," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, August 20, 2011; The website of Los Angeles County Redistricting: http://redistricting.lacounty.gov.

political interests were responsible for Chinese preference for the A3 Plan. First, given that Don Kanabe, supervised most of the eastern San Gabriel Valley, both RHCCC and HHIA publicly advocated for the incumbent supervisor, whom they thought had maintained open lines of communication with both the local residents and community leaders.[76] Resonating to decisions of RHCCC and HHIA, Chinese representatives also valued Don Kanabe's contribution to bring a new community center for locals in Rowland Heights, as well as treasured the friendly relationship built between the supervisor's field deputy and the local Chinese. As a result, the Rowland Heights Chinese Association, Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association, Hacienda Heights Chinese Association and other local Chinese organizations endorsed Don Kanabe and collected hundreds of supporting letters for the supervisor to demonstrate his local base in the public hearings.[77]

In addition, the A3 Plan's spirit to retain the status quo of current districts also conformed to the common interest of local Chinese. They hoped to maintain the Chinese community as a singular unit. This thought led Chinese organizations to oppose the two alternative plans: criticizing that T1 Plan would marginalize Chinese voice by merging of Hacienda Heights, Rowland Heights, and part of Walnut and Diamond Bar into the District one, which contained territory of Latino-majority central San Gabriel Valley; and complaining that S2 plan's inclusion of eastside and north-part non-Asian towns into the District four would dilute the Chinese/Asian demographic advantage in the east San Gabriel Valley.

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[76] On June 24 and 25, 2011, both HHIA and RHCCC expressed their supports for current supervisor of District Forth in the letter responding to Boundary Review Committee. See HHIA, *Supervisorial Redistricting Letter*, June 24, 2011; RHCCC, *Supervisorial Redistricting Letter*, June 25, 2011.

[77] Interview with James Hu, Date: April 9, 2012; Interview with Charles Liu, Date: April 25, 2012.

Out of these concerns, east-district Chinese worked together with Chinese/Asian civil rights organizations to take actions, endorsing the A3 Plan. On September 6, led by the Rowland Heights Chinese Association, thirty local Chinese gathered and attended public hearings to voice for A3 Plan.[78] On September 21, several Chinese organizations in east San Gabriel Valley, along with Asian Pacific Islander (API) community organizations, held a joint press conference outside the Board of Supervisors auditorium. They expressed support for the A3 Plan. Representing the Rowland Heights Chinese Association, Wei-de Gu underscored the hope to keep the status quo so that it would give the local Chinese a fair political representation.[79] Chinese support of A3 Plan culminated when nearly one hundred Chinese, organized by local Chinese Associations, mobilized to attend the public hearing on September 26.[80] In this six-hour long meeting, several local Chinese leaders, including Wei-de Gu, Charles Liu and board members of Hacienda Heights Chinese Association, testified. They asked that the board keep their ethnic community

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[78] Interview with Charles Liu, Date: April 25, 2012; Christina Villacorte, "Local Cities to Retain Same Supervisors," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, July 26, 2011; Staff writer, "L.A. County Supervisor Redistricting Debate Draws Packed House," *Los Angeles Times*, September 6, 2011; Melissa Pamer, "Racial, Ethnic Divides Surface during Supervisors' Redistricting Hearing," *Los Angeles Times*, September 7, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, September 3, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, August 17, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, September 23, 2011.

[79] The Asian Pacific Islanders organizations attended included: Center for Asians United for Self-Empowerment (CAUSE); Asian Pacific Policy and Planning Council (A3PCON), on behalf of over 40 organizations; Asian Pacific Community Fund,; Rowland Heights Chinese Association; Chinatown Service Center; Korean Churches for Community Development; Korean American Coalition; Search to Involve Pilipino Americans; Thai Community Development Center. These API organizations, represented different ethnic groups from Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Filipino Town, Korean Town and Thai Town, all expressed a common argument that A3 Plan would connect their residential community to the San Gabriel Valley, the regionally largest API-based community, that avoided them from further marginalization. They also publicly opposed to T1 and S2 Plans, warning that creating a second Latino district would split their communities and dilute Asian influence.See J.K. Yamamoto, "API Groups Endorse L.A. County Redistricting Plan," *Los Angeles Times*, September 25, 2011; *Chinese Daily News*, September 23, 2011.

[80] Staff writer, "Backers Say Adding LA County Latino District Helps Asians," *Los Angeles Times*, September 27, 2011; Gene Maddaus, "LA County Approves Status Quo Redistricting Plan-Denying Second Latino Seat," *Los Angeles Times*, September 27, 2011.

from splitting and being diluted, showing staunch support for the A3 plan. The A3 Plan was adopted by a vote of 4 to 1 at the end of the hearing.[81]

Apparently, the support of the Chinese in the east San Gabriel Valley, along with other Chinese/Asian organizations of Los Angeles County, played a vital role to promote the passage of the A3 Plan. For the Chinese in the east San Gabriel Valley, the reinforcement of substantial ethnic solidarity, continuing suburbanization and expansion of their social organizations upon local community had rewarded them more autonomy in local political agenda. In the redistricting activity in 2011, eastward Chinese demonstrated growing self-consciousness and capability to protect their ethnic interests by maintaining east-district Chinese community as a whole. This effort proved to be significant when it came to the consideration of congressional and state-level gerrymandering that bonded these Chinese-concentrated four towns in east San Gabriel Valley together. It leads east San Gabriel Valley to be a propitious district for local Chinese political aspirants, which I will further discuss in the next chapter.

[81] Gene Maddaus, "LA County Approves Status Quo Redistricting Plan- Denying Second Latino Seat," *Los Angeles Times* , September 27, 2011; Staff writer, "Supervisor Kanabe Welcomes New Residents to the 4th District," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, November 1, 2011; Interview with Charles Liu, Date: April 25, 2012.

Chapter VI

The Chinese Political Participation

Chinese participation in local politics was synchronous with their residential development, proliferation of robust ethnic economy and businesses, expansion of social networks and infrastructure and, particularly, their growing community identity and consciousness. This caused them to increasingly engage in local service organizations and civic activities in the east San Gabriel Valley. Recent studies of Asian political participation found that Asian Americans who do participate in civic or social service organizations will be active in politics at higher rates than those who are not involved in voluntary associations. Robert Putman and other scholars also proposed that voluntary associations and immigrant networks enhanced political life and generated political opportunities.[1] These studies indicated that connections with community organizations may lead to increased political devotion because organizational involvement fosters civic skills and organizations constitute important spaces for the exchange of political ties and information that nurtures potential activists and leaders.[2] Through intense engagement in community organizations and

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[1] Robert Putman, *Bowling Alone* (New York, N.Y.: Touchstone, 2000); Irene Bloemraad, *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civil Volunteerism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Janelle Wong, *Democracy's Promise: Immigrants and American Civic Institutions* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

[2] Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (New York, N.Y.: Longman, 2003). Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady, "Civic Participation and the Equality Problem," in Theda Skocpal and Ydorris Fiorina edited, *Civic Engagement in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), pp. 427-461.

activities in east suburban area, local Chinese started to show their political muscle in 1990s.

Besides, the socioeconomic determinants of eastward Chinese also facilitated political participation. Their longevity and residence in the United States ensured a higher rate of naturalization and citizenship, the crucial foundation for minority politics. The proportionally larger professional-managerial class among eastward Chinese, along with their educational attainment, professional experiences, English proficiency and familiarity with urban bureaucracies, also benefited them with more opportunities to earn political capital. All these contributed to growing Chinese political representation in the city councils, school district boards, water district boards, and college trustee boards, as well as Chinese intensifying influence upon local political agenda and activities, such as the cityhood movement, in the aftermath of 1990s.

A. The Development of Chinese Local Politics:

Although the eastward Chinese possessed more niches for political engagement, considering that the Chinese community was still inchoate, there were no Chinese office holders in the four towns of the eastern San Gabriel Valley in 1980s. Only Norman Hsu, a Chinese immigrant from Malaysia in 1979, ever made two unsuccessful attempts for a seat on the HLPUSD in 1987 and 1989. It was until 1991 that Norman Hsu, on the third try, was elected to the HLPUSD board, becoming the first Chinese elected official in the eastern San Gabriel Valley.[3]

Following Norman Hsu, two Taiwanese immigrants, Melody Wang and Joseph Chang, were elected as the board members of HLPUSD and RHUSD in 1993. It was well-reasoned that both the HLPUSD and RHUSD became an incubator for early Chinese politicians. Since the 1990s Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights saw increases in Chinese migration, whose attention primarily focused on local schools. The Chinese population would likely need to have their ethnic representatives on the local school districts to reflect the demands of Chinese students, who made up nearly one-quarter of student body in these two local school districts in 1990s. In addition, school district elections were also less competitive as a political domain for Chinese newcomers. The financial threshold for an electoral campaign is less costly and affordable. The required votes to win a seat on the school board also would be

[3] Interview with Norman Hsu, Date: June 21, 2012; Mark Arax, "Districts' Incumbents Reelected," *Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 1985; Staff writer, "Area Schools: Incumbents Win by Default," *San Gabriel Valley Digest*, August 17, 1989; Mike Ward, "Aspirants Sign up for School Board Races," *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1989; Staff writer, "Council, School Races Top Balloting: School Boards," *Los Angeles Times*, November 2, 1989; Howard Blume and Denise Hamilton, "Legislation Would Change School Voting: Elections," *Los Angeles Times*, September 29, 1991; Denise Hamilton, "In from the Sidelines: Asian-American Community Begins to Flex its Political Muscle," *Los Angeles Times*, November 8, 1992.

relatively lower, making the representation supported exclusively by ethnic voters more viable.[4]

Aside from three Chinese representatives in HLPUSD and RHUSD, several Chinese also made their political debuts in Diamond Bar and Walnut in mid-1990s. In 1995, Joaquin Lim became the first minority councilman in Walnut, and served on the council the next seventeen years. Anyoke Lee, a Taiwan-born immigrant, was elected as the first Chinese school board member of the Walnut school district in 1997. In Diamond Bar Wen-pin Chang was elected as the first Chinese city council member in 1997, and continued to be the only one Chinese representative in the council until he retired in 2009.

Those Chinese pioneers active in the 1990s in local politics mostly were foreign-born. They were still minority participants compared to the mostly white boards and councils they say on. The inability of the Chinese community to fully support ethnic candidates, as well as Chinese unfamiliarity of electoral and political rules, created a barrier to Chinese collective political participation. It constrained Chinese political participation to individual level efforts. These early Chinese political forerunners usually devoted plenty of free time to do social service and used different strategies to increase their political appeal. For example, in the late 1980s, Norman Hsu paid out of his own pocket to publish *Hacienda Heights Community News* (in Chinese language) and sent thousands of free copies to local residents. This monthly publication covered news regarding the HLPUSD and the neighboring Chinese community. It continued to print until 2010, then turning into the online version. This longstanding form of media laid the base for Norman Hsu to claim an ethnic-based

[4] Elaine Woo, "Ethnic Diversity Puts School Districts to Test Series: Asian Impact," *Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1987.

appeal for political representation. Joseph Chang's race for a seat on the HLPUSD in 1993 followed a similar trajectory. As the president of Hacienda Heights Area Chinese School in 1992, Joseph Chang had been active in the local Chinese community for longtime. Aside from earning support from local Chinese school system, he also used a database to identify high-frequency absentee voters, majority of them Chinese American, and then visited every household, dropping off absentee applications and picking them up again. This strategy aimed at local Chinese who preferred to vote absentee. Joseph Chang also targeted Korean and Filipino immigrant communities with mailers in their first language, and provided free vehicles to pick up local senior voters to the polling places. This labor-intensive effort to persuade his ethnic group to vote and to appeal to the pan-Asian electorate won him the election with the top vote-getting of 5,800, more than twice as many votes as any candidate in the past.[5]

The non-lucrative essence of the elected positions further hindered many local Chinese individuals from pursuing politics in 1990s. For most eastward Chinese who still desired upward social mobility, running for offices often associated with no financial reward and voluntary service. Joaquin Lim expressed: "It (the political participation) is so labor-intensive."[6] Cary C. Chen had echoed:

> Being an elected official was not a sound work. The several hundred monthly stipends often did not match what you spent for public services, and it was barely for an elected official to sustain his/her families.

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[5] Tommy Li, "Hanging on to Heritage: Saturday-Morning Chinese Schools Are Teaching Language and Culture," *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1993; Lee Romney, "Chinese Americans Make Political Strides Community: Stereotypes and Cultural Misunderstanding Persist, but Leaders Have Begun to Lay the Foundation for Future Success," *Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 1993.

[6] Cindy Chang, "Asian Influence Growing at Polls," *Pasadena Star News*, May 15, 2005.

> Therefore, rather than a splendid and profitable job, to run for a seat of city council or local school district usually meant self-sacrifice.

In so doing, most Chinese Americans felt more comfortable contributing to specific candidates rather than running for office. Those early pioneers into the local politics usually were persuaded hard by local Chinese people to represent them for specific issues, such as working against anti-immigration initiatives or dealing with discriminatory treatment of Chinese teenagers in the schools.[7] Given that political engagement was seldom perceived by Chinese as a career choice, it gave us a generalized picture of early Chinese political participants: some of them were in service sectors, taking elected position as part-time job which would add credits for their businesses; many of them had backgrounds in law and or business, and were familiar with related electoral and political regulations.

Nevertheless, when the Chinese expanded their social networks and organizations, the four towns of eastern San Gabriel Valley witnessed a string of successive Chinese political activists and local officials in the aftermath of 2000s. In 2000, Judy Chen Haggerty was elected as the first Chinese/Asian trustee to the board of San Antonio College. Judy Nieh became the second Chinese representative in the board of RHUSD in the same year, joined by another two Chinese board members, Albert Chang and Cary Chen, who won elections in 2003 and 2009. Sui-pei Lu was also elected to the Rowland Heights Water District in 2005 and 2009. In the HLPUSD, two American-born Chinese residents, Jay Chen and Gino Kwok, earned their seats in 2007 and 2011 respectively. The HLPUSD became the first school district in the

[7] Interview with Cary Chen, Date: April 1, 2011.

United States with Chinese majority in 2011. Diamond Bar embraced its second Chinese councilwoman, Lin-ling Chang, in 2009. Walnut, which underwent rapid Chinese population growth in the 2000s, elected three Chinese council members: Miles Nan in 2002, Mary Su in 2006, and Eric Ching in 2012. The Walnut Valley Water District also elected two Chinese board members, Allen L. Wu and Scarlett Kwong, in 2007.

From the 1990s to 2000s certain transformations characterized the ethnic political development within east-district Chinese community. First of all, the vital structures of minority politics— ethnic-networking organizations and fund-raising arms, nonprofits specializing in registering Chinese/Asian immigrant voters—were functional and fully developed in this period. With the support of the local core Chinese organizations and networks, new Chinese political candidates would not have to fumble by trial and error. Rather, they were able to capitalize on ethnic organizations by drawing on their membership for fund-raising events and other electoral sponsorship. The staff of Chinese Associations, Chinese PTA or other local organizations, who were involved in the past electoral campaigns, was also available for advice. Like a manual to follow, subsequent Chinese political entrants would know the procedures before he/she decided to engage in the elections, and replicated electoral success. This ethnic-based advisory and patronage system was efficient and enhanced the momentum of collective Chinese political participation in 2000s.[8]

[8] Many respondents I had conversed all pointed out that Norman Hsu was the key individual and mentor to promote Chinese politics in east San Gabriel Valley. Most former or current Chinese elected officials, including Melody Wang, Joseph Chang, Anyoke Lee, Judy Nieh, Judy Chen Haggerty, Jay Chen and Gino Kwok, were urged and advised by Norman Hsu, who encouraged locals to take political power. Interview with Norman Hsu, Date: June 21, 2012; Interview with Melody Wang, Date: March 10, 2012; Interview with Anyoke Lee, Date: March 10; Interview with Judy Chen Haggerty, Date: May 3, 2012; Interview with Judy Nieh, Date: September 8, 2011;

Secondly, a great number of second-generation Chinese joined local politics and gradually took the leadership in 2000s. The long list of local Chinese officials in east San Gabriel Valley, including Albert Chang, Ling-ling Chang, Gino Kwok, Jay Chen and Sui-pei Lu, all graduated in local high schools, and were active in local community activities. Most staff, assistants or voluntary workers in their teams came from similar backgrounds as well. The rise of these American-born Chinese in local politics was partly attributed to systematic cultivation of farsighted Chinese precursors. For instance, Albert Chang, Jay Chen, and Ling-ling Chang were all nurtured in youth internship programs, launched by local Chinese political organizations, for young Chinese to work in local politicians' offices, in their pre-college period.[9] Their electoral campaigns were also sponsored and mentored by senior Chinese community leaders, who provided networks, funds, and other resources, exemplified by Norman Hsu's support for Jay Chen's election in 2007.

The growing involvement of American-born Chinese promoted "professional politics" to take root in the local Chinese community as well. Since that younger generation Chinese grew up in the local community and possessed more niches to break the language and cultural barriers, they were more capable to compete with American politicians for the offices not only in local level but also with potentials for state and national political posts. It led more Chinese prospects to take politics as their career option. Many of these younger-generation Chinese were well prepared for

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Interview with Joseph Chang, Date: April 29, 2012.

[9] This kind of young Chinese politics-training programs could be marked by the annually-held "youth-leadership forum," which were usually sponsored by local Chinese Associations, HLPUSD and RUSD and Walnut School District. It was open to high school students, including many Chinese/Asian teenagers. This forum usually was operated with several types: inviting local politicians to give speeches; holding the simulation elections, including political issue presentation and debate, fundraising, and related other activities. All these contributed to promote interests of younger generation to politics.

politics. Albert Chang worked as the student representative in his high school years, and after graduation from University of California, Irvine, he became the full-time assistant of former Californian Assemblywoman Gloria Romero before he ran for the RUSD. Jay Chen also showed his interests in politics when he attended Wilson High School in Hacienda Heights. Aside from engaging in a variety of internship activities, he also was one of the charter members of Leo Club, the youth branch of Lions Clubs International. He also engaged in a host of community services. In college he spent years as exchange student in Mainland China and Costa Rica to learn Mandarin and Spanish. His experience as a member of the Naval Reserve also accumulated political capital.

The phenomenon of increasing American-born Chinese ascending in politics also sharply reflects a change in the partisan spectrum in the local Chinese community. In general, as the community made up by middle-to-upper-class Chinese immigrants, east San Gabriel Valley witnessed the majority of first-generation Chinese adhering to Republican Party in prior to 1990s, although nearly half of local Chinese residents tended to have no clear leanings toward two major political parties. More Chinese interest in the Republican Party could be attributed to its emphasis on traditional values such as work ethic and family. Republican policy orientated to limited social welfare and government regulation of business, catered to Chinese professionals and entrepreneurs as well. Besides, Republican foreign policy, which favored a tougher stance in dealing with communist regimes after World War II, also attracted some Chinese immigrants. This was especially true of those from countries that have either fallen to or been threatened by communist regimes.[10] An analysis of the 1984

[10] Bruce E. Cain, Roderick Kiewiet, and Carole Uhlaner, *The Evolution of Partisanship Among*

California survey illustrated that Chinese/Asians, especially those from Taiwan, South Asia and Korea, identified more with the Republican Party because of its diplomatic statement against communism.[11] As a result, Chinese affiliated with Republican Party were relatively visible and powerful in east San Gabriel Valley from 1980s to early 1990s. A series of surveys conducted by the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality (MCSUI) concerning voter registration of Los Angeles County in 1993 and 1994 noted that Chinese registered as Republican (33%) were two times than those as Democrat (15%). It was also highlighted by an overwhelming proportion of foreign-born early Chinese Republican politicians, such as Norman Hsu, Wen-pin Chang, Mei Mie Ho and Judy Nieh, who controlled the political voices of local Chinese community.

However, as the Democratic Party intensely built its image of being more supportive than the Republicans, particularly on the immigration agenda, the local Chinese community encountered political partisanship transformation. In a poll operated by *Los Angeles Times* in 1997 had proposed that local Chinese Republicans (33%) only slightly outnumbered Democrats (30%).[12] In a study of the Californian gubernatorial election of 1998, conducted by the Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California, revealed that the first time that Chinese Democrats, including many first-time young voters, had outmatched its ethnic Republican voters in southern California.[13] In 2004, another polling report conducted by local Chinese newspapers also demonstrated that the Democratic Party covered more than 70% local Chinese

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Immigrants (Pasadena, C.A.: Division of the Humanities and Social Science, California Institute of Technology, 1988), p. 687.

[11] Bruce E. Cain, Roderick Kiewiet, and Carole Uhlaner, "The Acquisition of Partisanship by Latinos and Asian Americans," *American Journal of Political Science*, No. 35, pp. 390-422.

[12] Pei-te Lien, *The Making of Asian American Through Political Participation* (Philadelphia, P.A.: Temple University Press, 2001), p. 191.

[13] Pei-te Lien, *The Making of Asian American Through Political Participation*, p.155.

voters, many of them were second-generation Chinese Americans, in the presidential election. This growing influence of the Democratic Party upon local Chinese community gave birth to a rising American-born Chinese Democratic politicians, who reciprocally promoted young Chinese residents' affiliation toward Democratic Party.[14]

Clearly, Chinese political participation in east San Gabriel Valley, particularly in 2000s, unfolded as the result of rapid development of their ethnic social organizations and infrastructures. It also signified trend of Chinese incorporation to the mainstream politics with more American-born Chinese activists involved. For eastward Chinese, this ethnic political dynamic is mainly presided over and initiated by Chinese individual leaders who are likely to promote inertia of Chinese ethnic political involvement. In so doing, while many studies stressed naturalization (citizenship acquisition) and voting behavior as the main indicators of immigrant political incorporation,[15] many scholars also investigated experiences of respective politicians to understand ethnic political actions. As scholar Irene Bloemraad stressed, it was the ethnic leaders who facilitated "political and civic participation by representing and mobilizing immigrant group," so that the understanding of how these ethnic leaders "develop within an immigrant community is vital to an exploration of the process of political incorporation."[16]

From that, I will introduce and examine two local Chinese politicians, Jay Chen and Eric Ching. Their political engagement and electoral strategies not only

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[14] *Chinese Daily News*, November 2, 2004.

[15] Zai Liang, "Social Contact, Social Capital, and the Naturalization Process: Evidence from Sic Immigrant Groups," *Social Science Research*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (1994), pp. 407-437; Carole J. Uhlaner, Bruce E. Cain, and D. Roderick Kiewiet, "Political Participation of Ethnic Minorities in the 1980s." *Political Behavior*, No. 11 (1989), pp. 195–231.

[16] Irene Bloemraad, "Institutions, Ethnic Leaders, and the Political Incorporation of Immigrants: A Comparison of Canada and the United States," in Jeffrey G. Reitz edited, *Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants* (La Jolla, CA: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2003), pp. 361-401.

exemplified the correlation between the development of Chinese social organizations and networks and ethnic political representation, but also demonstrated the advantages and dilemmas took place in the local Chinese politics.

(A) The Case Study of Jay Chen's Political Participation:

Jay Chen signified the typical second-generation Chinese American political participation in the east San Gabriel Valley in the 2000s. Born in 1978 in Ann Arbor, Michigan, where his parents, both from Taiwan, completed degrees, Jay Chen spent four years of his childhood in Singapore, and then re-migrated with family to Hacienda Heights. He attended local Mesa Robles Junior High School and Wilson High School. After graduating from Harvard with a sociology degree, he worked as a management consultant prior to starting his own small business.

In 2007, at the age of 29, Jay Chen ran for a seat on the HLPUSD, and finished in first place with 4,291 votes over five other candidates. In 2011, he was reelected as the highest vote-getter, leading him to become one of the most promising Chinese political prospects in the east San Gabriel Valley.[17] In February, 2012, Jay Chen made his bid for California Congressional District 39, including Los Angeles, Orange and San Bernardino Counties.[18] Under the support of local Chinese voters, Jay Chen earned 18,648 ballots, coming in second to the incumbent Ed Royce, in the June 5th

[17] See website of Department of Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk, Los Angeles County: http://rrcc.co.la.ca.us/elect.

[18] The 39th Congressional District contains areas of Hacienda Heights, Rowland Heights, Walnut, Diamond Bar, Chino Hills, Fullerton, Brea, La Habra, La Habra Heights, Buena Park, Placentia, Yorba Linda and northern Anaheim. It is one of the most diverse districts in Southern California: 40% is European whites, 30% is of Asian descent and 29% is Latinos. This District is also the second largest Chinese voter bloc in the United States, only behind the 27th Congressional District, which included territory of most west San Gabriel Valley.

open primary election. It made him advance to the general election on November 6.[19]

As a young Democrat politician in a solid GOP district with a 41-33 voter registration ratio in favor of Republicans, it was apparent that Jay Chen faced an uphill race against political veteran Ed Royce. Royce, who had served nineteen years in the House of Representatives, amassed significant political capital. The result of general election on November 6 was that Jay Chen was defeated by a margin of nearly 16% (57.8% vs. 42.2%). Nevertheless, Chen's campaign marked the first east-district Chinese political trial beyond the local level, implying a broader potential for Chinese political mobilization. Since the 39th District contained a diversity of ethnic voters, with over seventy thousand Asian (half Chinese citizens), among its three hundred thousand voters, Jay Chen's congressional activity and electoral strategy also showed advantages and shortcoming that minority politics encountered.

First of all, both local and regional Chinese organizations played significant roles for Jay Chen, who claimed a strong ethnic support. Local Chinese organizations, including Hacienda Heights Chinese Association, Rowland Heights Chinese Association and Hacienda Heights Chinese PTA, all endorsed Jay Chen, while regional Chinese network greatly functioned as the base for his campaign contributions. Aided particularly by the Taiwan University Alumni of southern California, which Jay Chen's parents belonged to, the system of alumni associations served as the vital channel for his fundraising and mobilization. Jay Chen's campaign manager, Chuching Wang, had ever served as the board director of Taiwan University

[19] The open-primary election is a new change that all candidates will be on one ballot, regardless of political affiliation. The top two vote- getters - even if from the same party - will advance to the next-round general election. Benjamin Demers, "Most Races Set For June 5 Open-Primary Election," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, March 12, 2012; Steve Scauzillo, "Royce, Chen and Mulattieri Vie in 39th Congressional Primary," *Whittier Daily News*, May 27, 2012.

Alumni and alumni of Chie-kuo High School. Both were schools that Jay Chen's father graduated from. Chuching Wang was also active in an array of at-large Chinese organizations, including heading JCUAA in 2004, chairing Chinese-American Professional Society (CAPS)[20] in 2008, serving as vice president of *Shandong* Association of Southern California in 2010, and acted as president of L.A. chapter of 80-20 Political Action Committee [21] in 2012. Through Chuching Wang, Jay Chen not only received an endorsement from Los Angeles 80-20 Political Action Committee on April 3, but also extended his ethnic appealing to multiple regional Chinese organizations.[22]

Other Chinese leaders siding with Jay Chen also had a traceable ethnic based social connection. Ivy Kuan, Jay Chen's main organizer in Walnut, was in the board of trustees in the Taiwan University Alumni Association in 2004 and served as the president of Chinese-American Professional Society in 2009. In local level, Ivy Kuan was once the head of the Walnut High School Chinese Parents Association and Walnut Confucius Chinese School. Ivy Kuan's support apparently promoted Jay Chen's election with strong ethnic access to both regional and local Chinese organizations.[23]

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[20] CAPS was created in 1979, when several hundred Chinese American professionals and scientists were invited by Taiwan Government to attend *Guo-jian Hui*, a research seminar for national development. After the seminar, about sixty attendants decided to organize themselves as a scholar-based club, and continued to recruit members from diverse professional fields in southern California, leading it to become an organization with 400 registered members. This organization is characterized by its academic and cultural activities, including holding seminars for different academic discussion, and promotion of cross-Pacific-Ocean scholarly exchange. See the website of CAPS: http://www.capswest.info/.

[21] L.A. chapter of 80-20 Political Action Committee was established by Alfred Fong and other local Chinese activists in 2000. Its mission targeted to cohere ideally 80% Asian ballots as a swing voting bloc to the political candidates who concerned and represented the interests of all Asian Pacific Americans. In the national and state-level elections in 2000s, this organizations usually heavily involved in related electoral campaigns by public endorsement and fundraising support.

[22] *Chinese Daily News*, April 4, 2012; Interview with Chuching Wang, Date: July 30, 2012.

[23] Interview with Ivy Kuan, Date: May 30, 2012.

In addition to networks based on Chinese social and civic organizations, Jay Chen's appeal to ethnic political representation also earned him intense scrutiny from local Chinese public media. Several major Chinese newspapers and TV channels, including *Chinese Daily News*, *Chia Boa* (Mainland Chinese-mainly), *Sing Dao News* (targeting southeastern Asian immigrants), Phoenix Satellite Television (targeting Hong Kong immigrants) and ETTV-America (Taiwanese-operated) all conducted personal interviews or reported related news regarding Chen's electoral campaign. They indirectly served as outreach to the Chinese voters within or beyond the District 39. Moreover, as a rising political novice in the Democratic Party, Jay Chen also gained endorsement from Chinese officials in the Democratic Party; including Congresswoman Judy Chu, California State Controller John Chiang, California assemblyman Mike Eng, and several local Chinese city council members in southern California, such as Stephen K. Shan (Alhambra), Joseph Cho (Cerritos) and Sukhee Kang (Irvine). All this support from, both local and regional, materialized in several fundraising parties in February, April, June, August, and September that eventually raised over eighty hundred thousand dollars for his election bid.[24]

However, it is noteworthy that many local Chinese, out of partisan loyalty and political reality, chose to side with Jay Chen's rival, Ed Royce. As a powerful Republican political veteran, Ed Royce had kept a longstanding relationship with the local Chinese/Asian communities. This empowered him with networks to compete with Jay Chen over Chinese voters. For example, the Indo-Chinese American Political Action Committee (IAPAC) of Southern California, an organization created in 2000 to

[24] Staff writer, "It's Politics: Bipartisan Money Worshipping," *Pasadena Star News*, October 12, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, February 25, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, March 19, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, March 26, 2012.

enhance political awareness and activities of local southeastern Chinese American community, held a press conference to express their favor for Ed Royce on October 16, 2012. IAPAC had endorsed Jay Chen in his HLPUSD election in 2011. Many local Chinese political leaders, including Cary C. Chen, Judy Nieh, Wen-pin Chang, Linling Chang, Mary Su and Norman Hsu, also publicly endorsed Ed Royce.[25] These Chinese leaders aligned with Ed Royce mostly were first-generation Republicans prioritizing partisanship over ethnicity in a staunch-Republican congressional district. The preference of these local Chinese toward Ed Royce partly was based on experience as well. Jay Chen's brief political record and capability for higher political office were questioned.[26]

While part of the local Chinese turned their back against Jay Chen, some Taiwanese organizations, represented by The Taiwan Center, also opted to give credibility to Ed Royce out of the awareness of ethnic identity and transnationality. As mentioned in Chapter Four, Taiwan Center, ingrained with strong Taiwanese identity, usually was more interested in Taiwan's domestic political development. It usually took the neutral position for local politics, showing no special favor for particular candidates in the past elections of the Los Angeles County. However, in the competition between Ed Royce and Jay Chen, the Taiwan Center pitched toward Ed Royce.[27] It held several fundraising parties for Ed Royce, donating more than four

[25] Interview with Norman Hsu, Date: June 21, 2012; Interview with Melody Wang, Date: March 10, 2012.; Interview with Anyoke Lee, Date: March 10; Interview with Judy Chen Haggerty, Date: May 3, 2012.; Interview with Judy Nieh, Date: September 8, 2011.

[26] *Chinese Daily News*, July 29, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, August 19, 2012.

[27] Jay Chen had close relationship with Taiwan Center. His aunt, Ing-Huey Lin, ever served as the president of Taiwan Center in 2008 and 2009. In his high-school term, Jay Chen not only ever served as voluntary workers for the Taiwan Center, and joined the journalism and political internship programs, launched by Taiwanese American Citizen League. Moreover, after serving as the board member of HLPUSD, he also sponsored and attended activities of Taiwan Center. *Chinese Daily News*, July 24, 2012.

hundred thousand dollars for his team. Some leaders of the Taiwanese American lobby organization, FAPA, also joined Ed Royce's congressional club to help him conduct organizing activities in Taiwanese American community. Besides, public media close to Taiwan Center, such as *Pacific Times* and L.A. Times TV Channel, also publicized Ed Royce's campaign.[28]

Two reasons probably were responsible for the Taiwan Center to ally with Ed Royce. First, as a senior member of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the House of Representatives and an active member of Congressional Taiwan Caucus, Ed Royce had longstanding relationship cooperation with the Taiwanese American organizations. From 2009 to 2012, he was invited several times to give speeches and seminars launching in the Taiwan Center building to discuss about Taiwan's future and its position in regard to U.S. Asian strategy. Besides, a series of actions that Ed Royce advocated for a U.S.-Taiwan free trade agreement, as well as his constant effort to ask the U.S. Government to commit her responsibility, according to the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, for Taiwan's security all made him a hero for radical Taiwanese Americans: In May, 2009, Ed Royce asked Congress to have a full Taiwan policy review and made a string of recommendations; including allowing U.S. Navy vessels to cruise Taiwan ports. In 2011, he served as an original co-drafter of the Taiwan Policy Act of 2011, a bill to strengthen the Taiwan Relations Act. In 2012, he co-authored the bill, H.R. 2918, which put Taiwan in the U.S. Visa Waiver Program. On April 25, 2012, Ed Royce, urged by Taiwan Center, sent a public letter to Taiwan's current President, Ying-jeou Ma (Kuomintang Party), to grant former President Chen,

[28] For example, Taiwan Center and FAPA ever held two fundraising parties on May 20 and August 25, 2012, donating nearly ten hundred thousand dollars for Ed Royce's election. See FAPA website: http://fapa-oc.blogspot.com/2011/04/fapaed-roycecongressional-club.html; *Chinese Daily News*, May 18, 2012; L.A. Taiwan TV, May 26, 2012;

Shui-bian (Democracy Progress Party), who was accused of scandal, a medical parole under humanitarian consideration.[29] Ed Royce's letter was one of a series of Taiwan Center's activities through diplomatic ways to "Save the President Chen."[30] In addition, the Taiwan Center with high expected that Ed Royce would further promote Taiwan's agenda and Taiwanese American interests if, as his team claimed, he would head the Foreign Affairs Committee after reelected as the Representative in the Congress.[31]

In addition, some Taiwanese Americans, who viewed Communist China as a threat to Taiwan security, were enraged by Jay Chen's endorsement of the Confucius Classroom in HLPUSD in 2010. They perceived it as a betrayal to the Taiwan identity.[32] Samuel Lee, the founder of the L.A. Taiwan TV channel, opined his suspicion for Jay Chen's ethnic identity in a television program in which he proposed a strong recommendation for Ed Royce. He praised Royce as the "true friend of Taiwan."[33] In a message left by anonymous "Taiwanese American" in an online forum run by local Taiwanese correspondent Lin Yang, this person claimed: "He (Jay Chen) voices himself as Taiwanese American, but he supports Confucius Institute

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[29] Staff writer, "Congressman Ed Royce (R-CA) Requests Taiwan to Grant Former President Chen, Shui-bian Medical Parole," *Formosan Foundation Newsletter*, April 25, 2012.

[30] Related activities included the public remark of Congressman Daniel Lungren to urge Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission to call on the Taiwan Government to grant Shui-bian Chen a medical parole and investigated the facts surrounding his treatment on April 20, 2012. Staff writer, "Congressman Daniel Lungren (R-CA) Urges Medical Parole for Former Taiwan President Chen," *Formosan Foundation Newsletter*, April 20, 2012.

[31] See William Lowther, "U.S. Congressman Call for overhaul of Taiwan Policy," *Taipei Times*, May 21, 2009; Staff writer, "Congressman Ed Royce Calls for Re-evaluation of U.S. –Taiwan Relation," *Formosan Foundation Newsletter* (Fall 2009); William Lowther, "Taiwan Policy Act Moves Ahead in U.S. Lower House," *Taipei Times*, March 28, 2012; *Sina News*, October 3, 2012; Staff writer, "Rep. Royce Meets With The Formosan Foundation Ambassador Program Calls for A Return to the Trade Investment Framework Agreement," *States News Service*, June 29, 2012.

[32] *Chinese Daily News*, September 1, 2012.

[33] L.A. Taiwan TV, May 26, 2012.

propaganda of China who has thousands of missiles pointed at Taiwan."[34] This sense of incredulity among Taiwanese, particularly the first-generation ones, was farther augmented when some local organizations made up by newly Mainland Chinese immigrants chose to side with Jay Chen in his congressional campaigns.[35]

Although facing schisms among his ethnic voting base, as a second-generation Democrat, Jay Chen possessed strong potential to appeal to the non-Chinese mainstream electorate. Jay Chen was endorsed by three local employee associations— Hacienda La Puente Teacher Association (HLPTA), Civil Service Employee Association of Hacienda La Puente Chapter (CSEA), Service Employees International Union (SEIU).[36] Chen garnered outside endorsements as well, including California Labor Federation, California Teachers Association, SEIU International, Orange County Federation of Labor, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, International Longshore & Warehouse Union, Southern California District Council, and Orange County Professional Firefighters Association.[37] Jay Chen's experience as an intelligence office of the Naval Reserves also gained support from veteran groups, including Veterans' Alliance for Security and Democracy and Veterans & Military Families for Progress (VMFP).[38]

Jay Chen also made large progress in developing multiethnic coalitions in the local community, portraying himself as the speaker of the minorities. For example, on July 1, through local Chinese activist, Bin-Shan Zhou, Jay Chen had a meeting

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[34] Hyphen— Asian America Unabridged, website: http://www.hyphenmagazine.com/node/3798.

[35] Although Taiwan Center publicly endorsed Ed Royce, many members also showed their favors for Jay Chen, particularly American-born Taiwanese Americans. As I observed in several occasions of Taiwan American Heritage Week in 2012, many young Taiwanese still expressed straight welcome for Jay Chen's attendance.

[36] *Chinese Daily News*, September 25, 2011.

[37] Jay Chen for Congress, website: http://www.chenforcongress.com/zh.

[38] Staff writer, "Key Veterans Groups Endorse Jay Chen for Congress," in Jay Chen for Congress, website: http://www.chenforcongress.com/zh.

with east-SGV Latinos, and met with leaders; including Ana Hernandez, who headed the Family Resource Center, as well as Jose F. Moreno, who created the 'Los Amigos.' All these local Latino community leaders confirmed Jay Chen's devotion to promote Spanish courses in the local school district.[39] Afterwards, the "Mexican American Bar Association PAC", a Whittier-based influential Latino organization comprised of members of attorneys, civic leaders and businessmen, also openly endorsed Jay Chen.[40] This interracial familiarity reflected a long history of political collaboration between Chinese/Asian immigrants with Latino Americans in the San Gabriel Valley. As Leland T. Saito put it, San Gabriel Valley Latinos and Asian Americans shared issues of hate crimes, English-only initiatives, and anti-immigration policies that could build a base for inter-racial relationship. This relationship was further fostered by a pragmatic assessment of the need for alliances, professional knowledge, and a history of personal and working connections.[41] Judy Chu took advantage of this strategy, leading her to win a seat of state assembly in a Hispanic-majority region and to U.S. Congress in 2009. It showed meaningful implication for Jay Chen who regarded Judy Chu as his political mentor.

Jay Chen's congressional campaign was also characterized by the unusual phenomenon of younger Chinese mobilization. During the election, Jay Chen recruited nearly three hundred young Chinese volunteer workers who were still in high schools and colleges into his team. These young people conducted grassroots voter outreach efforts: doing phone-call concerns, door-to-door meeting and greeting

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[39] *Chinese Daily News*, July 3, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, October 31, 2012.
[40] Staff writer, "Mexican American Bar Association PAC Endorses Jay Chen for Congress ," See Jay Chen for Congress, website: http://www.chenforcongress.com/zh.
[41] Leland T. Saito, *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998), pp. 127-128.

and helped locals for voter registration. On October 3, Jay Chen's team had concluded that these volunteers had reached over 50,000 households by personal visitations and phone-calling.[42] Moreover, Jay Chen's camp intensively utilized social media, such as YouTube, Twitter and Facebook, to publicize his political statements among young groups. They also held a host of activities, including speeches and discussion forums, in the local high schools and colleges to cater younger electorates. This electoral strategy targeting young ballots brought a new model for local Chinese political participation, which mostly used to depend upon foreign-born Chinese mobilization.

As an American-born minority citizen, Jay Chen's electoral campaigns surprisingly were dotted with several accidents which he claimed as racist attacks. For instance, at the midnight of September 23, Jay Chen's office in Fullerton City was severely disrupted. The vandals tore down signs and placards outside of the office, and broke the glass of the office.[43] On October 5, a slogan with words "Is Mr. Jay Chen a Closet Commie" was found by locals on a telegraph pole in the intersection of Eculid Street and Valencia Drive, Fullerton City.[44] Afterwards, on October 9, in La Habra Heights there appeared a racist toned yard sign— "Vote For the American?," questioning Jay Chen's American identity.[45] In late October, a Super PAC (political action committee) called America Shining spent over half million dollars to support Jay Chen. It was operated by Jay Chen's brother Shaw Yi Chen, who ran commercial businesses in Hong Kong and China. This San Francisco-based Super PAC produced numerous direct mail hit pieces against Royce, as well as commercials

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[42] Jay Chen for Congress, website: http://www.chenforcongress.com/zh.

[43] *Chinese Daily News*, September 25, 2012; Staff writer, "House Candidate Jay Chen Charges 'Racist Attacks', office vandalism," *Los Angeles Times*, November 2, 2012.

[44] *Chinese Daily News*, October 6, 2012.

[45] *Chinese Daily News*, September 25, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, October 6, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, October 10, 2012.

airing on cable TV depicting Royce as a monster— the “creature from Washington” — in a campy, mock-horror film.[46] The exposure of relationship of “America Shining” with Jay Chen increased complaints from some locals who were further suspicious of Jay Chen’s connection with a foreign country. Nevertheless, putting aside the electoral verbal attacks from both camps, Jay Chen’s support of the Confucius Classroom was used by opponents as the excuse to doubt his loyalty. It indicated the inherently-embedded distrust among some people in the local community toward minority candidates; even they are American-born citizens.

Jay Chen’s campaigns both demonstrated his individual effort as well as the development of Chinese social organizations and networks. It reflected the intense political mobilization of Chinese community both in local and regional levels. While Jay Chen was overwhelmed by Ed Royce in Orange County and San Bernardino County, in Los Angeles County, which included most territory of four towns of east San Gabriel Valley, he beat his rival by 6,000 votes (See Table 6-1). This electoral result reflected the local Chinese effort to maintain the integrity of local Chinese community from dilution in the redistricting issue in 2011 that genuinely created an ethnic-based voting bloc in the east San Gabriel Valley. It created an advantageous political arena for subsequent Chinese political aspirants.

Jay Chen’s electoral bid also demonstrated the spasm and complexity of the Chinese political mobilization. Contrary to conventional wisdom that minority and immigrant groups would follow the ethnic line to firmly patronize their ethnic

[46] Steve Scauzillo, “Royce Supporter Asks for an Investigation into Super PAC Supported by Jay Chen’s Brother,” *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, October 22, 2012; Melaine C. Johnson, “Chen Calls Out Royce Campaign After Receiving Racist Voicemails,” *Diamond Bar-Walnut Patch*, November 4, 2012; Melaine C. Johnson, “Is the FEC Investigating Jay Chen and America Shining PAC?,” *Diamond Bar-Walnut Patch*, November 5, 2012.

candidates, political partisanship, different ethnic identity, and even transnational ideology sometimes outweighed ethnicity. It showed the dilemmas for subsequent Chinese political aspirants to claim collective ethnic appeal in a local community with diverse components of Chinese subgroups. Added to that is a growing number of American-born descents who gradually defied the patterns of conventional Chinese American political mobilization.

Jay Chen's congressional activities revealed the trajectory that eastward Chinese political participation had moved from marginal to mainstream politics as well. His affiliation to the Democratic Party, as well as the strategy to portray himself as a minority speaker, underscored that Chinese political engagement had gradually gone beyond narrow dimension of ethnicity-exclusive representation. It reflected that younger-generation Chinese politicians had increasingly conformed to a larger American political mechanism. It also mirrored a broader trend of Americanization within the eastward Chinese community.

Table 6-1 The Result of 39th District Congressional Election in 2012

	Los Angeles		Orange		San Bernardino		Total Votes	
	Vote	Ratio (%)	Vote	Ratio (%)	Vote	Ratio (%)	Votes	Ratio (%)
Ed Royce	29,209	45.4	100,221	62.6	16,177	59.0	113,746	57.8
Jay Chen	35,122	54.6	59,991	37.4	11,247	41.0	78,822	42.2

Source: The Statement of Vote of General Election, November 6, 2012.

(B)The Case Study of Electoral Campaign of Eric Ching in 2012:

The rise of Eric Ching in the local politics in Walnut city is a specific case of the emerging Chinese/Asian American political influence in suburban city of east San Gabriel Valley. Eric Ching is a first-generation Taiwanese immigrating to United States in 1982 when he was 16. After earning a B.S. degree in Marketing and Management from California State University of Los Angeles in 1999, Eric Ching operated a telecommunication company and settled in the east San Gabriel Valley. In 2004, he moved from Diamond Bar to Walnut when his daughter was enrolled in local elementary school. By engaging in fundraising for the elementary school, Eric Ching become involved in community services. In 2007, he served as a member of the Walnut Chinese American Association, which he chaired in 2011. In January, 2012, Eric Ching was appointed as a Planning Commissioner, a springboard position to the city council. In April, 2012, he won the seat on the city council, becoming the fourth Chinese elected official in the Walnut.[47]

In comparison to Jay Chen's case implying American-born Chinese political participation in regional level, the example of Eric Ching demonstrated the typical model of Chinese ethnic politics. Ching followed the normal line of participation in local self-governed council, in Walnut. The city witnessed astronomical growth in the Chinese/Taiwanese population in the east San Gabriel Valley, from 250 in 1980, 3,784 in 1990, 9,406 in 2000, to 10,312 in 2010. In 1990, the Chinese only accounted for 13% city population, while in 2010 nearly forty percent of Walnut residents are

[47] Melanie C. Johnson, "Vote on Lim's Pick for Planning Commission Delayed," *Diamond Bar-Walnut Patch*, January 12, 2012; Melanie C. Johnson, "Former CAAW President Puts in Bid for City Council," *Diamond Bar-Walnut Patch*, February 1, 2012; Melanie C. Johnson, "Challenger Eric Ching Wins Council Seat," *Diamond Bar-Walnut Patch*, April 16, 2012; Melanie C. Johnson, "Fate of Walnut Election Decided Today," *Diamond Bar-Walnut Patch*, April 16, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, April 11, 2012.

Chinese. It made Walnut become the town in east district with most powerful Chinese ethnic voting base in 2000s. Unlike its neighbor, Diamond Bar, where the Chinese took up one-fifth of the population that allowed one Chinese representative in city council in the past three decade, more local Chinese in pursuit of public office appeared in the Walnut. The Chinese usually occupied two seats in city council and local school district, matching to their local demography.

Eric Ching's political participation revealed the direct result of Chinese engagement in local civic activities as well. From the establishment of the Walnut Chinese American Association in 1989 and Chinese American Parents Association of Walnut High School in 1997, a group of Chinese parents was eager to work with the mainstream political system, supporting pioneering Chinese representatives, such as Joaquin Lim and Anyoke Lee, to local offices. These local Chinese activists increased their commitment to civic duties in the 2000s. After football stadium dispute, they perceived the importance of ethnic political representation, and engaged more in local politics. In 2010, backed by local Chinese civic activists, Howard Wang, associate vice president of student affairs at California State University of Fullerton, ran an unsuccessful campaign, by opposing the football stadium. Along with Howard Wang other local Chinese leaders such as Joaquin Lim and Shiuh-Ming Ellis, Eric Ching formed the anti-stadium grassroots organization, "Citizens for Communities Preservation Inc", and involved in many local civic matters, such as defending the local residence from the entry of the cell phone tower project in the neighboring Creek Park in 2012. At the outset, Eric Ching claimed an "appeal to grassroots" electoral strategy, employing face-to-face conversation with local voters. He also actively attended non-Chinese/Asian activities to earn the trust of the local

community. For example, he joined a forum hosted by the East San Gabriel Valley chapter of the League of Women Voters at the Walnut Senior Center on March 26, 2012. His sixty volunteers contained a dozen of non-Chinese locals, who worked, writing emails, making phone-calls, and personal visits, to court the electorate from different ethnicities in local community centers, Christian churches, and non-profit organizations.

After inauguration as a councilman, Eric Ching continued to act as a bridge to combine different ethnic groups to work for the goods of the Walnut. On September 6, he successfully urged a couple of local organizations, including Walnut Chinese American Association, Chinese PTA of Walnut High School, the Walnut Valley Women's Club, the Walnut Historical Society and the Walnut Confucius Chinese Language School, to initiate a series of fundraising programs to provide scholarship in the city's annual Family Festival, to offer assistance to needy families, and volunteer for local events.[48] Eric Ching's bid for the city council, to a certain extent, symbolized the efforts of Walnut Chinese interaction with the local American society.[49]

In a city with majority of Chinese constituents, Eric Ching's city-council bid accidentally flamed latent tensions within the local Chinese community. It was triggered by a post on the "Walnut Tattler Blog," which Eric Ching criticized and accused as racist. This blog was established in 2009, and released a lot of articles

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[48] Melanie C. Johnson, "Walnut Council Candidates Answer to Voters at Forum," *Diamond Bar-Walnut Patch*, March 27, 2012; Melanie C. Johnson, "Councilman Ching Rallies Community Groups to Team UP: Ching Unveiled the Alliance at a Press Conference This Week and Announced Plans for His Donated Council Stipend," *Diamond Bar-Walnut Patch*, September 7, 2012.

[49] James Wagner, "Walnut Has Become a Political Battleground," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, March 25, 2010; Staff writer, "Walnut Candidates Still Fighting over Industry NFL Stadium Proposal," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, April 2, 2012; Melanie C. Johnson, "Walnut City Council Clears Path for Cell Phone Tower Projects," *Diamond Bar-Walnut Patch*, November 15, 2012.

against local Chinese officials or activists, including Anyoke Lee, Jay Chen, Ivy Quan, Howard Wang, Eric Ching and, particularly, Joaquin Lim. It contained some images, such as one photo of a rat eating a piece of tofu, which some Chinese accused of insulting to the Asian community. Fighting back, Eric Ching and his supporters asked for an investigation on this blog at the council meeting on March 14, while his team also held a Chinese press meeting on March 12, accusing Mary Su, the Walnut Chinese city councilwoman, of distributing emails with two essays of "Lim Clone Ching Sends Mass Email Scaring Voters About the Cell Tower in Park," and "Ching and West Fake Red Light Camera Claim." These two articles both came from "Walnut Tattler Blog."[50] Despite that Mary Su responded that her dissemination of these two essays simply came out of the consideration to clear the rumors for Eric Ching, this event both reflected local resents towards the overwhelming growth of the Chinese, as well as the internal conflict of local Chinese community in Walnut.

The Walnut Chinese community had divided into two camps of distinctive subgroups with different views surrounding community development since 2000s. One Chinese subgroup was mainly early Taiwanese immigrants who moved to the city in 1980s and 1990s. This group was mostly middle-class professionals who were active in the local community matters. The leaders of this subgroup included many local Chinese/Taiwanese political pioneers, including Anyoke Lee, Mile Nan, Ivy Quan, as well as local civic activists such as Howard Wang, Shiuh-Ming Ellis, Eric Ching, and etc. They were the main creators and supporters for the Walnut Chinese American Association, Walnut Chinese Confucius School, Chinese PTA of Walnut

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[50] Staff writer, "Ching Calls for City to Investigate Political Blog: Walnut City Council Candidate Eric Ching Feels the Walnut Tattler Blog is Racist," *Diamond Bar-Walnut Patch*, March 14, 2012; The website of Walnut Tattler Blog: http://walnuttattler.blogspot.com/.

High School, and other established local Chinese clubs. Their expectations toward the city development tended to be more conservative and focused on a slow-growth policy in hope of maintaining the original face of a bedroom community. It led many of them to be involved in local community civic actions: joining protesting activities to block housing projects near Mt. SAC College in 2005; hindering the development of a shopping center, anchored by a Chinese supermarket, in the cross section of Grand Avenue and Amar Road in 2006, and the football stadium project in 2010. The influence of this subgroup upon local Chinese community was seriously challenged by another rising Chinese subgroup, comprised by a large number of newly-migrated Chinese residents from Mainland China. Led by Mary Su, an aggressive Taiwanese immigrant winning a seat on the Walnut city council in 2006, this Chinese subgroup enrolled en mass in local Chinese organizations, grabbing the dominance of directors of board of the Walnut Chinese American Association from 2007 to 2011. Their view for the community tended to be more open for commercial activities. Their support for the creation of the "economic development seminar," in 2012 aimed to bring more restaurants and dining businesses to the city to increase the tax revenues.[51] To compete for the representation of Walnut Chinese community, these two Chinese groups gradually set fire to each other in the public agenda and local elections. For example, they demonstrated conflicting attitudes on the issue of Middle Land Chan Monastery (The Chung Tai Zen Center). The plan launched by Taiwanese Grand Master Wei Chueh was to establish a Zen retreat in Walnut in 2001. While many established Taiwanese, such as Ivy Quan, showed sympathy toward this monastery

[51]*Chinese Daily News*, March 23, 2006; *Chinese Daily News*, December 20, 2008; *Chinese Daily News*, February 12, 2013; Interview with Ivy Kuan, Date: May 30, 2012; Interview with Shiuh-Ming Ellis, Date: June 25, 2012.

project, many local Chinese residents (led by Mary Su), along with most local white residents, voted against this project in the city's Planning Commission in January, 2008, leading the monastery to resettle to the Pomona.[52] The football stadium issue divided the community with some established Taiwanese activists discontent toward Mary Su's swing position, which they thought that she gave in to the developer. It led to the recall action initiated by this Chinese/Taiwanese group against Mary Su in February, 2009.[53]

This intra-group competition of two Chinese subgroups continued to extend to the battlefield of local city council election. In 2010, Howard Wang was encouraged by established the Walnut Taiwanese to challenge the incumbent Chinese councilwoman, Mary Su. During the election, Howard Wang and Mary Su, issued fierce remarks to each other, and strongly competed for support from local Chinese organizations. The mutual distrust of these two camps was farther deepened when a newly-created "Keeping Walnut Together Committee," an organization allegedly financed by Majestic Realty Group, donated funds to support incumbents Tom King and Mary Su. This organization severely targeted Howard Wang and another candidate, Brigid Bjerke, with the accusations that both of them fought against a new fire station guaranteed in Walnut's settlement agreement with Majestic Realty Co. and Industry City. It produced mailers and televisions advertisements to attack Howard Wang. This blast from "Keeping Walnut Together Committee" and its relationship with Mary Su farther widened gap between these Chinese subgroups.

[52] Middle Land Chan Monastery, *Walnut Zen Center Description: Application for conditional use permit, site architectural review, 2007* (an official report of Middle Land Chan Monastery); The website of Middle Land Chan Monastery: http://www.middleland.org/english/index.html;

[53] Interview with Ivy Kuan, Date: May 30, 2012; Interview with Shiuh-Ming Ellis, Date: June 25, 2012.

This schism in the local Chinese community did not end with the election on April 13, 2010, when Mary Su was re-elected, as the highest vote-getter. Howard Wang was defeated by a margin of 417 votes.[54] The conflict of these two Chinese subgroups continued to extend to Eric Ching's campaign. As the only Chinese candidate in the election of 2012, Eric Ching's city-council activity apparently did not earn unanimous support from local Chinese organizations. Mary Su's ambiguous attitude and indifference to many of the newly-migrated Mainland Chinese, weakened ethnic voter base for Eric Ching's election. It reflected the dilemma with intra-group fragmentation caused by different stereotypes among various Chinese subgroups.

Undoubtedly, a combination of factors, including Chinese diverse sub-ethnicity, transnational identification, party affiliation, and the vastly different views of the American-born Chinese genuinely produced emerging cleavage and division within Chinese ethnic political power. However, the three decade development of Chinese political participation in the east San Gabriel Valley illustrated that the small-to-medium sized local towns in east district actually provided the Chinese arena to nurture and develop their ethnic representation, shored up by the proliferation of Chinese social organizations and promotion of Chinese local civic activities. Moreover, the growth of these Chinese elected officials further assured more access to local government. For instance, Walnut had witnessed nearly twenty Chinese representatives appointed by city council in its various city commissions in the last two decades. Similarly, a dozen of Chinese headed Diamond Bar's three city

[54] James Wagner, "Walnut Has Become a Political Battleground," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, March 25, 2010; James Wagner, "Committee Raised Nearly $ 24,000 to oppose Walnut Council Candidates Against NFL Stadium," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, April 7, 2010; *Chinese Daily News*, April 8, 2010; *Sing Dao Daily News*, April 10, 2010; *Chinese Daily News*, April 14, 2010.

commissions, Planning, Parks & Recreation and Traffic & Transportation commissions, since mid-1990s. These appointed Chinese commissioners, who had opportunities to learn the municipal operations and earn visibility in local community, became the potential Chinese activists and politicians.

In addition, Chinese political participation, as shown by the cases of Jay Chen and Eric Ching, demonstrated that local Chinese utilized, as many scholars such as James S. Lai called, a two-tiered campaign strategy, which relied on their ethnic support while focused on winning pan-ethnic favor among Asian American groups with constructing cross-racial alliances with whites. Jay Chen's affiliation to the Democratic Party and coalition with Latino groups, and Eric Ching's devotion to the local civic duties earned them political capital to develop multiethnic cooperation, empowering them with the chance to earn greater political success.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that although Chinese earned capital from a solid ethnic voting bloc and gained a fruitful of political accomplishments, local Chinese, both ethnic voters and politicians, showed less willingness to use this stronger ethnic political muscle authoritatively for ethnic interests. In contrast to their counterparts in Monterey Park who soon turned the city into the entity with Chinese-centered conveniences, in Chinese majority Walnut, no Chinese group ever protested for the city council not to conduct a minority favoring voter policy, guaranteed by Federal Election Law of 1975. That law had guaranteed that any local electoral district with more than 5% minority voters with English inabilities was required to provide bilingual ballot information services. It was until 2008, urged by Federal Government, that Mandarin, along with Korean and Tagalog, were for the first time added to local ballots, which originally contained English and Spanish explanations.

Besides, the Chinese seldom complained that the public facilities in Walnut and Diamond Bar remained exclusive-English signs. Neither showed much dissatisfaction about the phenomenon that English was the only language allowed to be used for daily operations of city hall departments. No one questioned and tried to move with counteraction against the phenomenon that regular city council meetings and hearings in these two cities were held without assistance of any bilingual or multilingual employees. Even with a dispute regarding an English-only ordinance, submitted by a Walnut resident in July, 2012, which asked non-English speakers to provide their own interpreters for all council proceedings, many local Chinese firmly approved, rather than blasted, it. Therefore, while eastward Chinese genuinely yielded powerful ethnic political representation, they did not use it to Chinatownize where they resided.

Table 6-2

Chinese Elected Officials in East San Gabriel Valley, 1990-2012

(School District, Water District and Community College Offices)

District	Name	Chinese Name	First Elected
HLPSD	Joseph Chang	張金生	1993
HLPSD	Norman Hsu	徐乃星	1991
HLPSD	Jay Chen	陳介飛	2007
HLPSD	Gino Kowk	郭志	2011
HLPSD	Joseph Chang	張金生	1993
MTSAC	Judy Chen	陳淑卿	2000
RHUSD	Melody Wang	王小如	1993
RHUSD	Cary Chen	陳正治	2009
RHUSD	Judy Nieh	聶曼麗	2000
RHWD	Szu-Pei Lu	盧思蓓	2005
WUSD	Anyoke Lee	李安岳	1997
WVWD	Scarlet Kwong	趙百淳	2007
WVWD	Allen Wu	伍立倫	2003

Source: Made by the author, collected information from local Chinese Newspapers.
HLPSD: Hacienda-La Puente School District; RHUSD: Rowland Heights Unified School District
RHWD: Rowland Heights Water District; WUSD: Walnut Unified School District
WVWD: Walnut Valley Water District; MTSAC: Mt. San Antonio College.

Table 6-3

The Chinese City Councilors in east San Gabriel Valley, 1970s-2012

City	Name	Chinese Name	First Elected	Term of office
Diamond Bar	Wen P Chang	張文彬	1997	1997-22009
Diamond Bar	Ling Ling Chang	張玲齡	2009	2009-current
Walnut	Joaquin Lim	林恩成	1995	1995-2012
Walnut	Miles Nan	南一鵬	2002	2002-2003
Walnut	Mary Su	蘇王秀蘭	2006	2006-current
Walnut	Eric Ching	秦振國	2012	2012-current
West Covina	Benjamin Wang	王忠秣	1992	1992-2001

Source: Made by the author, collected information from local Chinese Newspapers.

B. Chinese and Local Cityhood Movement:

While the Chinese in Walnut and Diamond Bar made their political progress through the path to engage in systems of local city council, Chinese in Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights tended to be less advantageous in the unincorporated towns in which left limited accesses of local school districts and water districts for political aspirants. Nevertheless, in the last three decades, Chinese in these two towns moved with the collective actions to work together with different ethnic groups to engage in another dimension of local political mobilization and activism, the agenda of the municipality and the related activities.

(A) The Incorporation issue and local politics:

Generally speaking, municipality pursuing activities were not rare in the local history of the region. The ratified Californian constitution in 1879 and the passage of Municipal Corporations Act of 1883 first enabled local residents to vote in a general election for incorporation, leading to a total of 88 unincorporated regions in Los Angeles County turning into cities through ballot initiatives in the following century. Among them, 11 cities were formed in the nineteenth century, while 36 and 38 unincorporated areas had incorporated in the first and second half of the twentieth century, respectively. Historically, two major growth periods for cityhood in Los Angeles County occurred, with one took place in early twentieth century through 1930, and another one beginning in the 1950s and extended to the late 1980s. The first period coincided with a great influx of migrants to the county when it began to take shape as a modern metropolitan area. The second period was paced with postwar

suburbanization and accelerated by the "service-contract plan," suggested by new city of Lakewood in 1954. This plan allowed newly-founded cities with limited public employment to negotiate with their county governments and other private units for purchasing public services. The Lakewood case proved an attractive pattern for suburbanites to gain local-control without incurring the expenses of creating a full-service municipality. Besides, the passage of California's bill of one-percent local sales tax in 1956 also created an important new source of revenue for local governments, making cityhood more viable in many communities with extensive retailing businesses.[55]

Moreover, the passage of Proposition 13 of 1978, a property tax limitation initiative, further produced a niche for cityhood proponents. In the past, fears that taxes would increase had allegedly been a major disincentive to incorporation. But the property tax rate freeze made by Proposition 13, to a certain extent, counteracted this disincentive. Incorporation would not add any net property tax burdens to property owners in that area, unless their rate had been below the low maximum rate of one percent established by Proposition 13. In addition to the contextual regulations, other parameters such as inter-governmental competition, annexation, water resource sharing, or fiscal limitations were also motives to drive people to take actions for cityhood in order to protect their rights from the threats of neighboring cities. Therefore, all these factors led to a flurry of incorporation happening in Los Angeles County particularly in 1960s to 1980s. This made the number of residents living in

[55] Paul G. Lewis, "The Durability of Local Government Structure: Evidence from California," *State & Local Government Review*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter, 2000), pp. 36-37; Martin J. Schiesl, "The Politics of Contracting: Los Angeles County and the Lakewood Plan, 1954-1962," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Summer, 1982), pp. 227-243; John C. Bollans and Stanley Scoot, Local Government in California (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1951), p. 57.

unincorporated areas had declined since 1960s, from 7.1 million, nearly 15% of the Los Angeles County's population, in 1974 to approximately one million in 2012. Following this trend, Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights also launched several incorporation attempts in the aftermath of 1980.[56]

In order to deal with growing requests for incorporation and complex local governmental issues, the Californian State Legislature in 1963 created a new monitoring agency for urban growth, the Local Agency Formation Commission (LAFCO) in each county. Acting as a government entity, LAFCO was empowered to decide boundary, annexation, special districts, and incorporation issues. LAFCO was essentially comprised of representatives from local cities and representatives of the County board of supervisors. As a result, a town's incorporation attempt usually involved regional, even to the county-wide, political competition.[57]

In prior to 1985, LAFCO had mandated a series of complicated statutory laws and three enabling acts, the Knox-Nisbet Act of 1963, the District Reorganization Act of 1965 and the Municipal Organization Act of 1977. However, longstanding confusion in implementing and reconciling these distinct, and at times incompatible, laws led the Legislature to draft the Cortese-Knox Local Government Reorganization Act in 1985, a combination and revision of the three acts. The Cortese-Knox Local Government Reorganization Act of 1985 provided the framework within which proposed city annexations, incorporations, consolidations, and special district formations are considered. Afterwards, in 1997, a new call for reform in local

[56] Paul G. Lewis, "The Durability of Local Government Structure: Evidence from California, pp. 34-35; Greg Krikorian, "Caught in the Middle: Service-Poor Unincorporated Areas Can Seem Worlds Apart from Neighboring Cities," *Los Angeles Times*, September 15, 1994; Paul G. Lewis, "The Durability of Local Government Structure: Evidence from California, pp. 42-43; Los Angeles County Government website: http://www.lacounty.gov/wps/portal/lac/residents/unincorporated.

[57] John Goldbach, "Local Formation Commissions: California's Struggle over Municipal Incorporations," *Public Administration Review*, Vol.25, No.3 (September, 1965), pp. 213-220.

government resulted in the formation of the fifteen-member "Commission on Local Governance for the 21st Century" (CLG21). CLG21 finalized the updated version of Cortes-Knox-Hertzberg Local Government Reorganization Act of 2000, an act that mandated greater independence for LAFCO in 58 California Counties, and further clarified their mission on local government arrangement.[58]

According to Cortese-Knox Local Government Reorganization Act and Cortes-Knox-Hertzberg Local Government Reorganization Act, the application for a cityhood essentially required several step-by-step stages: (a)to consult with LAFOC and propose an initial feasibility review; (b) to submit an incorporation petition with signatures of at least 25% local registered voters; (c) If the petition is approved by LAFCO, then a comprehensive fiscal analysis (CFA), testifies the fiscal self-support once the municipality attained, is required to submit. LAFCO will then review all the application materials, perform environmental review, determine revenue neutrality payments, and produce a final report. If the incorporation proposal is approved and there is no opposition for 30 days, then the incorporation will be placed on the ballot of the next general election or a special election. The incorporation will be completed when a simple majority of the voters votes for it. If the election result discouraged the incorporation, a ten-year suspension will be exercised before another cityhood proposal.[59]

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[58] LAFCO website: http://www.lafco.org/opencms/index.html.

[59] Cameron Smith, *Guide to Cortes-Knox-Hertzberg Local Government Reorganization Act of 2000* (Los Angeles, CA: Assembly Committee on Local Government, 2011), pp. 132-194; Governor's Office of Planning and Research, *A Guide to the LAFCO Process for Incorporations: October 2003*, pp. 1-26.

(B) Chinese Involvement in Hacienda Heights Cityhood Activities:

Hacienda Heights incorporation efforts dated back to the early 1970s. In 1971, the HHIA had sponsored a three-year study regarding Hacienda Heights cityhood, and asked the LA County's Chief Administrative Office to appoint an "Incorporation Feasibility Committee" to pursue the issue.[60] Afterwards, a fifty person organization, "Hacienda Heights City Incorporation through You," was formed in 1974 and examined the possibility to launch a cityhood ballot in 1976 general election.[61] These early incorporation efforts were highly concerned with 'growing pains' in the wake of a skyrocketing suburban population. These community members sought more input on local zoning, which they thought was compromised by Los Angeles County without consideration of local interests.

Hacienda Heights incorporation happened in 1982, initiated by the HHIA in reaction to two local events. First, in January 1980, LAFCO set aside spheres of influence 1,200 acres from Hacienda Heights to Whittier and about 1,000 acres on the southern border to the City of Industry. Spheres of influence are used as planning guides for cities or unincorporated areas as the County plans their ultimate physical boundaries. Therefore, LAFCO's decision for the annexation of the undeveloped land of Hacienda Heights disappointed some residents who thought that the creation of a municipal government might work against the possible territorial annexation and control their own community. Secondly, in 1982, a trash incinerator and a large landfill were proposed to be located in Hacienda Heights's west hill section bordering Whittier. This landfill project, which later known as Puente Hills Landfill,

[60] Ann Frank, "Cityhood Considered by Hacienda Heights: Feasibility Committee to Study Facts of Incorporation; Taxes Determining Factor," *Los Angeles Times*, April 21, 1971.

[61] Mayerne Barker, "Hacienda Heights Unit Will Try for Cityhood," *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1974.

was supposed to bring environmental impacts and pollution upon the neighboring community, particularly Hacienda Heights and La Habra Heights. It forced many Hacienda Heights locals to consider incorporation as a solution to stop the establishment of this gigantic project.[62]

As a result, in early 1982, led by HHIA, the cityhood activities soon drew dozens of volunteers.[63] In hoping to place the incorporation issue in the general election on November 2, the cityhood proponents mobilized the petition and collected 5,612 signatures, a slightly more than the required 5,579 (25%) registered voters in early August. However, this incorporation attempt was invalidated by LAFCO, which, after examination of the application materials, noting that 36 signatures might be forged. This forgery-signature affair soon discouraged the incorporation drive.

There were a multitude of reasons to explain the failure of Hacienda Heights' first incorporation action, but main evidence pointed out that as a town with majority of conservative residents, most locals intended to keep their community as the same without another costly layer of bureaucracy. Many of them were afraid of expected tax increases once cityhood was attained. Besides, local people also worried that incorporation was a conspiracy on the mask of developers, such as A. E. Watwood, which they thought would alter their rural community. This camp against cityhood was represented by "United Against Cityhood," which was formed in July 1982. They organized to dismiss the incorporation application by several steps. First, they united members of HHIA to vote the board supporting incorporation out of office and

[62] Rebecca Trounson, "Hacienda Heights in 80s: Growing Pains Prompt Push for Incorporation," *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1980; Mayerene Barker, "Hacienda Heights Cityhood Petition Campaign Ready to Begin," *Los Angeles Times*, March 12, 1981.

[63] Jack Birkinshaw, "Hacienda Heights City a Step Closer," *Los Angeles Times*, April 29, 1982; Jack Birkinshaw, "Hacienda Heights Clears First Step," *Los Angeles Times*, May 6, 1982.

transformed HHIA to neutral on the incorporation agenda. Secondly, they launched investigations regarding the application process, and impeached fraud signatures to LAFCO that eventually failed the incorporation application.[64] Afterwards, the first attempt of incorporation in 1982 was followed by a second fledgling incorporation drive, which fell apart, with only about 700 signatures collected in 1985.

(a) The Cityhood Movement in 1992:

With the extensive discussion and debate in 1970s and 1980s, Hacienda Heights was more optimistic for its cityhood prospects in the early 1990s. First of all, the incorporation issue was supported by many local organizations, like HLPUSD and HHIA, which was headed by longtime cityhood proponents such as Barbara Fish and Michael William. Secondly, the planned expansion of the Puente Hills Landfill in 1992 enraged more locals, many of them, represented by the "Angeles Chapter of Sierra Club", who had already fought the landfill. This growing group of "Hacienda Heights homeowners" against landfill developers became a solid base to persuade locals for cityhood.[65] Thirdly, cityhood proponents gained stronger support from Los Angeles County District 4 Supervisor, Deane Dana. The support of Deane Dana showed a clear shift from former Supervisor Pete Schabarum, who stayed neutral

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[64] Sue Avery, "Cityhood Foes Dispute Claims About Funds," *Los Angeles Times*, November 8, 1981; Staff writer, "Agency Gets Incorporation for Hacienda Heights," *Los Angeles Times*, January 14, 1982; Jack Birkinshaw, "Forgery Asserted in Bid for Hacienda Heights Cityhood," *Los Angeles Times*, August 12, 1982; Jack Birkinshaw, "Hacienda Heights Election Clouded," *Los Angeles Times*, August 12, 1982; Jack Birkinshaw, "Hacienda Heights Cityhood Backers Win New Time Extension," *Los Angeles Times*, November 25, 1982; Jack Birkinshaw, "Board Bows to Hacienda Heights Plea," *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 1982.

[65] Berkley Hudson, "Neighbors Fight Dump Expansion: The Puente Hills Landfill is One of Seven Listed for Possible Expansion, But Residents of Hacienda Heights Object," *Los Angeles Times*, October 4, 1990; Berkley Hudson, "Residents of Hacienda Heights Rally Against Dump's Growth," *Los Angeles Times*, October 4, 1990; Berkley Hudson, "Dump: Activists Maintain Southland is Trashing Them," *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 1990; Andrew Lepage, "Landfill Permit Ruled Invalid," *Los Angeles Times*, February 17, 1994.

toward Hacienda Heights cityhood activities. Last but not least, the power of anti-incorporation camp was gradually weakened, making no organized effort to oppose this incorporation bid. Besides, the saturation of local economy in 1980s and early 1990s, to a certain extent, also calmed locals that further commercial growth would be limited once incorporation was achieved. The County's report that an incorporated Hacienda Heights would have a $2.2 million budget surplus also reduced doubt from locals. All these effectively contributed to dismantle anxieties of cityhood opponents. For example, David T. Romero, an anti-cityhood activist in 1982, changed his mind to support incorporation in 1992 because he thought the finance would be self-sustaining.[66] Hence, unlike the former attempts ended up in the petition stage, this incorporation activity successfully collected 6,707 signatures, representing 28 % of 22,764 voters in the area, in April, 1992. After submitting all petition materials to LAFCO, Hacienda Heights's incorporation, the Measure C, was scheduled in general election on June 2, 1992.[67]

Accompanying with the vote for the municipality, Hacienda Heights residents also would choose a five-member city council—should incorporation pass—and decide whether future councils should be elected at large or by district. This first-time city council election galvanized enthusiasm of local political activists: sixteen candidates were registered in this election. Among them, seven persons were involved

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[66] Irene Chang, "They Hope 3rd Time IS Charm for Cityhood: Hacienda Heights: After two failed attempts, supporters are resurrecting the bid to turn this diverse community into the county's newest city," *Los Angeles Times*, March 7, 1991; Irene Chang, "Now Comes Hard Part: After deciding that cityhood would be viable economically, county officials prepare to draw the city limits," *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 1991; Irene Chang, "Elections: Attempt to Incorporate Lacks Single Rallying Cry," *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 1992.

[67] Staff writer, "Hacienda Heights: Cityhood Papers Submitted," *San Gabriel Valley Digest*, June 27, 1991; Staff writer, "Hacienda Heights: Cityhood Effort Advances," *San Gabriel Valley Digest*, July 28, 1991; Irene Chang, "County Panel Approves Cityhood Election: Commission finds proposed city financially feasible, election possible in spring," *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 1991.

in the HHIA or HLPUSD: Lillian M. Avery, Wil Baca, Jackie Graham, Gloria Nunes, David T. Romero, Bill Torres and C.A. Welch. Both Wilfred Baca and Lillian M. Avery claimed themselves as the representatives who opposed the dump expansion. There were also four candidates with backgrounds as developers or commercial businessmen: George R. Hensel, president of five corporations, including the California Driving School and a real estate property management company; David T. Romero, a self-employed management consultant; Ellis Swing, a businessman involved in international trade; Diana E. Wood, 59, a local realtor. Other candidates mostly were professionals, including two attorneys, two medical doctors, and two former police officers.[68]

The sixteen candidates vying for the five city council seats came from different ethnic groups, including four Hispanic candidates: Wil Baca, David T. Romero, Rudy Almeida, and Gloria Nunes; two Chinese candidates: Eugene Y. Chang, an engineer in the Los Angeles County Department of Public Works; Cecilia L. Yu, a local attorney. The rest of ten candidates were with European descents. Two Chinese and four Latino candidates into the municipality-pursuing election reflected the demographic reality that Hacienda Heights was in the process of formation of a heterogeneous community: with 31% Latino residents, 27% Asian population, and about 40% European inhabitants in 1992. The presence of six non-white candidates in 1992 first time signified the transformation of involvement of minority politics, including Chinese political engagement, in Hacienda Heights.[69]

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[68] Irene Chang, "Elections: Attempt to Incorporate Lacks Single Rallying Cry," *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 1992.

[69] 1990 U.S. Census; Irene Chang, "Elections: Attempt to Incorporate Lacks Single Rallying Cry," *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 1992.

Although the combinations of factors made local community activists feel hopeful for establishment of the municipality, however, the turnout of Measure C demonstrated the disappointed result: cityhood proposal was defeated by a slim margin- with 5,245 'Yes' ballots (47 %) , and 5,929 votes No (53%). The failure of vote for the incorporation in Hacienda Heights might be attributed to sustaining force of established European residents against the municipality, while the attitude of minority group toward this agenda was another determinant. Despite that no concrete statistics indicated the influence of different ethnic groups for this agenda, however, it was certain that cityhood discussion and information exchange was essentially limited among European residents. Under this circumstance, non-white community leaders showed less concerns for the impact of incorporation itself; instead, their focuses laid on the pseudo-city council election. It made minority, particularly Chinese, voters, naturally prioritized the would-be council members rather than the outcome of incorporation, which they seldom realized its meaning and significance.

Despite that the Chinese and other minority groups demonstrated a weak inclination to vote for the incorporation agenda, their enthusiasm to pitch ballots for the pseudo-city council members was unceasing. Under the circumstance that each local electorate was able to cast five votes, three minority candidates were among top five ballot-earners: Wilfred Baca, 4,658 (11%), Eugene Y. Chang, 3,537 (9%); and Cecilia L. Yu, 3,348 (8%), with two white candidates, Charles M. House, 4,411 (11%); George R. Hensel, 3,713 (9%). It showed that minority representatives would be the majority if the Measure C was passed.[70]

[70] Irene Chang, "Elections: Attempt to Incorporate Lacks Single Rallying Cry," *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 1992; Michael Meyers, "Final Election Returns," *Los Angeles Times*, June 4, 1992.

All these three minority quasi-council representatives had abundant records in community service. For example, Will Baca, known as an active environmentalist, led activities against an incinerator and landfill construction in the neighboring areas of Hacienda Heights hillside in 1982. In 1990, he formed the "Dump The Dump" group that lobbied against expansion of the Puente Hills Landfill, and co-founded the California Alliance in Defense of Residential Environments, concerning related environmental protection activities in the east San Gabriel Valley.[71] The other two Chinese candidates, Eugene Y. Chang and Cecilia L. Yu, both were active in Chinese community in the southern California. Eugene Y .Chang served as the president of the East Valley chapter of the Chinese American Association of Southern California; Cecilia L. Yu was senior immigration attorney, and heavily involved in United Way and the Hacienda Heights Chinese Association, and provides free legal services to needy local Asian and Latino residents.[72] The records of these three minority candidates showed the close link with their ethnic social networks and formidable connection with community services. It implied that the Chinese and Latinos had gradually risen to political power in the local politics.

In short, although Chinese and Latino groups did not fully attend municipality discussions and few minority leaders were engaged in process of cityhood application, mobilization for the pseudo-city council election marked the emergence of their political power. Local Chinese, along with Latino and other Asian residents, began to

[71] Berkley Hudson, "Neighbors Fight Dump Expansion: The Puente Hills Landfill is One of Seven Listed for Possible Expansion, But Residents of Hacienda Heights Object," *Los Angeles Times*, October 4, 1990; Steve Scauzillo, "Environmentalist Wilfred Baca Dies," *Whittier Daily News*, April 5, 2006.

[72] Lee Romney, "Chinese Americans Make Political Strides Community: Stereotypes: Stereotypes and Cultural Misunderstandings Persist, but Leaders Have Begun to Lay the Foundation for Future Success," *Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 1993.

exert their visible political influence upon the local community agenda, which would culminate in the next round of cityhood movement in 2003.

(b) Chinese in Cityhood Activity in 2003:

The third attempt of Hacienda Heights incorporation in 2003 was unique for Chinese residents when compared to the previous try in 1992 with regard to the fact that the Chinese had become a main participation group on this activity. Since the cityhood effort in 1992 was defeated at the polls, the next-round waited for ten years. Therefore, at the end of 1990s, local activists such as Barbara Fish, Felicia Minardi and Ken Manning, sponsored by Hacienda Heights Chinese Association members (like Shan Lee), served as the chief petitioners and represented the newly-founded Hacienda Heights Cityhood Organization. On December 9, 1999, Hacienda Heights Cityhood Organization had submitted a petition of 8,207 signatures to initiate the application, of which only 6,638 signatures were found to be valid by the LAFCO, a shortage of 101 signatures to the required 6,739 signatures of 25% registered voters. However, within the 15-day period provided by Code Section 56706 of the Cortese-Knox Local Government Reorganization Act of 1985, the Hacienda Heights Cityhood Organization submitted additional signatures on February 7, 2000. After LAFCO examined the Comprehensive Fiscal Analysis (CFA) and approved the incorporation application on August 22, 2002, the cityhood proposal, the Measure HH, was scheduled on the election of June 3, 2003, when would also elected five-person city council members once the incorporation occurred.[73]

[73] Richard Winton, "Hacienda Heights Cityhood Issue arises Again, " *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 1999; Rodney Tanaka, "Cityhood or Status Quo Hacienda Heights: Cityhood for Hacienda Heights Will Go to the Voters," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, December 11, 2002; Rodney Tanaka, "Hacienda Heights Cityhood Backed: Members Protest Board Resolution," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, March 18, 2003; Rodney Tanaka, "HHIA Votes to Support Cityhood, Members Protest Board Resolution,"

Like the case in 1992, city council election had seventeen candidates, including six white, five Latino, one African America and five Chinese candidates — Scarlet (Liu) Treu, David S. Fong, Shan Lee, Norman Hsu, and Tom Chang.[74] Compared to the 1992 election which whites accounted more than half of total candidates, the new election in 2003 mirrored the demographic makeup in the town, in which the population was nearly equally divided between Asians, Latinos, and Europeans.

Given that the cityhood proposal was overthrown with slight majority ballots in 1992, the pro-incorporation side had high expectation for the passage of Measure HH. This optimistic expectation was shored up when many ethnic minorities in local HHIA had fully discussed and involved in this incorporation process, which had not happened in the previous municipality movement in 1992. Shan Lee, the local Chinese representative in HHIA, had worked together with Barbara Fish and Felicia Minardi for the incorporation petition. Other Chinese candidates such as Norman Hsu, David S. Fong and Tom Chang all expressed their support for the incorporation and promoted this issue in the local Chinese community. Local Latino leaders, such as Joseph A. Perez, heavily supported cityhood in the local Hispanic community as well.

Nevertheless, the turnout of Measure HH came with surprise outcome: the no-votes reached to 7,180, accounting for 62.67% of total ballots. Only 4,276 votes favored incorporation, only making up 37.33 % of all ballots, lost about one thousand

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San Gabriel Valley Tribune, March 20, 2003; The Local Agency Formation Commission for Los Angeles County, *Hacienda Heights Incorporation Proposal: Executive Officer Summary Report*, December 11, 2002; The Local Agency Formation Commission for Los Angeles County, *Hacienda Heights Incorporation: Comprehensive Fiscal Analysis*, August 22. 2002.

[74] All five Chinese candidates in the election were first-generation immigrants, and aside from Norman Hsu, other four candidates were all Taiwan-born. It showed that foreign-born Chinese sustained their power to lead the ethnic political participation in this election, although some staff of their temas were joined by second-generation Chinese voluntary workers.

supporting votes comparing to election eleven years ago.[75] The overwhelming ballots against cityhood demonstrated interesting phenomenon. First, the uncertain attitude of Los Angeles County toward the incorporation marked an influential effect for local incorporation's development. In general, although the LA County Board of Supervisors usually publicly announced neutrality in most cases of incorporation attempts, the loss of revenues to the County often forced the Supervisors to utilize technical ways in the application process to invalidate the incorporation petitions. Therefore, in many cases were found that LAFCO would inspect with great care petition signatures, even, handwriting, to disqualify the incorporation application.

Moreover, to face growing incorporation movements in the aftermath of 1980s, the Californian Legislature also enacted related regulations to counteract cityhood enthusiasm, using "neutrality revenue," which went into effect in 1991. This "neutrality revenue," regulated by Cortese-Knowx-85 bill, was the payment that all new cities must pay counties for their previous services. It gave counties a hand to fight incorporation. What cityhood proponents nicknamed as the "alimony fee," hence, led to no cityhood establishment after Cortese-Knowx-85 bill was passed. For Hacienda Heights, the required revenue neutrality payment reached to $19 million, causing Hacienda Heights to have a projected fiscal deficit of about $ 71,000 deficit in 19 years. This revenue neutrality payment terrified many locals with the anxiety of financial bankruptcy if the municipality was created. From the flyers distributed by anti-incorporation organization, "Vote No on Cityhood for Hacienda Heights," the "revenue neutrality" became the best weapon to persuade local swing voter that a city

[75] Louinn Lota, "Hacienda Heights Votes no on Cityhood," *Associated Press*, June 4, 2003; Staff writer, "Hacienda Heights Cityhood Fails ," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, June 5, 2003; David Pierson, "Hacienda Heights Wonders: Now What?," *Los Angeles Times*, June 5, 2003.

would increase the tax burden for them.[76] As Jim Crabtree, a local leader of anti-cityhood movement, claimed: "It (incorporation) is going to be a financial disaster."[77] This tax-raise rumor also was distributed extensively in local Chinese community. Hilary Chang, a local Chinese resident responded that many of her relatives and friends, who once supported Measure C in 1992, casted no-vote to the Measure HH in 2003 because they worried that the neutrality revenue would ruin the town's budget, leading locals to pay more taxes.[78]

Besides, the motives of overwhelming votes against cityhood also resulted primarily from the fear that Chinese would control the council and that the city would be transformed into the next "Monterey Park." This existing anxiety had already rooted within longtime non-Chinese residents, who had disgusted by rapid "Chinatownized" commercial strips and Asian shopping outlets in the last two decades. It was further reinforced when five Chinese candidates approached a high-profile electoral strategy. During the period of election, Chinese candidates' slogans and banners spread over most streets and boroughs, and their campaign vehicles shuttled ubiquitously in the town. The local TV channels were filled with Chinese electoral advertisements. Five Chinese candidates' fundraising also showed them out raising other competitors. For example, Scarlet Treu's fundraising party on April 16 attracted over 600 attendants, donating to her campaign several hundred thousand dollars. The same situation also took place in the fundraising meetings of

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[76] Rodney Tanaka, "County to Study Cityhood 'Alimony,'" *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, November 24, 2002; Staff writer, "Let Community Ponder Self-Rule," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, November 28, 2002; Rodney Tanaka, "Cityhood Showdown Looms: Battle Lines Drawn in Hacienda Heights," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 8, 2003; Rodney Tanaka, "Opposing Sides Debate Cityhood for Heights," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, April 29, 2003; Vote No on Cityhood for Hacienda Heights, "Vote No on Cityhood for Hacienda Heights" (flyer).

[77] David Pierson, "Cityhood Vote Divides Hacienda Heights," *Los Angeles Times*, June 1, 2003.

[78] Interview with Hilary Chang, Date: October 5, 2011.

David Fong, Norman Hsu, Shan Lee, and Tom Chang, each of them gathered splendid parties with flow of an abundance of donations. In addition, in the last days of election, four male Chinese candidates even employed a joint electoral strategy. Teams of these four candidates collectively gathered hundreds of supporters to exercise street greeting meetings. These high-pitched Chinese electoral campaigns brew a mood that Chinese candidates would nail the final victory.

Furthermore, on May 9, a forum, sponsored by the Indochinese American Political Action Committee, the Chinese American Association of Southern California, Hacienda Heights Area Chinese Association and the Chinese Elected Officials of southern California, stoked extra anxiety of local people. This forum was exposed by local newspapers, *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, for its exclusive invitation of five Chinese candidates and asked them to use Mandarin for political statements. This ethnic-only forum soon was criticized by Dennis Mathewson, a leader of the "No on cityhood," blaming that local Chinese was "trying to pull 'the race card'…. five Asians are not going to control the community. We are a [community] that is divided equally and we are getting sick and tired of this race thing they keep pulling."[79] All these events reinforced impressions on the part of local people that a forming "Chinese voting bloc" might threaten their livings. Despite that, on May 17, candidate Norman Hsu issued a newsletter, published in *Hacienda Heights Community News*, to encourage local Chinese voters to make "history by electing not more than three Chinese-American City Council members," and warned electing five Chinese to the council would create a strong backlash and possibly a recall, which would cause

[79] Karen Rubin, "Race Issue Raised Over Cityhood Discussion: Asian-only, Mandarin format called divisive," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, May 9, 2003; Staff writer, "Declining Cityhood," *Pasadena Star News*, May 20, 2003.

shame, however, this Chinese-control fear still was rapidly dispersed in local, particularly white, community.[80] As local Chinese elected official, Joseph Chang, concluded: “Chinese high-profile strategy in the cityhood election caused critical setback and a strong sense of crisis for locals. It prompted enthusiasm among non-Chinese voters that had never seen in the preceding elections of HLPUSD. They all came out to vote against a city-to-be controlled by mono-ethnic group.”[81]

Indeed, the incorporation movement of Hacienda Heights was a complicated agenda linking with local demographic shift, transformation of local governing system, political competition among different ethnic groups, and, most important, a multitude of respective concerns of individual voters for the community where they lodged. The overwhelming majority of residents rejecting cityhood did not suggest a backward trend that locals lacked a sense to further engage in local politics; instead, their voting behaviors were dominated by panics over change or other non-political factors. For local Chinese voters, the increasingly active involvement in the discussion of cityhood agenda, regardless of pro and con, as well as their perceptions for the semi-racist rhetoric during the election, all embodied objective awareness. As Cody Lin, a local Chinese resident, observed:

> The cityhood activity in 2003 educated local Chinese, who were steadily familiar with American political mechanism, with the comprehension of a complicated political agenda beyond Chinese convention of equating political participation to pure ethnic representation. It made many Chinese

[80] Rodney Tanaka, “Candidate’s Letter Draws Opponents: Ethnicity at Issue in Election,” *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, May 17, 2003.
[81] Interview with Joseph Chang, Date: April 29, 2012.

> voters to participate in civic conversations with both Chinese and non-Chinese residents, and increase their identity to the local community, no matter they voted yes or no to the Measure HH.[82]

However, putting aside Chinese splitting votes on the incorporation issue, the election of pseudo-council members genuinely illustrated Chinese growing interests and impact in local politics: two Chinese candidates, Scarlet Treu, 2,882 (7.59%) and David Fong, 2,756 (7.26%), along with two European candidates, Kenneth R. Manning, 3,775 (9.94 %); Charles M. House, 3,569 (9.40%), and Latino candidate, Felicia F. Minardi, 2,813 (7.41%), were among the top five vote-getters in the election. Another three Chinese candidates also listed the sixth to eighth places, each with simply one-hundred votes of gap to be elected. (See Table 6-2) This result showed stronger power in the Chinese voting base.

In fact, all five Chinese candidates had plenty of service records in the local Chinese community. David Fong worked as campaign manager for Eugene Chang in 1992. From 1997 to 1999, he served as the president of Hacienda Heights Chinese Association and chaired the Taiwan University Alumni Association and JCUAA in the 1997 and 1999, respectively. Afterwards, he also created Hacienda Heights Royal Lions Club and California Business Foundation in 2005 and 2008, respectively. As a noted immigration attorney, he founded the Chinese Attorney Association of North America, and served as the law counselor for many local Chinese organizations, including Sino-American Certified Public Accountants Association, Hacienda Heights Chinese Association, as well as local Chinese newspapers such as *Chinese Daily*

[82] Interview with Cody Lin, Date: August 10, 2011.

News, *Sino News* and *Shin Taso News.* Tom Chang is a professional engineer and worked a longtime in the Hacienda Heights Chinese PTA. Shan Lee is the vice executive president of Daum Commercial Real Estate Services, and was involved in Hacienda Heights Chinese Association and Chiao Tung University Alumni Association. Scarlett Treu was a business manager, and was engaged in regional and local Chinese organizations, such as JCUAA and Hacienda Heights Chinese PTA.[83] From the backgrounds of these five Chinese candidates we find the characteristics of close connection and wide social networks based on local Chinese community.

In addition, these five Chinese candidates also had a different level of connections to the non-Chinese community. For instance, Norman Hsu created his own social network beyond Chinese community when he served as a board member of HLPUSD, and kept connections with Kenneth R. Manning, who ever served as member of Upper San Gabriel Valley Municipal Water District and HLPUSD. The good relationship with Manning made them to apply a cooperative campaign in this election.[84] David Fong also had plenty of connections involving non-Chinese matters. He served as the law consultant for Los Angeles Chief Sheriff Lee Baca and Federal Representative Gary Miller. In the election campaign of 2003, he also applied a tactic to work with local Latino candidate, Joseph A. Perez; Shan Lee ever worked as the board representative of HHIA, and served the co-sponsor to for the incorporation application in 2003. His background in the real estate business also made him

[83] Staff writer, "Council Choices for Hacienda Heights," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, May 21, 2003.; *Chinese Daily News*, February 4, 2003; *Chinese Daily News*, May 28, 2003; Interview with David Fong, Date: June 17, 2012; Interview with Norman Hsu, Date: June 21, 2012.

[84] Elaine Woo, "Ethnic Diversity Puts School Districts to Test Series: Asian Impact," *Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1987; Cynthia Walker, "Recall Drive Targets Entire Hacienda La Puente School Board: Fund Mismanagement and Nepotism are among the Charges. Members Deny any Wrongdoing," *Los Angeles Times*, March 2, 1995; Staff Writer, "Getting Ready for Primary Fight: APA Candidates Concentrated in Southern California," *Asian Week*, June 3, 1998.

frequently work with Los Angeles County's Regional Planning Committee regarding zoning and land use issues; Tom Chang was also the member of HHIA, maintaining a close relationship with faculties and other Hacienda Heights PTA when he headed the local Chinese PTA in early 2000s.

The only female Chinese candidate, Scarlett Treu, presented a model closer to non-Chinese community as well. As the spouse to a German American judge, Rolf Treu, Scarlett Treu had a better opportunity to interact with mainstream organizations. She worked as the consultant for Federal Representative Gary Miller, and was involved in the passage of Measure R, Mt. SAC's Bond Measure, in 2001, as well as served as the vice president of Mt. SAC Foundation. She had joined the local Women's Club and participated in HHIA in 2000. These abundant experiences with non-Chinese community helped her gain the most endorsements from leaders of mainstream society, including Los Angeles County Sherriff Lee Baca, Los Angeles County Supervisor Michael Antonivch, Congress Representative Gary Miller, California assemblyman Bob Pachec, Los Angeles County district attorney Steve Cooley and former president of Mt. San Antonio College, Bill Feddersen.[85] All these connections made her and Shan Lee be on the list of five recommendation candidates of *San Gabriel Valley Tribune* for the election in 2003.[86]

Due to her close relationship with mainstream community, Scarlet Treu employed a different way from other four Chinese candidates in the election: During the campaign, she more stressed the non-Chinese voters, and tried to dilute her image as a mono-ethnic representative. Therefore, Scarlet was the only Chinese candidate attending in the June-1 meeting, which targeted white senior citizens, held in local

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[85] Committee to Elect Scarlet Treu, *Hacienda Heights Bulletin* (No.2), May 5, 2003.
[86] Staff writer, "Council Choices for Hacienda Heights," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, May 21, 2003.

Saint Marks Lutheran Church.[87] This strategy to appeal to non-Chinese ballots was also testified by her exposure May-9 Chinese-exclusive forum, which she thought was inappropriate for a fair election, to local mainstream *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*.[88]

Moreover, since Scarlet Treu interacted well with white residents, many of them claimed the opposition against incorporation, her electoral strategy and attitude toward municipality agenda seemed to be swinging in the last days of the election, catering to anti-incorporation ballots. This tactic caused criticism from some Chinese candidates and local Chinese inhabitants who blamed her inconsistent and shifting ground.[89] However, Scarlett Treu's electoral tactic, as a two-tiered candidate who focused first on mainstream community and then on the Chinese/Asian American community, was effective, particularly for the local non-Chinese community, leading her to become the Chinese candidate with the most ballots in the election.

In conclusion, it was apparent that Chinese involvement in the cityhood movements in Hacienda Heights encountered transformation, from outsiders in 1980s, marginal participants in 1992, to the significant players in 2003. Their engagement in the incorporation agenda, whatever pros and cons, also gradually went further. It demonstrated that while exerting their political power in the ethnic representation, local Chinese also were increasingly aware of the significance of cooperation with other local ethnic groups for different types of political issues. It gave the local Chinese opportunities for further local political engagement, while also cultivating potential problems as the Chinese moved forward in exercising their political power.

[87] Interview with Scarlett Treu, Date: June 11, 2012.
[88] Interview with Scarlett Treu, Date: June 11, 2012.
[89] Interview with Scarlett Treu, Date: June 11, 2012; Rodney Tanaka, "Hacienda Heights Council Candidates Describe Goals," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, April 19, 2003.

Table 6-4 The Election of Hacienda Heights Pseudo-Council, 2003

	Votes:	Vote Percentage (%)
Kenneth R. Manning	3,775	9.9
Charles M. House	3,569	9.4
Scarlet Treu	2,882	7.6
Felicia F. Minardi	2,813	7.4
David Fong	2,756	7.3
Norman Hsu	2,622	6.8
Tom Chang	2,608	6.8
Shan Lee	2,572	6.7
Barbara L. Fish	2,344	6.1
Henry B. Pedregon	2,113	5.5
Fred Chyr	1,942	5.0
Jefferey K. Yann	1,874	4.9
Henry E. Gonzales	1,838	4.8
Joseph A. Perez	1,556	4.0
Sidney W. Street	1,213	3.2
Rudy Almeida	922	2.4
Carmelita Louise Trujillo	901	2.3

Source: Los Angeles County Registrar-Recorder.

(B) Chinese and Rowland Heights Incorporation Activity:

In contrary to Hacienda Heights with the solid community base and grassroots organizations to launch three tides of cityhood actions since 1980, the rapid flow of population and commerce-centered dynamics in Rowland Heights made this town with less-organized effort to incorporate. Although many of its residents felt disgruntled with the unregulated development created by Los Angeles County in the 1990s, Rowland Heights did not agglomerate enough strength and consensus to incorporate itself as a city until mid-2000s.

The voice for cityhood in Rowland Heights came to a head in 2005 for several reasons. First, disregarding the RHCCC and local residents, Los Angeles County's Regional Planning Commission approved the construction of Yuan Yung Buddhist Center, causing many neighboring residents to feel angry and consider incorporation as an avenue to take power from the County; A larger development of 3,600 homes planned by developer, Aera Energy LLC, was proposed to Los Angeles County's Regional Planning Commission, and started the process of hearings and environmental evaluation in this year. Since that it would create serious local traffic congestion, instant resistance from locals took actions. This protest, led by the RHCCC, pondered that cityhood might be a solution to the poorly planned growth controlled by distant Los Angeles County officials; In addition, the setbacks and restrictions on commercial development from the end of 1990s to 2004 also caused large developers in Rowland Heights to think of incorporation as a way to directly control local development. This was particularly important when Rowland Heights became the only town in east San Gabriel Valley still left with usable lands for further commercial activities in 2000s. The formation of Chinese-based Rowland Heights

Chamber of Commerce in early 2005 illustrated the desire of these local business groups, who perceived that incorporation might create a road for efficient economic investment; In addition, other people was motivated by a survey conducted by the Cal Poly Pomona Economics Department regarding the opinions of locals to measure the performance of LA County governing Rowland Heights. It revealed that half of the residents were not satisfied with the county.[90] Thus many citizens pushed incorporation, though with discordant considerations.[91]

Furthermore, from 2006 to 2008, two local events had catalyzed momentum for locals to form a city. First, in December, 2006, Diamond Bar's city council, in hope of adding one million dollars of tax revenues annually, passed a controversial planning and pre-annexation agreement with Aera Energy. It promised a 2,800-homes housing plan. This plan, which Aera Energy hoped to avoid regulation from Los Angeles County, would require Diamond Bar to annex lands from neighboring unincorporated communities, including Rowland Heights, Hacienda Heights, La Habra Heights, and Whittier. Given that it was a re-proposed plan that Rowland Heights residents had fought in 2005, the RHCCC and neighboring homeownership organizations responded with immediate objections. However, the uncertainty of RHCCC's authority as an unofficial organization to combat with an incorporated city clouded local political activists.[92]

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[90] Staff writer, "Rowland Heights May Consider Cityhood," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 17, 2005; Ivy Dai, "Cityhood Quest Gets Some Help," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, April 26, 2005.

[91] Ivy Dai, "Cityhood for Rowland Heights," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 2, 2005; Ivy Dai, "Chamber's Motives Questioned," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 14, 2005; Ivy Dai, "Unincorporated Area Pondering Cityhood," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 19, 2005; Ivy Dai, "Industry Won't Take Rowland Ranch," *Whittier Daily News*, March 19, 2005.

[92] Jennifer McLain, "Aera Land Deal Inches Closer," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, December 22, 2006; Mike Spraque, "City Looks at Options Under Aera Plan," Whittier Daily News, February 1, 2007; *Rowland Heights Community Coordinating Council General Minutes*, July 9, 2007; Bethania Palma, "Plan for Homes Draws Critics," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, December 9, 2007; Ching-ching Ni,

In addition, the NFL stadium construction plan in City of Industry promoted Rowland Heights's incorporation as well. During the negotiation process, Diamond Bar and Walnut residents, regardless of those favoring or opposing the project, had opportunities to fully express their concerns, while for many Rowland Heights residents, particularly Chinese, the unincorporated status dwarfed their voices to join this civic discussion. This disappointment of marginality in the stadium controversy stirred part of Rowland Heights locals to rethink cityhood as an access to gain notice in this kind of regional issues in the subsequent years.

Under these circumstances, a growing agreement for cityhood emerged. In December, 2007, a local political action group, Rowland Heights Advocates for Cityhood (RHAC), was formed and started the incorporation application with the LAFCO. The major leaders of RHAC mainly came from board members of RHCCC, Rowland Water District and Rowland Heights Chinese Association. After delivering an initial feasibility report, the RHAC began the signature-collection phase, aiming to put the incorporation on general election in November, 2009. In October 2008, RHAC had collected and submitted 5,185 signatures to LAFCO. On December 2, 2008, LAFCO sent RHAC an official letter, informing that half of the signatures were invalid because they were "insufficient" in the identifications, and 218 were duplicates. From that, the application failed to meet the requirement of 25% of registered voters and aborted for the first attempt of incorporation in Rowland Heights.[93] Although a second petition effort restarted in April 2009, the momentum

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"Rowland Heights Fears Being Annexed Away," *Los Angeles Times,* October 12, 2009.

[93] Bethania Palma Markus, "Efforts of Rowland Heights Advocates fro Cityhood Fall Short," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, December 8, 2008; *Chinese Daily News*, January 16, 2009; *Sina News*, September 27, 2008; Interview with Charles Liu, Date: May 8, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, October 8, 2008; *Chinese Today*, November 9, 2007.

had diminished, and this attempt soon failed with a measly collection of 1,000 signatures.[94]

Although Rowland Heights first incorporation movement ended in the first stage of the petition, the Chinese sponsorship, in accordance with their demographic characteristics of powerful ethnic representation in the local organizations, was prevailing. The RHAC, headed by a seven-person executive committee, including three Chinese representatives —Henry Woo, Sui Pei Lu and John Hsu, as well as four people representing the European, Latino, and Korean community. Headquartered in the Yes Plaza, managed by John Hsu's STC Management Company, most of the incorporation activities were mainly operated and funded by local Chinese. The recruitment of volunteers in this movement was mainly financed by "Camp of Volunteers for Signature," a project operated by executive committee chairman, Sui Pei Lu in 2008 and 2009. Many activities to promote cityhood and collect supportive signatures were programmed by Chinese activists and voluntary workers, setting up booths in front of Chinese supermarkets, restaurants and other stores to court the support of local Chinese. The flyers and publications, such as *Vision for the Future of Rowland Heights*, were mostly financed and co-authored by Chinese representatives. All these contributed to collective Chinese mobilization for this cityhood activity, and resulted in the Chinese making up nearly third-fifth of 5,185 signatures that RHAC submitted to LAFCO in October, 2008.[95]

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[94] *Sina News*, April 19, 2009; *Sina News*, June 19, 2009; *Chinese Daily News*, June 23, 2009; Staff writer, "Rowland Heights Wrestles with Cityhood," San Gabriel Valley Tribune, November 1, 2007; Bethania Palma Markus, "Rowland Heights Looks at Cityhood," *Whittier Daily News*, December 25, 2007; Bethania Palma Markus, "Efforts of Rowland Heights Advocates fro Cityhood Fall Short," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, December 8, 2008; Catherine Ho, "Rowland Heights Tries Again for Cityhood," *Los Angeles Times*, January 8, 2009; Bethania Palma, "Rowland Heights Cityhood Activists Refuse to Quit," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, January 6, 2009.

[95] RHAC Committee of Executive, *Vision for the Future of Rowland Heights*, April 7, 2008; *Chinese*

Although the Chinese presided over the incorporation movement, they intentionally lowered the Chinese-dominant impression, and portrayed this activity as the multi-ethnic commitment. According to Charles Liu, one of the marketers, Rowland Heights Chinese had learned the lesson of Hacienda Heights incorporation in 2003, in which they concluded that Chinese overwhelming high-profile campaign was the main reason for failure of its incorporation attempt. Although the Chinese were the major financial sponsor, from the outset, the activity speakers were served by two non-Chinese representatives, Robert Louis and John Bella, who represented local European and Latino communities. Besides, all the cityhood slogans, flyers, posters, and any publication materials all presented in English, with additional languages, Spanish, Chinese and Koreans. This low-profile manner to dilute the Chinese-only impressions counteracted the anxiety of locals that cityhood movement was not an action central to interests of certain racial group.

Despite that Chinese leaders purposely employed the low-pitched strategy, however, it was no denial that many locals still suspected the motives of many Chinese activists engaged in incorporation activity, who possessed obvious backgrounds or connections with local developers or commercial companies, which heavily linked with the development of Chinese businesses in the Rowland Heights. This impression that Chinese businessmen would manipulate the future of Rowland Heights through cityhood originated in 2005, when Karl Kow, the president of Rowland Heights Chamber of Commerce, first time showed unusual concern for incorporation activity. Along with Karl Kow and other local Chinese developers, Albert Chang, board member of RUSD from 2003 to 2007 and as the registered

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Daily News, April 19, 2009; *Chinese Daily News*, May 6, 2009; Interview with Charles Liu, Date: April 25, 2012; Interview with Sui Pei Lu, Date: May 3, 2012; *Chinese Daily News*, May 31, 2009.

member of Rowland Heights Chamber of Commerce, also expressed similar expectation for cityhood.[96] This stereotype to equate Chinese businessmen to the incorporation movement was bolstered with more powerful Chinese entrepreneurs to join the municipal pursuing. For example, John Hsu, Chinese committee member of RHAC, was the president of STC Management Company which had yielded profound economic influences upon local community. He was also was co-founder of Regional Commerce of Chamber of San Gabriel Valley, a commercial association focused on east San Gabriel Valley;[97] Sui Pei Lu, a professional attorney and board member of Rowland Heights Water District since 2005, also heavily involved in local commercial activity. In 2005, she co-sponsored the founding of the Regional Commerce of Chamber of San Gabriel Valley, which she headed in 2011 to 2012.[98] The phenomenon of intense engagement of Chinese businessmen complicated the nature of cityhood movement, clouded locals with doubt surrounding commercial interest and overgrowth fear.

In addition, the failure of RHAC to collect enough signatures for the petition also reflected that cityhood issue had not reached to consensus for locals, who demanded more information exchange and scrutiny, particularly for the major supportive force, the local Chinese residents. As Philip Wang, who served as the chairman of Rowland Heights Chinese Association in 2008, claimed: "The Chinese and other ethnic groups in Rowland Heights were ill-informed with the cityhood

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[96] Ivy Dai, "Chamber's Motives Questioned," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, February 14, 2005.

[97] The Regional Chamber of Commerce of San Gabriel Valley is a combined local business association draws members from respective chamber of commerce in Walnut, Diamond Bar, La Puente, Rowland Heights, and Hacienda Heights. Many of its members are Chinese businessmen. See Rodney Tanaka, "Regional Chamber of Commerce in the Works," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, December 5, 2005; Rodney Tanaka, "Regional Business Chamber to Debut," *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, June 13, 2006.

[98] Website of Regional Chamber of Commerce San Gabriel Valley: http:// www. Regional chambers. Org; Interview with Sui Pei Lu, Date: May 3, 2012.

agenda although Chinese led this civic movement. The cityhood activity held by RHAC more focused on the idealistic part of incorporation, failing to provide for concrete statistics and panoramic discussion for local people, especially about the issue of tax raising or public services"[99] Moreover, although most activists headed in this cityhood movement were elected officials from local Rowland Heights Water District, they, to a certain extent, did not had full weight and social service record to represent and lead local, particularly Chinese, community. As Judy Chen Haggerty briefly disclosed: "The members in RHAC hardly possessed unquestionable community authority to speak for Rowland Heights residents regarding a significant agenda so critical to the future of local society." This doubt of leadership, to a varying degree, limited the extent and momentum to mobilize Chinese community.

Undoubtedly, the activism of Rowland Heights cityhood movement was far incomparable to the incorporation actions of its neighboring Hacienda Heights in the respect of scale and outcome. However, Chinese intense engagement, signified by their leadership, in this incorporation movement demonstrated an unusual case of civic mobilization motivated by a minority group. It illustrated the trajectory of spreading and extension of Chinese political influence from offices of local school district and water district to a larger political structure, intertwined with their aggressive economic and social activities in Rowland Heights. Although Chinese and non-Chinese community still does not have agreement for this agenda in upcoming future, it is reasonable to assume that Chinese leadership and momentum will continue to serve as fundamental force for next incorporation attempt and other forms of local civic activities in this unincorporated town.

[99] Interview with Philip Wang, Date: May 3, 2012.

Overall, in the last three decades, eastward Chinese had gradually exerted their influence in the local politics in elected and non-elected domains. Subsequent Chinese politicians heavily depended upon mobilization of ethnic organizations, to pursue public office since 1990s. Eventually a new generation of Chinese leaders took over the leadership of Chinese political representation in the 2000s. They closely aligned themselves with a political party and employed of two-tiered strategy. It conformed to Chinese suburbanization and Americanization patterns in the local community. This growing ethnic political representation, along with their further engagement in cityhood movements, underscored that the Chinese had gradually moved away from minority marginality to a significant ethnic voting group central to the local politics.

Conclusion

In 1968, Donald Liu, a Taiwanese immigrant, arrived as a student to Boston for a master's degree in chemistry. After finishing his academic work, he moved to Monterey Park in 1975 with a job in an international trade corporation. In pursuit for better housing and school district options for his children, he emigrated to Hacienda Heights in 1988. Once there both of his children were enrolled in local Wilson High School. After of 1994, Donald Liu continued to move several times, including moving to Walnut in 1998, Chino Hills in 2006, and presently Rancho Cucamonga, a city in San Bernardino County. Rancho Cucamonga is a city earning popularity among established Taiwanese in last five years. The personal history of Donald Liu mirrored the typical Taiwanese/Chinese immigration trajectory in the post-1960s— high educational attainment, working in mainstream labor markets with a high socioeconomic status. He also experienced the general phenomenon of frequent residential migration in the Los Angeles suburbia.

Obviously, the development of eastern San Gabriel Valley Chinese community constituted a vital part in the long-term process of Chinese suburbanization. As the significant phase, the four towns in east San Gabriel Valley undoubtedly became an intermediary ethnic foothold and testing arena for established Chinese migrants. Through eastward migration, these Chinese gradually detached themselves from the ethnoburban core in the west San Gabriel Valley with a trend of reduced ethnicity exclusivity. This was characterized by their residential de-concentration, synergy of the ethnic economy with the non-Chinese local markets and businesses, and decreased

centrifugal ties away from their regional and transnational ethnic organizations. Therefore, except from a portion of the Chinese population still being connected with the transnational economy centering in Industry City, the east-district Chinese community experienced the gradual process of disconnecting with their transnational networks, and less perceptible as an ethnic singularity socially and economically. This invisibility of a substantial portion of the Chinese society became even more evident further inland. Chinese community in both Chino Hills and Rancho Cucamonga, where witnessed an increase of over ten thousands Chinese the past decade, were hard to spot. Nearly every Chinese supermarket, restaurant and various businesses in these two cities seldom showed ethnic characteristics. They intentionally presented with English-only signboards without any Chinese characters, and their businesses were patronized by a host of non-Chinese clients. Therefore, only through activities of localized Chinese Associations, Chinese schools and PTA, churches, senior clubs and other ethnic organization to confirm the tangible existence of these interior Chinese communities created by eastward ethnic migrants.

Steady localization and Americanization was another characteristic that coincided with Chinese collective eastward migration. Unlike those in the ethnoburban core with transitory immigration features, marked by higher proportion of working-class ethnic families with relatively lower socioeconomic profile and relatively unstable family structures, eastward Chinese demonstrated family-based migration pattern with affluent human and social capital for upward mobility. They possessed characteristics of higher household income, median home values and educational attainment, lower linguistic isolation, as well as higher percentage of American-born ethnic population. These socioeconomic niches presupposed eastward

Chinese dynamics and willingness to adapt to the Americanized circumstances. In so doing, with appearance of various bridging organizations reinforced Chinese connection to the local area in normal aspects of lives, collective community identity and awareness were certainly nurtured among eastward Chinese. It promoted both Chinese engagement in local non-Asian structures, such as HHIA and RHCCC or school districts, as well as their keen participation in various civic activities. This was the case in their active leadership in the local controversial events: TCR in Rowland Heights, the Football Stadium protests in Walnut and Diamond Bar, and redistricting activity in 2011. This localization and Americanization tended to be more conspicuous in eastward Chinese local political participation. The rise of American-born Chinese politicians, with political affiliations and partisanship, created for them a two-tiered strategy. Growing leadership in local political issues and movements, exemplified by growing engagement in cityhood movements in Hacienda Heights and Rowland Heights, also exhibited how Chinese had adapted and integrated into the local community. In this vein, the development of east-district Chinese community demonstrated an irreversible tendency to take roots in the local community with increasing conformity to American suburban lifestyles and norms.

The interethnic relations inevitably were the critical issue facing eastward Chinese localization. Despite that eastward Chinese socioeconomic characteristics and their adaptable attitudes engrained them more niches to deal with interethnic relationship, the cases of the, Hsi Lai Temple protest in late 1980s, Yuan Yung Buddhist Temple implementation in 2005, and the introduction of Confucius Classroom in Hacienda Heights in 2010 still illustrated that hidden racial tension and unstable intergroup relation existed. The Chinese were not immune to hostility

motivated by cultural or religious controversies. These controversies expressed a latent longstanding incompatibility between locals and newcomers. Nonetheless, these cases also showed the gradual but difficult process of mutual accommodation and adjustment was developed. Chinese long-term suburbanization and localization of their ethnic networks had rewarded them with establishment of normal relationships with non-Asian local society, helping them find the common ground in communication. As the Hsi Lai Temple's local history implied, its perception changed from a foreign and unwelcome cult to a valuable asset recognized by many non-Chinese residents. This process of mutual reconciliation with locals provided eastward Chinese valuable experience and lesson. In future cultural and religious expansion and dealings, leading Chinese would see to integrate themselves into the community and attempt to gain acceptance by the local community.

The tendency of downplaying ethnicity-exclusivity and transnational ties, the gradual residential dispersion and further localization and Americanization that encapsulated the three-decade development of Chinese community in east San Gabriel Valley did not suggest that the eastward Chinese was unconditionally absorbed mainstream America. Rather, advantageous socioeconomic status, as well as extensive economic, social, both intra-ethnic and interethnic, networks enabled east-bound Chinese with choices to determine the pathway of incorporation. From many aspects, the Chinese presence greatly altered the composition and structure of local economic sphere, municipal system, local politics, and service organizations, which used to be controlled by rooted European residents. The Chinese fused their ethnic elements into local framework. Chinese influence in HHIA and RHCCC, as well as their sponsorship of local traditional celebrations, such as July-4th parade in Hacienda

Heights, and the Buckboard parade in Rowland Heights, provided the example for how an ethnic group incorporated to American folk customs. They did this by blending their culture that enriched the diversity of local community. From this perspective, the Chinese incorporation in east San Gabriel Valley was not an aggressive invasion. Instead, it reflected modified spatial assimilation model with non-linear and selective adjustment that embodied local community with new meaning of cultural and ethnic pluralism.

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Appendix
The Interviewee List

Name	Age	Occupation	Date	Organizations enrolled
Chang, Hilary	40s	Secretary	10/5/2011	Secretary of EFCHH
Chang, Joseph	60s	professor	4/29/2012	Board member of HLPUSD (1993-)
Chao, Teresa Hsu	60s	principal of Chinese school	1/3/2012	President of SCCCS (1992-1994 ;2008-2009)
Chen, Cary	60s	businessman	4/1/2011	Board member of RHUSD (2009-)
Chen, Eddie	60s	Senior real estate agent	04/13/2012	—
Chen, George	50s	businessman	4/25/2012	President of Taiwan *Tongshang Lianyihui* (2011-2012)
Chu, Jim	40s	Businessman	5/8/2012	Member of Chinese Gospel Business Men's Fellowship
Chuang, Marshall	70s	Owner of car repair co.	7/19/2012	Co-founder of *Shandong* Association Member of board of trustees of JUCAA Member of board of trustees of NTUAA
Din, Li-Hua	50s	Insurance agent	6/2/2012	Vice president of *Hubei tongshanghuai* (2011-2012)
Fong, David	50s	Lawyer and businessman	6/17/2012	President of JCUAA (1999-2000) President of NTUAA (1997-1998) President of Hacienda Heights Chinese Association (1997-1999) Founder of Hacienda Heights

				Royal Lions Club
Ellis, Shiuh-Ming	50s	Businesswoman	6/25/2012	President of Citizens for Communities Preservation Inc
Haggerty, Judy Chen	60s	lawyer	5/3/2012	Board member of Mt. SAC (2000-) Founder of RHCA
Hsu, Alan	50s	environmental engineer	5/9/2012	President of NTUAA (2011-2012)
Hsu, Alice	60s	owner of hair studio	7/5/2011	Member of Hacienda Heights Royal Lions Club
Hsu, Christian	30s	Chinese school owner	7/29/2012	—
Hsu, Norman	70s	Retired postal officer	6/21/2012	Board member of HLPUSD (1991-2010)
Hu, James	70s	Retired engineer	4/9/2012	President of Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association (2011-2012)
Hu, Yo-wei	70s	Retired engineer	4/9/2012	Member of Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association
Kuan, Ivy	50s	Computer businesswoman	5/30/2012	President of Chinese American Professional Society (2009-2010) President of Walnut Chinese American Association (2012-2013)
Lee, Anyoke	60s	Traditional Chinese physician	3/10/2012	Board director of Walnut School District (1997-2000) Founder of Diamond Bar Chinese Association Co-founder of Walnut Chinese American Association
Lee, Bryan	50s	real estate agent	3/28/201	president of Hacienda Heights

				Royal Lions Club (2010-2011)
Lee, Chi-Yin	30s	businessman	4/24/2011	president of Taiwan American Association of East San Gabriel Valley (2011-2012)
Lee, David	60s	businessman	5/9/2012 5/16/2012	President of CAAT (2011-2012)
Liao, Jimmy	60s	engineer	4/24/2012	President of Chino Hills Chinese Association (2011-2012)
Liu, Charles	70s	retired engineer	4/25/2012	Founder of Rowland Heights Evergreen Seniors Association vice president of RHCCC (2011-2012)
Liu, Donald	60s	retired businessman	9/19/2011	—
Liu, Livingstone	40s	pastor	8/6/2011	Pastor of EFCRH
Lin, Mei-Chih	70s	owner of traffic school	6/26/2012	Co-founder of JCUAA
Liu, Nancy	50s	real estate agent	9/25/2011	—
Lin, Tin-quan	80s	Retired veteran	1/9/2012	Founder of Golden Age Association
Lo, Sam	60s	Insurance agent	5/2/2012	President of JCUAA (2007-2008) President of *Hubei tongshanghuai* (2011-2012)
Lo, Shu-li	60s	housewife	1/9/2012	President of Golden Age Association (2011-2012)
Lu, Sui-pei	40s	Lawyer and businesswoman	5/3/2012	Board director of Rowland Heights Water District (2005-) President of Regional Commerce of Chamber of San Gabriel Valley (2011-2012)
Mo, Philip	60s	Senior engineer	8/23/2011	President of NTUAA

				(2006-2007) Co-founder of Hacienda Heights Area Chinese School
Nieh, Judy	50s	Accountant	9/8/2011	Board member of RHUSD (2000-)
Pei, Eric	60s	Insurance agent	5/5/2012	—
Shieh, Chien-kuo	60s	pastor	10/5/2011	Pastor of EFCHH
Tang, Champion	60s	real estate agent	5/9/2012	—
Treu, Scarlet	50s	businesswoman	6/11/2012	vice president of Mt. SAC Foundation
Tsang, Jeffery	40s	engineer	8/22/2011	Board member of Hacienda Heights Area Chinese School (2011-2012)
Wang, Chuching	50s	Senior engineer	7/30/2012	President of Chinese-American Professional Society (2007-2008) vice president of *Shandong* Association of Southern California (2008-2009) president of L.A. chapter of 80-20 Political Action Committee (2012-)
Wang, Melody	50s	accountant	3/10/2012	Board member of RHUSD (1993-2000)
Wang, Ring	40s	businessman	7/20/2012	—
Wang, Philip	50s	businessman	5/3/2012	President of RHCA (2008-2009)
William, Phil	60s	businessman	10/5/2011	—
Wei, Osman	60s	businessman	3/28/2012	president of Hacienda Heights Royal Lions Club (2009-2010) the Planning Commissioner of City of Diamond Bar (2004-2005)

William, Phil	60s	businessman	10/5/2011	—
Wu, Lisa	60s	housewife	6/15/2012	Founder of Take it Easy Club
Xu, Felix	50s	Secretary	4/23/2012	Secretary of Chinese Gospel Business Men's Fellowship
Yee, Rex	70s	principal of Chinese school	7/29/2012	President of SCCCS (1999-2000)
Yu, Joey	40s	businessman	7/25/2012	President of *Shandong* Association of Southern California (2011-2012)
Yu, Bao-shu	50s	Church worker	8/7/2011	Church worker of Chinese Christian Zion Church
Mr. Jan	50s	Restaurant owner	12/22/2009	Member of Monterey Park Chamber of Commerce
Mrs. Zhou	60s	hotel owner	12/20/2009	Member of SCTIA