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A Portrait of Chinese Americans: From the Perspective of Assimilation

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Abstract

With more than 40 million immigrants, the United States is the major destination for most international migrants. It has always been so because America is a nation of immigrants. The United States has been shaped by four waves of immigration, and unlike previous waves, in the past 50 years immigrants have come from Latin America and Asia more than other regions of the world. Chinese immigration is the focus of this thesis. Chinese people have been present in this society from before the Revolutionary War, and their story is a complex one—one marked by rapid growth, discrimination, exclusion, acceptance, more rapid growth, and assimilation. This thesis describes the four waves of immigration that have shaped American society, and the role that the Chinese played in this process. Immigration law is explored and two benchmark laws, the Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, frame this discussion. The regions of Chinese emigration are described and the push-pull factors that affected this migration are discussed. Migration and assimilation theories are presented, and a model of spatial assimilation that predicts where ethnic groups are located in the urban fabric is applied to Chinese people in the United States. Measures of residential and socioeconomic integration, English-language proficiency, and intermarriage are used to determine the level of assimilation of Chinese immigrants after 1965. The straight-line assimilation model best describes the assimilation of Chinese Americans into this society.

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PREFACE

Having lived in the United States for two years, I have embraced the American lifestyle and its food, holidays, and university life. The memory of getting the opportunity to come to the United States is still fresh and clear. It seems like it was only yesterday. Originally, the idea of studying abroad came from my uncle, who lives in Fayetteville, Arkansas. The social network with my uncle started my path to moving to the United States. First, there was the long and complex application process for U.S. universities—contacting schools, sending CVs, and requesting recommendation letters. I had never experienced these hurdles before because China has a totally different higher-education system. When I was preparing for the TOEFL and GRE tests, there were thousands of other students in my training school prepping for hours during their school breaks in order to gain admission to a U.S. university.

During my flight to the U.S., I had difficulty in communicating with the airline stewards, so I used body language along with my poor spoken English, to make them understand me. On my way to the United States, my feelings were quite complex; I was both excited and scared. I was looking forward to the people, country, and life that I was going to experience, but scared by all the new things that I was going to face.

However, the excitement of coming to the United States was quickly replaced by the culture shock. When I was sitting in the classroom, I could only understand about twenty percent of what the professor was saying, which frustrated me for a long time. In addition, while I was chatting with Americans, it was hard for me to understand them well, and the only thing I could do was to keep smiling and keep quiet. And I missed home and Chinese food. Although there are some Chinese restaurants in Fayetteville, they are Americanized and so very different from the cuisine back home. The culture shock made me scared of the new environment and people

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around me because everything around me was different from where I grew up and what I was used to. I tended to stay in my apartment rather than going out because I was afraid of making mistakes while interacting with Americans, afraid of saying or doing something that contradicted American culture. This transition from an outgoing Chinese woman to a quiet person depressed me, and I missed so much about China, including my family, friends, language, and food. Fortunately, I began to adapt to the American life after about three months, and started enjoying the beauty of America. With time my interaction with Americans became smoother and the American way of living gradually permeated my life. I was being assimilated.

This is the reason why I am interested in the topic of immigration, especially Chinese immigration, and the process of my ethnic group becoming a part of mainstream American society. It is a topic close to my life, and something that I am experiencing. I want to know more about Chinese immigration, discovering my shared experiences with those who have come before me, and the things I should come to expect in my future.

Wei Bai
Fayetteville, Arkansas
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INTRODUCTION

Since the Stone Age humans have migrated away from their native lands, seeking better shelter, clean water, and potential food resources. It is regarded as an important human characteristic (Bernard, 1967). Today, people are still migrating from one city to another, and from country to country for better careers, better marriage prospects, and higher standards of living. Though there are great differences among the economies, political systems, cultures, and environments among the world's nations, it is through migration that these differences are narrowed.

Today, 125 million of the world's people live outside of the countries of their birth. Therefore, the assimilation and integration of immigrants is a process of international importance. Assimilation is a radical, unidirectional process of simplification in which "ethnic minorities shed themselves of all that makes them distinctive and become carbon copies of the ethnic majority" (Alba, 1999, p. 7). This is the model that has guided much of research on migration. But competing models, like the multicultural and integration models, are also used to describe the inclusion of ethnic groups into a society. I will explore each of these models in this thesis.

The United States is the world's most popular destination for immigrants, with over 40 million living within its borders. It is a nation of immigrants, and it is also famous for its diversity and its tradition of assimilation. The United States has a long history of immigration. If one is not a Native American, then he or she is either an immigrant or is descended from immigrants. Prior to the Civil War, the origin of most American immigration was from Northern and Western Europe, and Africa where millions were brought here forcibly as slaves (Schwab, 2004). Beginning in the 1870s, the source of immigration shifted to Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia. Since 1965, Latin America and Asia have become the main source of the nation's

immigration (Schwab, 2004). As a country of immigrants, the United States is viewed as a miracle because there is no nation in the world has such a diverse ethnic groups living in peace (Schwab, 2004).

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the assimilation and integration of Chinese immigrants into the social fabric of the United States. Asian immigrants, in general, and Chinese immigrants, in particular, are viewed by many demographers as the perfect immigrant group. They have high levels of education and career achievement, significant upward social mobility, and low levels of social disorganization. Yet, many members of this ethnic group have lower levels of assimilation and integration when compared with other ethnic groups. This paper attempts to answer why this is so. I will attempt to answer this question by placing the Chinese assimilation process in a historical and political context. I will explore the history of Chinese immigrants and focus on how anti-Asian politics and policies influence their immigration flow. I will show the evolution of U.S immigration law and how it initially slowed Chinese immigration, and, then, in the 1960s, facilitated it. I will present social and spatial assimilation theories, and apply them to the experience of Chinese immigrants. Finally, I will apply four measurements (residential integration, socioeconomic integration, language, and intermarriage) to show how well second-generation Chinese people are assimilating into American society.

Chapter One: Theory of Assimilation

"Assimilation is the sum of a million small decisions and tiny changes in daily life that often occur despite the immigrant's efforts to ward off assimilation" (Kasintz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdawat, 2008, p. 10).

A set of theories has been developed for the study of immigration and assimilation because no single theory can describe the complexity of this process (Massey, Arango, Hogo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993). And an understanding of migration and assimilation will require the contributions of many disciplines, using a variety of methodologies and many levels of analysis (Massey et. al., 1993). In this chapter, I provide an overview of classic and contemporary assimilation models; however, I will focus on straight-line and segmented assimilation models.

The straight-line model, also known the melting pot or Americanization model, has provided a framework for much of the research carried out during the first three-quarters of the twentieth century. Segmented assimilation, or the integration model, is an alternative approach introduced in the 1990s, which some researchers believe better describes the diverse and complex experiences that contemporary immigrants face in this society. This approach includes elements of social capital and social network analysis.

Straight-Line Assimilation Model

Straight-line assimilation theory suggests that immigrants adopt the norms, values, behaviors, and characteristics of the majority and become indistinguishable from them over time. They are Americanized (Brown and Bean, 2006). It suggests that all immigrant groups will be assimilated into the mainstream society and they do this by getting rid of the language and culture of the country of origin while adopting the culture and language of the host country. Furthermore, the straight-line notion envisions a process unfolding in a sequence of generational steps, in which each new generation represents a new stage of adjustment until the group is fully assimilated (Alba and Nee, 1997). According to the straight-line theory, no matter how many ethnic groups exist in a given society, the assimilation process will end with the absorption into the host society. The theory implies that this is a temporal process that occurs over generations, and the longer the immigrant group lives in the host country, the more assimilated the group will become. This is also called the melting-pot theory. However, Mouw and Xie (1999, p.236), reflecting on this theory wrote, "it seems paradoxical that research on ethnic social capital, such as ethnically specific values, endogamy, and ethnic segregation, lead to faster rates of upward mobility into the American middle class, that can be described as a 'melting pot.'"

Originally, the concept of the "melting pot" comes from a play by Israel Zangwill, staged in 1908 in Washington D.C. (Gleason, 1964). The play uses, for the first time, the concept of the "melting pot" as the symbol for describing the American assimilative process. It tells a love story between a young Russian Jewish immigrant, David, and a settlement-house worker, Vera, who is also a Russian immigrant, but a Christian (Gleason, 1964, p. 22). David soon discovers that Vera's father was the military officer who directed the Kishineff Massacre of Jews, which did terrible harm to David's family, so he decides to break off his relationship with Vera. Suffering

great remorse for his decision, David is reunited with Vera, and the play ends with a paean of praise and hope for the melting pot as David and Vera stand on the roof of the settlement house "transfixed by the vision of the Statue of Liberty gilded in the distant sunset" (Gleason, 1964, p. 22). This love story of two people meeting, knowing each other, falling in love, breaking up, and eventually reuniting is a metaphor for the assimilation of two immigrants with different racial, religious, and cultural backgrounds.

The melting-pot theory introduced in the play became very popular, and numerous writers with every imaginable embellishment and variation have employed the plot. Philip Gleason (1964, p. 37) describes the process this way: "The devotees of the crude, current notion of the 'melting pot' bid America take the immigrant…strip him of his cultural heritage, throw him into the great cauldron, stir the pot vigorously, speak the magic word 'Americanization' and through the mystic vapors would rise the newly created 'American.'"

Many immigration theorists found the melting pot unacceptable because a theory based on a drama could not fully present a complex process that lasts generations (Gleason, 1964). Moreover, are the immigrants the only ones changed or is the host society changed as well? This is a question central to today's debate on immigration reform. Will the 40 million first-generation immigrants currently living in this society change America's national identity?

Neoclassical Economic Theory

The Neoclassical Immigration Theory views society as a system of aggregate parts, moving towards equilibrium (De Hass, 2011). Massey (1997) and other researchers, drawing from neoclassical economic theory, explored the micro and macro forces shaping immigration and the assimilation process. They appreciate that migration has high costs—financial, social,

and psychological. On the micro level, individuals make rational choices by calculating the potential costs and expected benefits of migrating (Massey et. al., 1997). Framing this decision works for legal, as well as illegal, immigrants, although each group employs different variables in their mental calculus. For example, highly skilled workers usually move from capital-poor to capital-rich countries because they can maximize the return of their investments in their education and skills, e.g., they hope for higher levels of income and occupational status. This was the motivation for thousands of highly educated and highly skilled Chinese who have migrated to the United States over the past 50 years for higher incomes and a higher standard of living. At the other end of the education-and-skill continuum, illegal immigrants also make rational choices to migrate although they face very different costs—risks of arrest, detention, and death at the border, the constant threat of arrest by immigration authorities once they settle, and low wages and a marginal standard of living working in the informal economy of this society. Mexico is the country of origin for most unauthorized migration to the United States. High unemployment, low wages, few social services, and drug-cartel violence in Mexico mean that the costs of migrating to the United States are marginal, even though immigrants will be working in a low-wage, informal economy and living in ethnic enclaves under the constant fear of deportation (Todaro and Maruszke, 1987).

Massey and others also identified macro-level forces that contribute to international migration. Migration is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labor (Massey et al., 1997). Nations with a surplus of labor have relatively low wages compared to ones with equilibrium in the labor and wage market (Todaro and Maruszke, 1987). The nation's current wave of immigration is a good example. Immigrants from Asia and Latin America have moved to the United States because of a non-competitive job market in their home country and

greater job potential in the U.S. Over time, equilibrium occurs, and this is reflected in recent labor shortages in Mexico. A dramatic decline in the birth rate, Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto's social contract with the Mexican people, and a booming national economy have meant that more people are leaving the United States for Mexico than are arriving here. In short, neoclassical economic theory stresses that the migration results in an imbalance of labor supply and demands in different nations around the world, and a person's decision to migrate is framed by these macroeconomic forces.

Segmented Assimilation Model

The language, religion, national origins, and cultural backgrounds of the current wave of immigrants are probably the most diverse in American history. For example, more than 400 languages and dialects are spoken in New York City today. As a result, the assimilation experiences of the current wave may be different from earlier waves, and this is reflected in competing models of assimilation. For example, the Racial/Ethnic Disadvantage Model argues that many immigrant groups face cultural barriers in their society, which block the assimilation process. In 1993, Alejandro Portez and Min Zhou published a benchmark work that combined elements of the neoclassical migration, straight-line or melting-pot assimilation, and the ethnic disadvantage perspectives models into a framework they called "segmented assimilation" (Brown and Bean, 2006). This theory suggests that discrimination and institutional barriers to employment and other opportunities block complete assimilation of the new ethnic groups and that ethnicity becomes a burden for achieving economic mobility for the second and subsequent generations. Since economic mobility is a significant factor in assimilation, delays in this process delay the ethnic group's move into the mainstream of society (Brown and Bean, 2006).

The Segmented Model describes why different patterns of assimilation emerge among contemporary immigrants, and how these patterns necessarily lead to convergence or divergence of the assimilation process (Zhou, 1997). It also posits three paths for segmented assimilation: upward assimilation, downward assimilation, and upward assimilation combined with biculturalism (Kasintz et. al, 2008, p. 345). The model offers a theoretical framework for understanding the process by which the second generation becomes incorporated into the stratification system of the host society (Zhou, 1997). Central to understanding this process is the nature of the social capital the second generation receives from their parents and ethnic community. For example, if the second generation combines positive attitudes, like the value of education and hard work, from their native culture with the cultural elements found in the "American Dream," then upward mobility is enhanced. If elements of the native culture are not adaptive to the new society, they risk sliding into persistent poverty (Kasintz et al, 2008).

In other words, varying modes of integration of the first generation endow the second generation with differing amounts of cultural and social capital. This capital comes in the form of ethnic jobs, networks, and values, and different opportunity structures that enhance or detract from the assimilation process (Kasintz et al., 2008). For example, Philip Kasintz (2008) in his research on second-generation immigrants in New York City, found that the values of the city's Chinese immigrants—hard work, emphasis on higher education and entering the professions, stable and extended family forms, and dense and multi-stranded social networks—were adaptive in this society and contributed to their rapid upward social and spatial mobility. These factors contributed to their rapid assimilation. Dominicans, in contrast, placed less value on education, had unstable family forms, smaller social networks, less cohesive ethnic enclaves, and more emphasis on jobs rather than professions. Passed to the second generation, this social capital has

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led to a very different assimilation trajectory in this ethnic group, and the second generation is inheriting less social capital and the poverty that comes with it (Kasintz et. al, 2008). Therefore, the implication of the segmented assimilation model is that assimilation is not a straight-line process and that, although Americanization may come at the end, there are many different paths (Warner, 2007).

Philip Kasinitz and others (2008) published a decade-long research project in 2008, inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age. Because New York City is the nation's leading destination for immigrants, the city's ethnic population is quite diverse. The sample included native whites, native blacks, Puerto Ricans (who were compared to the experiences of second-generation Dominicans), West Indians, South Americans, Chinese, and Russian Jews. The research was based on thousands of telephone and face-to-face interviews of immigrant youth between the ages of 18 and 32 in New York City and its outlying suburbs. The research reported that the second-generation Chinese were the most successful of all the groups. Their rapid assimilation was reflected in the fact that Chinese children were less likely to learn Chinese, most likely to attend the best public and private schools, and the most likely to pursue higher education (Kasintz et. al, 2008). Among the Chinese respondents, the vast majority experienced upward mobility, whereas the Dominicans, West Indians, and South Americans experienced little upward mobility. Although the younger groups had higher incomes than their parents, for the most part, they worked in the low-wage, low-skill labor market (Kasintz et. al, 2008).

Social Capital Theory and Network Theory

These divergence paths of assimilation in the second and the subsequent generations can also be understood with the Social Capital and Network Theory. Massey defines social capital as

"resources emanating from weaker ties to United States migrants diffused throughout a community-casual friends, acquaintances, distant relatives, and even friends of friends who have been to the United States" (Massey 2005, p.4). Massey posits that the capital derived from these networks could promote and perpetuate migration because migrant networks retain links to potential migrants in sending and receiving communities (Massey and Espana, 1987). Chain migration occurs when the social capital gained through these networks provides resources for the potential immigrants in home country. Entry strategies, job prospects, money for travel, temporary housing upon arrival, and psychological support in the new society are example of the material and nonmaterial assets that are derived from these networks. The result is that as immigrant communities grow, the housing and employment connections change the decision-to-move calculus for future immigrants (Massey and Espana, 1987). Therefore, as the migration stream between the sending and receiving societies grows, the cost of migration is reduced for friends and relatives, and it is a self-reinforcing process (Massey and Espana, 1987). This pattern can be found in Northwest Arkansas. For example, the reason I came to the University of Arkansas is that I have family members in Fayetteville. Other immigrant students in my graduate class made similar decisions because of their family ties to the region. Therefore, the social capital that is derived from kinship networks is important in understanding the size and scope of immigration between sending and receiving communities.

Chinese Assimilation

The segmented assimilation model combines elements of the neo-classical, straight-line, and ethnic disadvantage models, and it describes different levels of assimilation of second generation immigrants who differ in ethnic backgrounds and accessibility to social capital. Central to this model is the role of race. In a 2008 study, Kasinitz and his research team studied

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the assimilation of immigrant groups in New York City, the most ethnically diverse city in the world. The study found that the assimilation an ethnic group experienced was closely tied to proximal group to which they were identified—white versus black. For example, among Hispanics, the proximal group for Dominicans, who are largely descendants of slaves, is African Americans, and their slow assimilation is shaped by the prejudice and discrimination faced by blacks in this society. In contrast, the proximal group of South Americans, lighter in complexion, is whites, and their assimilation has been more rapid. Interestingly, the researcher found that the proximal group for Chinese is whites even though they are of a different race. As a result, Chinese Americans have experienced rapid assimilation in the second generation.

Therefore, the majority of Chinese are achieving significant upward mobility in the second and third generations (Zinzius, 2005). Frey's recent research (2015) in New York City supports this statement. He found that second generation immigrants Chinese were the most successful immigrant group among all ethnic groups. Simply, high educational achievement and occupational prestige, as well as, New Yorkers defining the Chinese proximal group as white has meant rapid assimilation into the mainstream of society. This change was long in coming. In the next chapter, I place Chinese immigration in a historical perspective, and describe how this immigration was shaped by this nation's immigration laws and policies. Much has changed in the past century. Immigration laws have changed from ones of exclusion to one of encouragement and acceptance.

Summary

Straight-line theory and segmented assimilation models are the two main theoretical frameworks used in this paper. They subsume elements of melting pot, neoclassical economics, social capital, and network analysis. The straight-line assimilation model argues that all the

ethnic groups entering American society will eventually assimilate into the mainstream and will adopt this society's values and norms. Israel Zangwill first presented the concept in a play, and the production vividly showed how people with different racial, religious, and cultural background assimilated into the American society. The segmented assimilation model argues that different patterns emerge among second-generation immigrant children. Whether they achieve upward or downward mobility is based on the accessibility and accumulation of social capital from parents, community, and other resources in their social networks. The social capital inherited from the first generation offers advantages and disadvantages to the second generation. Chinese immigrants enjoy large, multi-stranded social networks and the capital that comes with them. The ethnic culture emphasizes the importance of hard work and educational success, and for this reason second-generation Chinese are among the most upwardly mobile immigrants in this society. High incomes translate into residential choice, and as the second generation moves to the suburbs, the influence of the subculture is diluted and assimilation has been enhanced.

Chapter Two: A History of Chinese Immigration

In 1889, the United States Supreme Court described Chinese immigrants as "vast hordes of people crowing in upon us" and as "a different race…dangerous to American peace and security" (Lee, 2002, p. 39).

Overview

In this section, I will discuss the first arrivals of Chinese immigrants to the United States and the rising number of Chinese immigrations attracted by the California Gold Rush, as well as their work as laborers in the construction of the Pacific Railroad. This initial wave of immigration led to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 as the result of complaints by West Coast business interests regarding illegal competition by Chinese immigrations in the labor market. As the result of the 1882 act and subsequent legislation, Chinese immigration stopped for almost a century. The passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act was a turning point, abolishing the quota system; it reopened the door for Chinese immigration.

First Arrival

The first Asian group to immigrate to the United States was the Chinese. Chinese were present in the United States as early as the 1770s, but significant numbers did not begin to arrive until the middle of the nineteenth century. The impetus was the California Gold Rush, and the construction of the nation's first transcontinental railroad (Wong, 1986).

In the spring of 1848, stories of the discovery of gold in California spread like wildfire through Hong Kong and China's coastal provinces. Thousands of Chinese viewed America as a land full of gold and untold opportunity (Zinzius, 2005). The Gold Rush attracted about 52,000 migrants by 1852 (Taylor, Cohn, and Wang, 2012). The United States industrialized and

urbanized in the nineteenth century, and there was a need for an expanded railroad system, but also a labor shortage. Chinese immigrants who came to the United States for the Gold Rush soon discovered that gold was a dream, not a reality. Facing hard times, they gave up on panning for gold and 90% of them joined the workforce constructing the Pacific Railroad (Taylor, Cohn, and Wang, 2012). The completion of the Central Pacific in 1869 resulted in massive unemployment among Chinese rail workers (Cronin and Huntzicker, 2012). These 10,000 displaced workers found new employment by opening tea houses, making cigars, running boarding houses and sailor's homes, and working as cooks, porters, and peddlers. The vast majority of this first wave of Chinese immigrants settled in the coastal cities of California (Cronin and Huntzicker, 2012).

Following the completion of the Central Pacific, there was a political backlash against this first wave, and a series of laws and ordinances were created to prevent Chinese immigrants from entering the low-wage labor market. For example, in 1855 ship owners had to pay a fifty-dollars-per-capita tax to transport Chinese people to the United States. The purpose of the Capitation Tax Ordinance was to limit the number of Chinese entering the labor force (Zinzius, 2005). The Lodging House Ordinance of 1876 required that all living quarters have a certain free area for each occupant. However, most Chinese workers lived in dormitories that did not meet the requirement. If they were discovered and unable to pay the fine, they were imprisoned (Zinzius, 2005). In addition, the Laundry Ordinance (1873) taxed laundries that did not employ horses to deliver their laundry, a move to protect native-run laundries (Zinzius, 2005). The Fifteen Passenger Bill, enacted in 1879, limited ships to only fifteen Chinese passengers (Zinzius, 2005). These policies laid the foundation for the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act.

Discrimination and Exclusion

With the rising number of Chinese entering the United States, and a growing number of unemployed Chinese following the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad, the competition among Chinese, other immigrant groups, and white Americans for jobs became intense. Under these circumstances, politicians, workers, and journalists complained that the increasing number of single Chinese men unfairly competed with white Americans and European immigrants because they worked for low wages or were working out indentures (Cronin and Huntzicker, 2012). The press framed Chinese immigration as an evil, an "unarmed invasion" competing unfairly in the labor market (Lee, 2002, p. 36). Discrimination towards the Chinese not only came from U.S. citizens but also from the federal government. For example, in 1889, the United States Supreme Court described Chinese immigrants as "vast hordes of people crowding in upon us" and as "a different race…dangerous to American peace and security" (Lee, 2002, p. 39). More sweeping was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which was the first immigration policy limiting the immigration of a targeted group in American history (Zinzius, 2005).

The Chinese Exclusion Act prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers for a period of ten years and barred all Chinese immigrants from naturalized citizenship; however, merchants, teachers, students, travelers, and diplomats were exempt from exclusion (Lee, 2005). Although there were exceptions for some specific groups, the flow of immigrants from China was greatly affected by the law. According to the Census Bureau's American Community Survey, it reduced the Chinese American population from a peak of 107,000 in 1890 to 50,000 in 1920. One result of the excluding of the Chinese was the introduction of a "gatekeeping" ideology into the nation's politics, law, and culture, and it transformed the way in which Americans thought about race, immigration, and the nation's identity as a nation of immigrants (Lee, 2002) Based on the

1882 Exclusion Act, a second exclusion act (this act will be explained in detail in chapter two) was published in 1924 which regulated the quota system. The quota was further tightened to 150,000 immigrants with the passage of the Immigration Act in 1930 (Zinzius, 2005).

A Turning Point in 1965

Chinese immigration had been systematically cut off by legal restrictions beginning in 1882, but a series of small compromises and regulations were made over the years. Chinese exclusion finally ended with the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Zinzius, 2005). The following section describes the evolution of these policies.

World War II was the largest and most violent armed conflict in the history of mankind, and began when Hitler's army invaded Poland on September 1, 1939 (Stone, 2003). The United States did not enter World War II until the attack on Pearl Harbor by Japan on December 7, 1941 (Stone, 2003). During the war, in order to stop the aggression of Germany, Italy, and Japan, France, Great Britain, Poland, Soviet Union, the United States, China, and other countries became allies. Because China was an American ally, the quota was modified in 1943 (Zinzius, 2005). The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 allowed 205,000 immigrants into the United States (Zinzius, 2005). In addition, the 1948 Act was later used to allow Chinese who did not want to return to China following the 1949 communist revolution to stay. In 1952, the McCarran-Water Act was introduced, which focused on family reunification of immigrants (Zinzius, 2005). Approximately 3,000 Chinese immigrated to the United States following the passage of the law (Zinzius, 2005). These modifications and additions to the nation's immigration laws since the original 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act finally led to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.
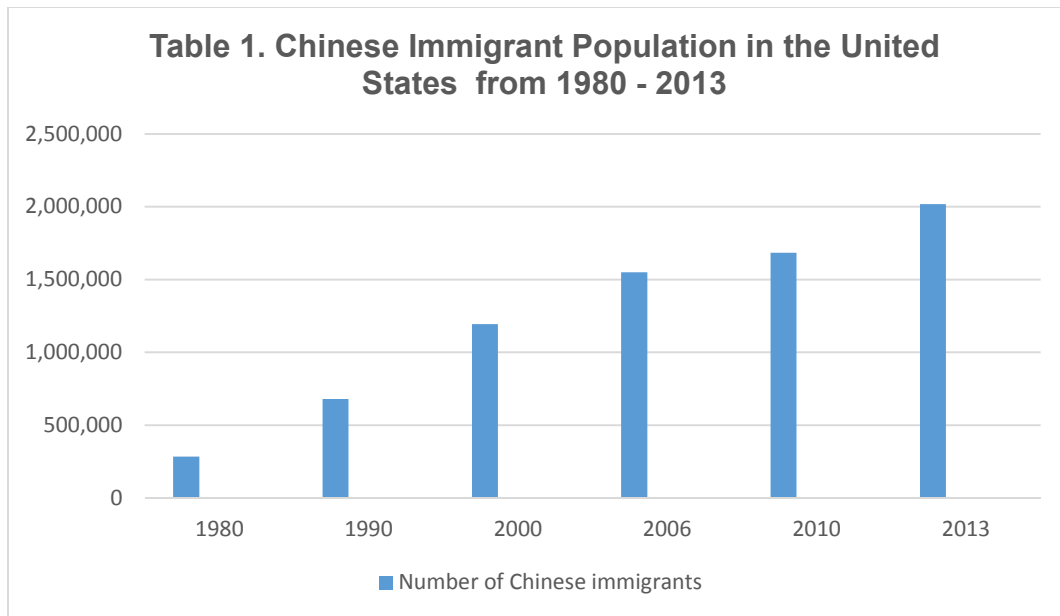
The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolished the quota system for Chinese immigrations. The law was straightforward. After July 1, 1968, immigrants from these non-Western countries would enter on a first-come, first-served basis, regardless of their place of birth or racial ancestry (Keely, 1971). Moreover, the Refugee Act of 1980 allocated 50,000 visas for Chinese immigrants annually. Chinese students also played a significant role in the rising number of Chinese in the United States. Students had always been encouraged to migrate, and were even exempted from the 1882 Exclusion Act. In the 1960s, a large number of students who intended to complete their studies following the Chinese Revolution were stranded. Those students who entered the United States before 1950 were allowed to complete their study, find employment, and convert their visa status to that of a permanent resident (Lyman, 2001). Also, the American system supported the integration of foreigners holding degrees from U.S. educational institutions (Zinzius, 2005). By 1980, fifty percent of the 300,000 foreign students in the United States were from China and other Asian nations (Zinzius, 2005). According to the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 235,597 Chinese natives were students in the United States in 2013, where they accounted for 23.7 percent of all the foreign students. Chinese students now make up a quarter of foreign students in the U.S. Additionally, thousands of students have been able to find jobs in the United States after completing their studies (Zinzius, 2005). As resident aliens they can start the family repatriation process. After five years of continuous residency, they can then obtain American citizenship and invite other relatives to immigrate under the quota and non-quota regulations. Reimers (1983) has termed this phenomenon "chain migration," and he classifies today's new Chinese immigrants into three categories (Zinzius, 2005, p. 117).

ABC Chinese (American-born Chinese) tend to have college educations and white-collar jobs, and choose to live outside of urban Chinatowns.

FOB (fresh-off-the-boat Chinese) have little education, speak little English, live in Chinatown and work in the lowest-income-bracket service industries, or in the sewing industry.

FOP (fresh-off-the-plane Chinese) are relatives of earlier immigrants benefitting from reunification, and the resources of well-educated family members. They live predominately in the new Chinatowns or in the multicultural environment of top-level universities.

According to census data, the Asian population in the United States has grown from one million to twelve million from 1965 to 2000 (Zinzius, 2005). In 2013, more than 338,000 Asians immigrated to the U.S., and China was one of the leading countries of origin. The U.S. Census reported that the number of Chinese immigrants grew from 1,654,472 in 1990 to 2,432,858 in 2014, which reflects an obvious effect of the 1965 law.

Table 1. Chinese Immigrant Population in the United States from 1980 - 2013

Year	Number of Chinese immigrants
1980	~280,000
1990	~680,000
2000	~1,200,000
2006	~1,550,000
2010	~1,680,000
2013	~2,020,000

Source: Data comes from the Pew Research Center's report "Chinese Immigrants in the United States" by Kate Hooper and Jeanne Batalowa, 2015, p. 2. Available at migrationpolicy.org.

High Levels of Assimilation

Chinese immigrants are of interest to social scientists because of their high levels of education achievement and career success (Pearce, 2006). They tend to be more educated and are much more likely to be in professional and managerial occupations than are members of other immigrant groups and native-born Americans (Wong, 1986). As a result of the nation's immigration laws that excluded physical laborers but gave an exception to students, professors, and other academic persons, the Chinese immigrants in the United States are highly educated and their children aim for high academic achievement. Several factors contribute to the high achievement in education and careers, including a strong work ethic, good language skills, and parental guidance.

In sum, the first Chinese arrived in the United States in the 1770s, with the largest numbers of Chinese immigrants attracted by the California Gold Rush and the construction of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads. The growth in the number of Chinese laborers, and their competition in the low-wage labor market, led to a political backlash and the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. This law dramatically reduced Chinese immigration to the United States. Although there were small changes in immigration law over the next half-century, the quota systems was not abolished until the passage of Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. As a result, most Chinese immigration has been recent, and the Chinese living here tend to be well educated and professional. The high levels of education and the tendency for Chinese Americans to enter the professional world suggest rapid assimilation and integration of Chinese people into American society.

Chapter Three: The History of United States Immigration Law

"Immigration should be generous; it should be fair; it should be flexible. With such a policy, we can turn to the world, and to our own past, with clean hands and a clear conscience."
(Kennedy, 1996, p. 138)

Overview

The following is a brief summary of the landmark legislation that shaped the nation's immigration policy. In this chapter, I will, first, describe the four waves of immigration to the United States, and show how immigration laws have helped shaped the volume and country of origin of immigration. Next, I will provide an overview of the historic, political, and demographic forces that converged and led to the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965. In addition, I will, also compare this act with other key immigration policies.

Four Waves of Immigration

In the history of immigration to the United States, there were four major waves of immigration. The first and second waves started from the first settlement in the new world and ended on the eve of the Civil War in 1861. Demographers estimate that more than 25 million people immigrated during these years. The third wave of immigration spanned the years from the end of the Civil War in 1864 to 1924, and approximately thirty million people immigrated to the United States during this time. The fourth wave of immigration began with the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which abolished the quota system, and this policy continues to this today. To date, there have been more than 40 million immigrants in the fourth wave (Schwab, 2004).

During the first and second waves, most immigrants came from Western and Northern Europe, as well as slaves from Africa. In the third wave, immigration shifted from Western and Northern European countries to Eastern and Southern Europe. In the fourth wave, immigration patterns shifted once again, with the majority of immigrants coming from Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

These four waves of immigration were shaped by the immigration laws of their respective times. These laws regulated the origins of immigrants, and the number of immigrants that could enter the United States. For example, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act prohibited Chinese immigrants from entering the United States for a ten-year period. As a result, Japanese and Korean immigrants came to the United States to fill the labor shortage created by the exit of Chinese workers. Table 2.1 presents key immigration policies from 1790 to 2001, and in the following section I will briefly discuss the policies most important to Chinese immigration.

Table 2.1 - List of Major Immigration Policies in the U.S.	
1790	The 1790 Naturalization Act
1882	The Chinese Exclusion Act
1888	The Scott Act
1892	Act to Prohibit the Coming of Chinese Persons Into the United States
1917	The 1917 Immigration Act
1921	The Emergency Quota Act
1924	The National Origins Quota Act
1942	The Magnuson Act
1952	The Immigration and Nationality Act (McCarren –Walter Act)
1965	The Immigration and Nationality Act (Hart – Cellar Act)
1980	The Refugee Act of 1980
1986	The Immigration Reform and Control Act
1996	The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act
2001	The USA Patriot Act

Resource: This list of U.S. immigration laws is adapted from Migration Policy Institute, which is available at migrationpolicy.org.

Immigration Policies Before 1965

According to the Migration Policy Institution (MPI)), the country's first uniform law for naturalization was the 1790 Naturalization Act, which established the principles for becoming a U.S citizen (2013). An applicant had to be a "free white person" who had resided in the United States for at least two years and was of good moral character. And children, under 21 years old, would automatically become citizens when their parents were naturalized (Migration Policy Institution, 2013). This act provided the foundation for subsequent immigration legislation, and elements of it can still be found in legislation today.

The passage 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act marked the first instance when the United States regulated immigration based on race. It was a response to the flood of Chinese into the low-wage labor market in the late nineteenth Century. Congress responded to the complaints by West-Coast business interests and labor and banned Chinese immigration for a ten-year period. The result was that the number of American immigrants from China dramatically. The Scott Act of 1888 further restricted Chinese immigration by preventing those who left the United States from returning. However, there were exceptions, and some Chinese received certificates that allowed them to reenter the United States.

During late nineteenth century the United States was being transformed from a rural, agricultural society to an industrial and urban one. Mainland Chinese were actively recruited to immigrate to help alleviate the labor shortage. For example, during the building of the Pacific Railway, in 1864, there were 3000 Chinese Americans for every 1000 white Americans working on the railroad (Wellborn, 1913). From 1864-1869, the number of Chinese working on the railroad tripled while the white labor force remained constant (Wellborn, 1913).

According to the census data, approximately 110,000 Chinese entered the United States between 1850 and 1882 (Calavita, 2000). Most of them took low-wage, low-skilled jobs in mining, construction, agriculture, and the service industry (Hooper and Batalova, 2015). It was in the mining industry that dissatisfaction with Chinese labor first appeared. Chinese workers were typically paid between five and eight dollars per day, while whites expected between $16 and $20 (Wellborn, 1913). Whites protested the downward pressure on their wages. As a result, many Chinese were excluded from mining jobs and, in turn, anti-Chinese feeling quickly spread to other industries and communities (Wellborn, 1913). In this climate of prejudice and discrimination, the Anti-Chinese Union was founded by a group of U.S. Senators and

Congressmen, as well as prominent local politicians and business leaders (Zinzius, 2005). At about the same time, a Joint Special Committee of the Congress was formed to investigate Chinese immigrants. On, February 27, 1877 the committee submitted its findings, *An Address to the People of the United States upon the Evils of Chinese Immigration to Congress* (Calavita, 2000). One outcome was the Burlingame Treaty of 1880, which gave the United States the right to "regulate, limit, or suspend Chinese immigration temporarily, but not to absolutely prohibit it" (Calavita, 2000, p. 4). The Burlingame Treaty provided the foundation for the Exclusion Act of 1882.

The 1882 Exclusion Act prohibited Chinese laborers from immigrating to the United States for ten years with the exception of teachers, students, diplomats, travelers, and merchants. Skilled and unskilled laborers and their families residing in the United States were also exempted (Zinzius, 2005). Only workers who had been residing in the United States prior to November 17, 1880 had the opportunity to return to the U.S. if they left the U.S. for a short visit to China (Zinzius, 2005). The number of Chinese immigrants declined dramatically as a result of this law. There were negative effects from the Exclusion Act, but these same negative effects were positive ones for the development of U.S. immigration policy. One of the advantages was the selection of immigration by occupation, which had the unintended consequence of raising the education level of the Chinese immigrants that followed.

Other anti-Asian and anti-Chinese legislation followed. The Geary Act of 1892 extended the Exclusion Act and extended the prohibition of Chinese immigration for another ten years. Those still residing in the United States faced deportation if they could not prove lawful residency; they also could be imprisoned with up to a year of hard labor (Zinzius, 2005). The 1917 Immigration Act created an "Asiatic barred zone" based on the Chinese Exclusion Act. The

"zone included British India, most of Southeast Asia, and almost all of the Middle East (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). As with the Exclusion Act, exceptions were given to students and professionals such as teachers, officers, lawyers, physicians, etc. (Zinzius, 2005).

United States immigration law took another turn with the passage of the 1921 Emergency Quota Act. It was Congress's first attempt to regulate immigration by a quota system based on nationality. This law restricted annual immigration from any given country to three percent of the number of foreign-born persons of that nationality residing in United States in 1910 (Zinzius, 2005). As before, there were exceptions to the quota system for temporary visitors, government officers, and immigrants from the Western Hemisphere (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). With this legislation still considered too liberal by many members of Congress, they passed the 1924 National Origins Quota Act, which changed the quota by calculating it based on two percent of each nationality's resident population, as reported in the 1890 census. It was a move specifically aimed at Asian immigration (Zinzius, 2005).

Immigration law began to change during World War II. The Magnuson Act, also known as the Chinese Exclusion Repeal Act of 1943, repealed the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and allowed Chinese to become American citizens. For the first time, Asian nations were assigned quotas that allowed their nationals to immigrate to the United States. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, or the McCarran-Walter Act, abolished racial restrictions found in United States immigration and naturalization statutes going back to the Naturalization Act of 1790, which had limited naturalization to immigrants who were "free white persons" of "good moral character." However, the 1952 act retained a quota system for nationalities and regions. Eventually, the act established a preference system, which determined which ethnic groups were

desirable immigrants and placed great importance on labor qualifications. This legislation laid the foundation for the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965

On October 3, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law *The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965* in a ceremony at the Statue of Liberty; it was the turning point in the course of U.S. immigration law (Kennedy, 1966). President John F. Kennedy had set the stage for this piece of legislation during his presidency with the publication of his essay, "A Nation of Immigrants." The essay strongly expressed his desire for immigration reform (Kennedy, 1966). President Kennedy wrote, "Immigration should be generous; it should be fair; it should be flexible. With such a policy, we can turn to the world, and to our own past, with clean hands and a clear conscience." (Kennedy, 1996, p. 138)

The Immigration Act of 1965 is often called the Hart-Celler Act after its sponsors, Representative Emanuel Celler and Senator Philip Hart. This law abolished the quota system and established a new formula based on equality and fair treatment for people of all nations (Kennedy, 1966). The racist Asian-Pacific Triangle Policy was also abolished at the same time (Keely, 1971). With a greater emphasis on family reunification, these changes reflect the core American values of justice and freedom, values that would become pull factors in the fourth wave of U.S. immigration (Keely, 1971).

The Immigration Act of 1965 had the following caps and preferential regulations. First, a maximum of 20,000 visas per nation of origin were allocated, instead of the 170,000 visas per year to the Eastern Hemisphere (Zinzius, 2005). And second, the preferential system within the given quota regulations was applicable to both the Eastern and Western Hemispheres (Zinzius,

2005). The changes in policy caused a shift in immigrants' countries of origin to Southern

Europe, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Keely, 1971).

The change of policy also had an impact on the levels of education and occupations of

immigrants (Keely, 1971). The most pronounced changes were among the Chinese (Keely, 1971).

For post-1965 Chinese immigrants between 25 and 65 years of age, the mean years of schooling

were 14.4 and over one-third had postgraduate degrees. Only four percent of this cohort had no

education. Compared to immigrants from Japan, Korea, and the Philippines, the Chinese had the

highest levels of education of all Asian immigrants (Wong, 1986). Occupationally, 16 percent of

Chinese immigrants were executive managers and 28 percent held professional jobs, the highest

of any immigrant group (Wong, 1896). The number of Asian immigrants was greatly increased

by the enactment of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act. The change is reflected in the

increase in Chinese immigration as a percentage of total Asian immigration to the United

States—6% in the 1950s, 12.8% in the 1960s, 26.6% in the 1970s, 37.3% in the 1990s, and 47%

in the 2000s (Zinzius, 2005).

The nation has had a long commitment to refugee and asylum seekers, and *the Refugee

Act of 1980* allocated 50,000 visas per year to these groups (Migration Policy Institute, 2013).

This act defines a refugee as "any person outside the person's country of nationality who is

unable or unwilling to return to that country of nationality and who is unable or unwilling to

return to that country because of persecution or well-founded fear of persecution on account of

race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or particular opinion."

Additional legislation was passed to address the growth in the nation's undocumented

immigrants. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 provided amnesty to

undocumented residents, and the law was crafted to reduce illegal immigration (Lemay, 2004).

This law permitted unauthorized immigrants who had lived in the United States since 1982 a means to legalize their status, and those who had worked for at least ninety days in agricultural jobs were able to apply for permanent resident status (Zinzius, 2005).

Naturalization is the process by which "immigrants take citizenship in the country of residence, extends to foreign-born nationals the same right and responsibilities as those held by the native born" (Auclair and Batalova, 2013, p. 1). Certain requirements, such as continuing residency in the U.S., language proficiency skills, and knowledge of U.S. norms and customs need to be met if someone expects to become a naturalized citizen (Auclair and Batalova, 2013). If these requirements are not achieved, they are likely to be denied U.S. citizenship (Auclair and Batalova, 2013).

Today, there are three ways to legally immigrate to the United States: (1) family (re)unification for U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents, (2) needs of the labor market, and (3) refugees who need humanitarian protection (Hipsman and Messner, 2013).

Family unification is valid for immediate family members of U.S. citizen such as spouses, minor children, and parents (Hipsman and Messner, 2013). The employment–based visas are dedicated to those who have extraordinary abilities in some field (workers who have special skills and people with advanced degrees). This category is limited to 140,000 visas every year (Hipsman and Messner, 2013). The refugee-based opportunities are reserved for victims of political, ethnic, religious, and other forms of persecution through asylum and refugee resettlement as a way of humanitarian protection (Hipsman and Messner, 2013). In addition to the immigration paths, there are numerous non-immigration visas issued every year, which provide for tourists, business visitors, foreign students, H1-B workers, religious workers, intra-company transferees, diplomats, and representatives of international organizations (Hipsman and

Messner, 2013). In 2011, 7.5 million temporary visitors' visas were granted (Hipsman and Messner, 2013).

Immigration policy since the 1980s has focused on the problem of undocumented immigration. The most sweeping legislation was *The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act*, in 1996. This act added new groups for inadmissibility and deportability, expanded the list of crimes that would lead to deportation, created expedited removal procedures, and reduced the scope of judicial review of deportation decisions (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). It also established a pilot program in which employers and social service agencies could check by telephone or electronically to verify the eligibility of immigrants, i.e. e-verify (Zinzius, 2005). Finally, the USA Patriot Act in 2001 added terrorism to the grounds for excluding aliens from entering the United States, and increased monitoring of foreign students by allowing law enforcement to use new tools to detect and prevent terrorism. This act was a response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and was designed to enhance the safety of the homeland.

Summary

This chapter focused on the immigration laws that significantly affected the country of origin and flow of immigrants to this nation. I have focused most on the laws that targeted Asian and Chinese immigrants, such as the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and the Geary Act of 1892, and subsequent laws that shaped the evolution of laws that led to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, the turning point in Chinese immigration. During this discussion, I have tried to show both the causes and effects of these laws, and how they affected the number and types of immigrants coming to the United States.

Chapter Four: Demographic and Geographic Distribution of Chinese Immigrants in American

Society

"The story of Chinatown is the story of a neighborhood; an American neighborhood, an old neighborhood, an immigrant neighborhood, where the old country still lives inside the new one" – *(Joe, 1995, p. 136)*

Overview

In this chapter, I will discuss the major places where Chinese immigrants emigrated and why these places became the sources of immigrants to the United States. Secondly, I will describe the U.S. destinations where each wave of Chinese immigrants settled. Thirdly, Chinatowns have played a significant role in the process of assimilation for Chinese immigrants in this nation, and I will describe where they are located, with an analytical focus on New York City's Chinatown. Finally, I will discuss the development and influence of Chinatown on immigrants and its importance in the assimilation and integration process.

Origins of Chinese Immigration

Most Chinese immigrating to the United States came from the Southeast part of China, especially Canton and Fukien (Fujian). Shanghai was another major point of departure. And relatively small numbers of emigrants came from other coastal cities such as Shantou, and coastal provinces such as Hainan. These places are all close to the coast, with deep-water ports and ties to a global transportation network. Please see the map of the People's Republic of China below.

Source: This map comes is a demographic display of the provinces in China which is available at Chinamaps.org.

Source: Chinese migration map released into the public domain by L. Joo, 2006. Available on Google Images.

Canton, modern-day Guangzhou, was the capital and largest city of Guangdong province in the southeast part of China. Located on the Pearl River, just 75 miles from Hong Kong, it was the place of origin of most immigrants in the first wave of Chinese immigration. There were important reasons why Canton was the most important source of Chinese immigration at this time. Firstly, Canton had an independent culture; the region's language is so different from Mandarin Chinese that communication is nearly impossible for people from other parts of the country (Zinzius, 2005). Secondly, Canton was near Hong Kong, which is still dominated by Western culture. Third, Canton was the most economically developed area of China at that time. In 1851, there were more than 28 million people living in an area half the size of California (Zinzius, 2005).With only 0.2 acres of agricultural land per person in the Pearl River Delta, a land shortage was a major factor push factor for emigration (Zinzius, 2005).

Next to the Cantonese, the next largest group was the Hakka. The Hakka are from the region, and made up a significant portion of this migration. They are Han Chinese who speak their own dialect, and are distinct from the Cantonese. The Hakka were among the largest ethnic group in the Chinese diaspora, and made up a significant portion of United States-bound emigrants.

Shanghai was another point of origin for immigrants. During the late nineteenth century, the British occupied Shanghai, so the people living there were more familiar with Western culture than were people in other regions. Shanghai was China's diplomatic city and it had more connections (business, culture, education, fashion, etc.) to major cities around the world. For this reason, it also was an important source of Chinese emigrants.

Locations of Each Wave

North America's first wave of immigration began with the settlement of European immigrants at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This wave lasted until the end of the eighteenth century. Motivated by the adventure and religious freedom, many Europeans arrived in America with hopes and dreams for a new life here (Shirey, 2002). Most immigrants in this wave came from England—and smaller numbers from France, Ireland, Italy, Germany, and other countries. According to the report *Immigration in America* (2012), the major points of entrance for these immigrants were Philadelphia, Baltimore, Maryland, and Charleston. (Shirey, 2002). There was no official record of the origin of immigrants during this period, but historical records indicate that significant numbers of Chinese immigrants lived in these cities during the first wave of immigration.

America's second wave of immigration began in the 1820s and lasted until 1871. This was a period of rapid urbanization and industrialization. Most immigrants came for the economic opportunities in a rapidly expanding economy. The majority of the immigrants in this wave were from the traditional nations of origin in Western and Northern Europe. During the second wave Chinese immigrants were first recorded by the census, and there were only a handful. The United States Office of Immigration noted that the first recorded Chinese immigrant arrived between 1820 and 1840. In 1847, three Chinese students were recorded as studying at the Monson Academy in Massachusetts (Zinzius, 2005).

America's third wave of immigration occurred during the rapid expansion of the nation's economy during the post-Civil War Period. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 pulled thousands of Chinese to the United States with the dream of gold. Most came for gold, but as the promise of fortune quickly faded, many Chinese began to work in railroad construction. After

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the completion of the railroad in 1869, most Chinese workers were unemployed, and went back to California to make a living. This earlier migration shaped the migration steam of immigrants that followed. As before, these laborers moved into low-wage, low-skilled jobs as miners, factory workers, farm workers, merchants, and similar occupations (Zinzius, 2005). The result was that, by the 1870s, most Chinese immigrants lived in California. During this wave, the origins of immigrants shifted from Western and Northern Europe to Eastern and Southern Europe and Asia. As I have previously discussed, a series of laws were passed to dramatically reduce the flow of immigrants from Asia, in general, and from China, in particular. The most infamous was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. With the enacting of this act, the proportion of Chinese immigrants quickly decreased from 21 percent in 1880 to 17 percent in 1890 (Zinziu, 2005). As in the past, the majority of Chinese immigrants in this third wave settled in California, but significant numbers also moved to East-Coast cities in New York and New Jersey. The major destination states were California, New York, Hawaii, Texas, New Jersey, and Massachusetts (Wong, 1986). These five states together constitute more than 80 percent of the Chinese American population, and 52 percent of the total Asian population during this period (Wong, 1986).

As discussed in earlier chapters, America's fourth wave of immigration began with the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, a law that ended the quota system and reopened the door for immigration from China. During this wave, the source of immigration shifted once again, but this time to Latin America and Asia. The largest and most enduring movement of laborers between any two countries in the world has been from Mexico to the United States (Shirey, 2002). Mexico has become the leading country of origin of immigrants,

but Chinese immigration was significant too. China is the source of the third-largest immigrant group in the United States (after Mexico and India) (Hooper and Batalova, 2015).

After the 1965 Immigration Act abolished the quota system, Chinese immigration grew dramatically. The 2000 census reported that the nation's largest Asian group was the Chinese, with a population of 2,422,970. By 2002, 23 percent of the U.S. population, or 34.2 million people, were foreign-born or second generation--the children of the foreign-born (Waters and Jimenez, 2005). According to the 2010 Census, the Asian population grew faster than that of any other racial group in the United States. As in the past, the Asian population continued to be concentrated on the West Coast, and the Chinese were the largest Asian immigrant group in this region. Moreover, 90 percent of all Chinese Americans live in urban areas (Zinzius, 2005), primarily in California, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Texas, and Washington (See details in the table below). And Chinatowns exist in cities in all these states; the most important ones are in San Francisco and New York City. These ethnic enclaves have played an important role in the assimilation of Chinese into the social fabric of the communities in which they exist (Zinzius, 2005). In the twenty-first century, the nation's Chinatowns have experienced population loss, reflecting the assimilation of Chinese Americans into the fabric of American society.

Chinese-American Population in Selected States				
	1970	1980	1990	2010
California	170,131	322,309	704,850	980,642
Hawaii	52,039	56,285	68,804	56,600
Illinois	14,474	28,597	49,936	76,725
Massachusetts	14,012	25,015	53,972	84,392
New Jersey	9,233	23,369	59,084	100,355
New York	81,378	148,105	284,114	424,774
Texas	7,635	25,461	63,232	105,829
United States	435,062	806,040	1,645,472	2,432,858

Source: Data come from the U.S. Census Bureau from 1970 to 2000. Available on census.gov. Part of the data is adapted from Birgit Zinzius's book *Chinese America: Stereotype and Reality* (2005, p. 96).

Chinatown

Chinatowns have a very long history in the United States. The name "Chinatown" was first mentioned in American daily newspapers in 1853, but they were documented as early as 1848 (Zinzius, 2005). Wherever you find a large concentration of the worldwide Chinese diaspora, one finds Chinatowns. The United States has 23 Chinatowns in 16 states. New York City has the nation's largest Chinese immigrant population, and also has the biggest Chinatown. Other cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Boston, Washington, D.C., and Houston also have Chinatowns. Ethnic enclaves, like Chinatowns, provide recent immigrants with the familiar--They can speak their language, practice their religion, and find the foods they are accustomed to (Zinzius, 2005). A Chinese immigrant is able to find all his basic needs for daily life from birth to death without leaving Chinatown (Zinzius, 2005). Ethnic enclaves buffer immigrants from an often-hostile larger community, and provide safety and support. Chinatowns have their own economies and infrastructure, providing recent immigrants with jobs in teahouses, boarding houses, restaurants, and the informal economy (Cronin and Huntzicker, 2012). In the nineteenth century, hand laundries and other services were the predominate occupations of the

Chinese, but as the second- and third-generation Chinese moved to the suburbs, suburban

Chinatowns started appearing in cities with large Asian populations (Zinzius, 2005).

New York City's Chinatown is located on the lower east side of Manhattan and it is the

largest concentration of Chinese immigrants in the Western Hemisphere. Today's Chinatown is

the place of tourist attractions and home for a majority of Chinese New Yorkers. There are

hundreds of restaurants, barbershops, fresh markets, and other businesses. Nineteenth-century

Chinatowns were not as prosperous as they are today. With the end of the Gold Rush and the

completion of the Central Pacific Railroad much of this labor force moved to West-Coast

Chinatowns in search of work. Most of these workers worked in service jobs, such as laundry

workers and house cleaners, which led to a negative image. Many Americans began to think of

these ethnic enclaves as ghettos. The discrimination that this group suffered in California pushed

many of them east to New York. This is the most important reason why New York became the

home of the largest concentration of Chinese immigrants in the United States. Today

Manhattan's Chinatown is no longer just a Chinese enclave; gentrification in the Lower East

Side has meant the area has become quite ethnically diverse. This is not an isolated event.

According to a recent *New York Daily News* article, Caucasian populations are growing quickly

in Chinatowns of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York (*New York Daily News*, October 10,

2013).

As with most recent ethnic immigrants, the Chinese immigrating to the United States

began "forming their communities, their residential, business, and cultural space" soon after their

arrival (Wong, 1995, p. 3) Today, Chinatowns are no longer purely Chinese enclaves, though

they do typically have Chinese majorities and Chinese-controlled infrastructures (Zinzius, 2005).

Since Chinese immigrants are concentrated in some of the nation's largest cities, the value of the

property they own is far higher than the national average (Zinzius, 2005). According to the *Los Angeles Times* (August 12, 2003), the number of Mainland Chinese in Monterey Park (the nation's first suburban Chinatown, which emerged in the 1980s) is increasing, and the newer nicknames like "Little Beijing" or "Little Shanghai" aptly describe these areas (Zinzius, 2005). Furthermore, Chinese immigrants tend to choose occupations, which allow relative isolation from professional peers and freedom of choice in the clientele they serve. As a result, the emergence of Chinatowns can best be described as the product of voluntary segregation. The Chinese freely choose to live together because it promotes business prosperity and distinctive racial identity (Kuo and Lin, 1977).

Chinatown residents are likely to have lower educational attainment, more language barriers, fewer skilled occupations, and lower earnings than Chinese people living elsewhere in a city (Zinzius, 2005). Ethnic enclaves are often regarded as the adaptive strategy to enable ethnic members to survive and overcome initial disadvantages in the early stages of assimilation (Zhou and Logan, 1991). Once they obtain a certain level of social and economic capital, they tend to invest more in their children's education and career development. Consequently, the second and the following generations are inclined to move out of Chinatown to better neighborhoods with better schools. This strategy ensured that their children would go to better colleges and universities. This trend allows Chinese Americans to assimilate faster into the white mainstream society (Zinzius, 2005). Therefore, the slow decline in the number of Chinese living in Chinatowns is an indicator in the process of assimilation.

Community

Community is a factor affecting the process of assimilation. Assimilation tends to occur when an immigrant family lives in integrated communities dominated by whites. However, if the

immigrant family chooses to live in a neighborhood with their own ethnic group, this decision tends to slow the assimilation process. About half of the nation's white population lives in neighborhoods with a diverse ethnic composition (Logan and Zhang, 2011). Generally speaking, one's desire to maintain a particular ethnic identity may be translated into a preference to live near others with similar ethnic backgrounds (Schwab, 2004). In the United States, this has generally involved the movement of minority groups out of established racial or ethnic neighborhoods into a larger urban environment inhabited primarily by "non-ethnic" native whites (Massey and Mullan, 1984). Usually changes in education, income, and occupational status are followed by changes in location (Massey and Mullan, 1984).

Basically, there are two forms of voluntarily formed communities -- ghettoes and ethnic enclaves. "A ghetto refers to the residential area of a city where an ethnic group has been involuntarily segregated and ethnic enclave denotes an area where an ethnic group has voluntarily chosen to live in order to maintain the group's religion or culture" (Schwab, 2004, p. 380). Just like "Korean towns," "Poland towns," and "Little Italies," Chinatown could be a good example of voluntary segregation. On the other hand, some of the ethnic groups, such as blacks, are segregated from the white neighborhood through involuntarily segregation, often creating ghettos. Among the major immigrant ethnic groups in the United States, Hispanics and Asian Americans are more likely than African Americans to live in predominately white neighborhoods. This likelihood is even higher for those with greater educational attainment (Qian, 1997). Chinese Americans are less likely to be involuntarily segregated because the new immigrants usually obtain higher education levels and career success in American society. The moving of descendants out of Chinatown and the preponderance of new immigrants in white neighborhoods could be a reflection of this. As later-generation ethnic-group members grow to resemble

members of mainstream society in terms of their social and economic characteristics, they increasingly come to share the neighborhoods where members of the mainstream live and thus become increasingly similar to the mainstream in terms of their overall residential characteristics (Rosenbaum and Friedman, 1999). Residential outcomes, therefore, can be used as makers of assimilation (Rosenbaum and Friedman, 1999).

Chinese Americans are among the most successful immigrant groups in the nation's history, and their movement into professional and managerial positions, along with their high incomes, means that they are displacing whites in some affluent living areas in both cities (Zinzius, 2005). There are some factors that help Chinese immigrations achieve a higher level of assimilation. In general, the Asian immigrant population is much younger than the U.S population. Only four percent of the Asian population is over 65 years old, compared to about 19 percent of the overall U.S. population (Wong, 1986). Among Asian immigrations, only six percent of Chinese are 65 years old, with over with 20 percent aged 18 and younger, 13 percent between the ages 19 and 24, and 46 percent between 45 and 64 (Wong, 1986). Most of the Chinese immigrants are at an age of having obtained some career achievement.

With this group's high socioeconomic status, declining segregation, dispersal to the suburbs, and intermarriage rate in the second generation (28% of marriages are exogamous), the straight line or melting-pot model best describes their assimilation into American society (Schwab, 2004). The high average educational attainment, occupational status, and household incomes give Asian Americans housing alternatives, and 60 percent now live in the suburbs, a percentage that equals whites (Schwab, 2004). This locational freedom has led to general declines in their residential segregation, with a high assimilation level.

Summary

In this chapter, we first looked at the origin of Chinese immigrants. The southeast part of China, especially Canton (Guangzhou) was the major origin for many immigrants because of the demographic advantage and proximity to Western culture. Next, I discussed the four waves of immigrants in the United States and where the immigrants settled in each wave. Concentrating on California, immigration also expanded to other states such as New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Washington, and Texas. Moreover, the development of Chinatowns was significant in studying the immigration assimilation. Chinatowns have become diverse places, which are still dominated by Chinese people, but also house other ethnic groups such as Vietnamese, Laotians, and Americans of European descent. Chinatown is also a very good example of voluntary segregation, which becomes a barrier in the process of assimilation into the mainstream white society in the U.S. In addition to Chinatown, ghettos and ethnic enclaves are also two important forms of voluntary segregation. Compared with Hispanic and Asian immigrants, black people are more likely to be segregated from white neighborhoods. Lastly, community could be both negative and positive for the process of assimilation, depending on the circumstances.

Chapter Five: Spatial Assimilation

"Social and economic status improvements tend to occur gradually, the spatial assimilation variant holds that improvements in residential circumstances also occur over the long term, improving generation by generation" (Rosenbaum and Friedman, 2004, p. 1498-1499).

Overview

In this chapter, I will briefly discuss the theory of spatial assimilation. And then, I will discuss the importance of spatial assimilation in the social assimilation of immigrants. In addition, I will introduce the dissimilarity index segregation, and, then, use Hispanics' and Asians' measures to demonstrate how they can be used to better understand residential segregation. Finally, I will examine the changes in this measure over several generations, and discuss their likelihood of moving and living in a white-dominated neighborhood

What is Spatial Assimilation?

Assimilation is the process by which a group comes to resemble, in a variety of dimensions, some larger society of which it is a part (Massey and Mullan 1984). Spatial assimilation refers to the movement of immigrant minorities away from ethnic enclaves and into communities where the society's majority population predominates (Alba, Logan, Stults, Marzan, and Zhang, 1999). When immigrants' social status rises, they typically try to convert their socioeconomic resources in a move to a better neighborhood in the community in which they live. This often results in their integration with white majorities (Massey and Denton, 1985).

In general, the ethnic identity of immigrants is reflected in their behavior—they choose to live near people of the same ethnicity (Schwab, 2004). And the existence of ethnic communities, such as Mexican American and Chinese American communities, became a powerful factor in a migration stream linking the country of origin with members living in communities in the United

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States (Fong and Shibuya, 2000). As mentioned earlier, the new immigrants choose to reside in ethnic enclaves because, in these neighborhoods, they can get help in finding housing, employment, and an array of other services (South, Crowder, and Pais, 2008). As their socioeconomic status improves, and they learn the ropes in their new society, members of the ethnic group are inclined to move out of the ethnic enclaves and settle in a better community where better community amenities are offered (Alba et al., 1999).

Initially, early immigrants settled in immigrant enclaves with low wages, like Chinatown, because they didn't know English well enough to interact with the Caucasian majority. Language skills, therefore, are one of the most important factors that influence residential choice. For example, many workers in Chinatown can barely speak English, cannot operate in the larger community, and tend to stay in their ethnic enclave because they can obtain all they need for everyday life. Under these circumstances, language becomes a barrier to residential mobility. Language ability is closely correlated with the likelihood of recent immigrants living in higher-socioeconomic-status white neighborhoods. (Fong and Shibuya, 2000).

Home ownership is one of the core values of the American Dream. The mortgage interest deduction, massive federal subsidy of suburban development, and quasi-federal agencies like Fannie Mae, which facilitate the flow of money into the mortgage market, have made home ownership a reality for almost 70% of Americans. Compared to blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and other minority groups, Chinese Americans have been largely successful in purchasing suburban homes (Fong and Shibuya, 2000). In many metropolitan areas, ethnic home ownership rates exceed those of black Americans and rival white home ownership levels. Even when blacks have the economic resources to move to the suburbs, they do not participate in a citywide housing market. Forces such as real estate agents, local government, and mortgage lenders shape the
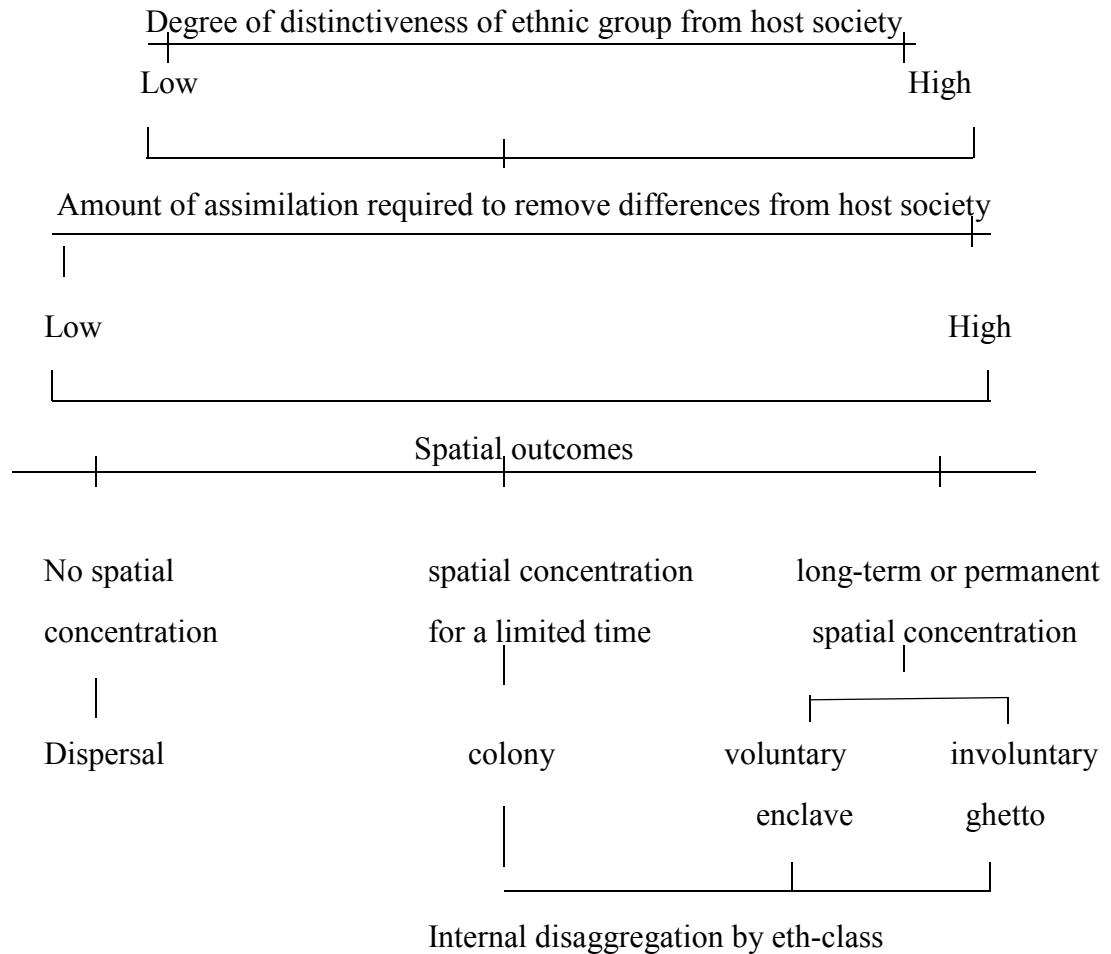
residential choices of blacks and steer them into predominantly black areas of cities. In addition, white stereotypes and hostility towards blacks and other minority groups impede their migration and assimilation into white neighborhoods (South, et. al., 2008). For example, the overrepresentation of blacks in the inner-city neighborhoods is evidence of these forces. Compared to the high-level residential segregation of blacks, Hispanics and Asians are more likely to reside in a predominately white community. In short, housing discrimination prevents African Americans and ethnic groups from converting their economic resources and social capital into spatial mobility and location in a more desirable neighborhood.

These patterns are slowly changing. In large metropolitan areas, such as Atlanta, blacks tend to move to more affluent neighborhoods when their income reaches a certain level. But in most U.S. metro areas, blacks tend to live in highly segregated neighborhoods, less affluent than comparable white ones (Myles and Hou, 2004). Initially, Chinese immigrants tend to live in city centers (in neighborhoods in and out of Chinatown) rather than the suburbs (Fong and Shibuya, 2000). There are several reasons. Many recent immigrants work in low-wage jobs more frequently found in city centers. Living in the city center saves the time and cost of commuting, thereby saving money, which is a preoccupation of many ethnic Chinese. Low incomes means simply that many of them are priced out of the suburban housing market. In addition, most of the newest Chinese immigrants come from Chinese mainland cities, which are among the largest in the world. They have lived there in densely populated cities, and this is what they know and prefer. There is also a cultural explanation. Living near the city's core is a sign of wealth in China, and recent immigrants place a similar value on it here.

Why Does Segregation Occur?

F. W. Boal (1978) developed the model presented below to explain the residential settlement and assimilation of immigrants in the urban milieu. This model helps us understand how the segregation of ethnic groups is tied to their distinctiveness when compared to the dominant population in the receiving community. Central to Boal's analysis is the "charter group." The charter group, as the dominant group, determines who is permitted into the society, and how they are treated once they arrive here. In the United States, White Anglo-Saxons Protestants (WASPs) have traditionally been the charter group, and ethnic groups enter the social structure created by them. It is the distinctiveness of the ethnic groups that determines the spatial outcome of the ethnic group urban residential matrix.

Figure 5.1 – Ethnic Groups, Assimilation, and Residential Spatial Outcomes

Degree of distinctiveness of ethnic group from host society

Low   High

Amount of assimilation required to remove differences from host society

Low   High

Spatial outcomes

No spatial concentration	spatial concentration for a limited time	long-term or permanent spatial concentration
Dispersal	colony	voluntary involuntary
		enclave ghetto

Internal disaggregation by eth-class

Source: Adapted from Figure 1 in F. W. Boal (1978), "Ethnic Residential Segregation" in H. Johnston (Ed.). *The Geography of Housing*. London: Aldein, pp. 41-77.

For example, immigrants who come from European countries share a low level of distinctiveness with the Charter Group because they are of the same race, and share similar language, norms, and values. A good example would be immigrants from England. Their accent would be the only distinctive characteristic of this group, and as a result, a low amount of assimilation is required to remove the difference from the Charter Group, and as a result, there

would be no permanent spatial concentration, and they would disperse voluntarily across the metropolitan area. Chinese immigrants, in contrast, are of a different race, speak a non-Indo-European language, were socialized in a socialist society, and have a culture very different from the Charter Group. This group has a high level of distinctiveness (racial distinctiveness cannot be removed), and they tend to locate in ethnic enclaves like Chinatowns. Prior to 1965, this residential pattern was typically involuntarily; Chinatowns could be classified as ghettos. Since then, these residential patterns have been voluntary, and Chinatowns would be classified as ethnic enclaves.

In ethnic enclaves, immigrants chose to live near each other (self-selection) because of similar language and cultural background. Segregation is voluntary and the ethnic group builds their own schools, churches, and businesses. The rich ethnic history of this nation and the voluntary association of ethnic groups, are reflected in the names of ethnic enclaves in many U.S. cities. Names like "Polish Town," "German Town," "Little Italy," and "Chinatown" give evidence to voluntary segregation of successive waves of immigration (Schwab, 2004). Involuntary segregation can happen when an ethnic group such as Haitians immigrates to this nation. They are so distinctive in race, language, and culture that difference, especially race, will never be removed, and they will be involuntarily segregated in spatially isolated ghettos.

Measuring Segregation at the Community and Societal Level

Asian Americans are less segregated than other ethnic groups, such as blacks and Hispanics. The dissimilarity index, which ranges from 0 to 100 (it is also presented with a range from 0 to 1), is often used to measure residential segregation. A value of zero means that the society is totally integrated. A value of 100 means that the society is totally segregated. The index of dissimilarity reflects the degree to which one group differs from another in their

residential patterns (Logan and Zhang, 2013). The higher the index, the more likely it is that the groups live in different areas of a city. Indexes above the above 60 suggest significant segregation of a group from the rest of the community. In Great Lakes cities such as Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland, segregation index for blacks is currently above 60 (Pew Research, 2012).

Compared to black-white dissimilarity of 59 and Hispanic-white dissimilarity of 48, the Asian-white dissimilarity index is relatively low at 0.41 in 2010. This figure suggests that Asians are among least segregated ethnic groups in the nation (Taylor, Cohn, Wang, and Passel, 2012). According to a 2012 Pew Research Center report, Asian immigrants are less likely to return to their country of origin when compared with other ethnic groups, and are also more likely to become citizens. Citizenship may be one of the most important factors for Asians buying instead of renting housing. It is a strong indicator of assimilation into mainstream American society (Fong and Shibuya, 2000).

During the latest wave of immigration, the Chinese have the highest levels of education of any immigration group. They are more likely to pursue professional occupations, and they have mean incomes higher than those of whites. Moreover, some of these young immigrants arrive with significant financial support from their families in China. High income and high occupational prestige translates into locational freedom, and the tendency of these new immigrants to settle in affluent neighborhoods with white majorities results in a low dissimilarity index.

Spatial Assimilation among Asian Immigrants

There are mainly six major ethnic groups (more than a million immigrants) of Asian origin living in the United States in 2010 (Logan and Zhang, 2013). It is important to distinguish

immigrants in these groups because differences in language and culture affect levels of assimilation.

Table 5.1 shows the dissimilarity index for several Asian ethnic groups in the nation from 1990 to 2010. Note that the Japanese have the lowest dissimilarity index of 36, which indicates the fact that Japanese are the least segregated group among immigrants with Asian origins. The Vietnamese, in contrast, are the ones who are mostly highly segregated from white neighborhoods with a dissimilarity index of 59. In 2000 Chinese had a moderate index that had gradually declined over the past 30 years. Indians are the only ethnic group that has an increasing dissimilarity index.
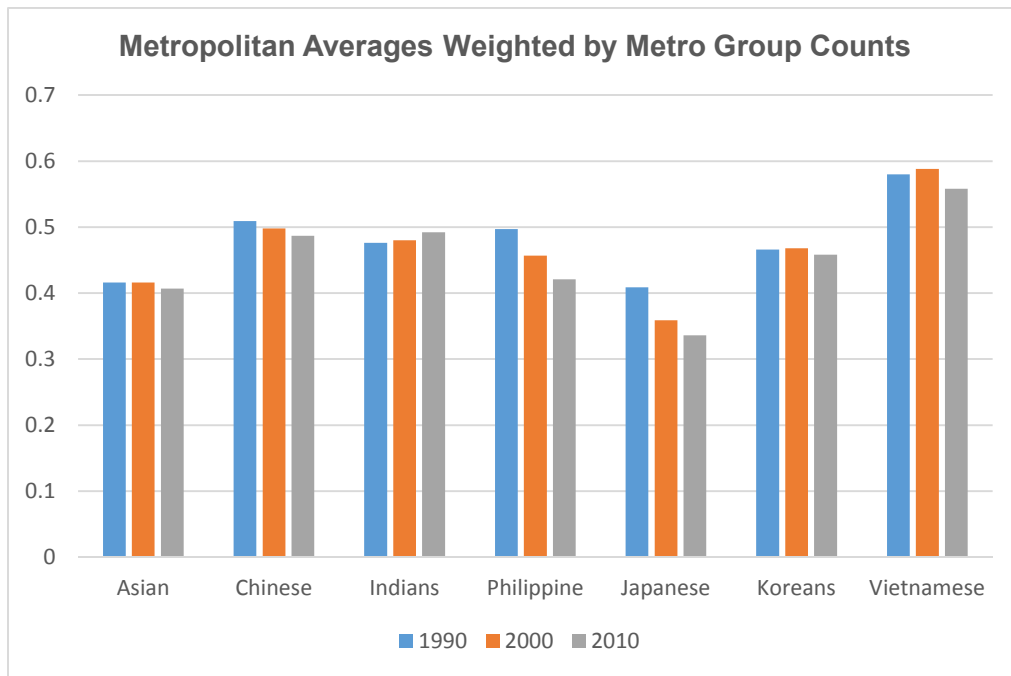
Source: US 2010 Discover America in a New Century Project founded by Russell Sage Foundation and American Communities Project of Brown University, "Separate but Equal: Asian Nationalities in the U.S.", 2013, p. 9.

Since the Asian immigrants arrived in the United States, these groups have tended to live in the nation's largest cities. San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York City are the three cities, which have the highest concentration of Chinese immigrants. California accounts for approximately 32 percent of the nation's Asian immigrants, with Filipinos making up the largest Asian group. New York has the nation's largest number of Chinese, which represent nearly 40 percent of the Asian population in that city (Logan and Zhang, 2013). Following California and New York, Asian populations tend to live in coastal cities, with Chicago being the major

Top Concentrations by Metropolitan Area for Chinese Immigrants, 2009-2013		
Metropolitan Area	Immigration Population from China	Share of Metro Area Population
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	419,000	2.10%
San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA	227,000	5.20%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	207,000	1.60%
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	69,000	1.50%
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	66,000	3.50%
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	59,000	0.60%
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	52,000	0.90%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	43,000	1.20%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	40,000	0.70%
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land-TX	39,000	60.00%

exception (Logan and Zhang, 2013).

Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau, pooled 2009-13, ACS from the report "Chinese Immigrants in the United States" by Kate Hooper and Jeanne Batalova, 2015, p. 4. Available on migrationpolicy.org.

Generational Differences

In the United States, the movement of minority groups out of established racial or ethnic neighborhoods into a larger urban environment inhabited primarily by "non-ethnic" native whites is a process that spans generations (Massey and Mullan, 1984). Changes in education, income, and occupational status are usually followed by changes in residential location (Massey and Mullan, 1984). However, the social, economic, and spatial changes usually occur over generations (Rosenbaum and Friedman, 2004).

Immigrants tend to first settle in older, inner-city neighborhoods, which have been used by successive waves of immigrants (Rosenbaum and Friedman, 2004). It is quite common for newly arriving immigrants to live in overcrowded neighborhoods and take low-income jobs (Rosenbaum and Friedman, 2004). Minorities are typically concentrated in central cities; after several generations, members of the group accumulate enough economic resources to permit them to move out of inner-city enclaves with a move to a high-status neighborhood in the central city or the suburbs (Fong and Shibuya, 2000). Furthermore, more fully assimilated Asians and Latinos with higher levels of education and higher incomes tend to move into integrated white neighborhoods with the unintended positive consequence that ethnic diversity translated into a greater chance these neighborhoods accept blacks of similar socioeconomic status. (Logan and Zhang, 2011). Simply put, blacks have a higher probability of entering these international neighborhoods when Asian and Hispanic ethnics have prepared the way (Logan and Zhang, 2011).

As Massey (1985) states, the spatial assimilation model has guided our expectations of the spatial assimilation of immigrants in the social and spatial fabric of our cities. It is largely based on the experience of European immigrants arriving in the nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. The process of upward social and economic mobility is matched with a process of residential dispersion out of ethnic community (Rosenbaum and Friedman, 1999, p. 1492). As a consequence, as later-generation ethnic-group members grow to resemble members of "mainstream" society in their social and economic characteristics, they increasingly come to share the neighborhoods where members of the mainstream live. Thus they become similar to the mainstream in terms of their overall residential characteristics. Residential outcomes, therefore, can be used as markers of assimilation (Rosenbaum and Friedman, 1999).

In 2004 Rosenbaum and Friedman (2004) published research on home ownership patterns in New York City using the data from the 1999 New York City Housing and Vacancy Panel Survey (HVS). There were approximately 18,000 housing units in the study. These data permitted an analysis of home ownership over generations. The results showed that housing conditions improved across generations for the majority of the households in the study. A small group, mostly black, suffered downward mobility with a generational decline of home ownership (Rosenbaum and Friedman, 2004). Conforming to the spatial assimilation theory, this research found that third-generation households were more likely than first- and second-generation households to own their homes (Rosenbaum and Friedman, 2004).

For Chinese immigrants, the report showed that first-generation Chinese were more likely to live in Chinatown, holding low-wage and low-skilled jobs. As the level of education and income improved in the second and third generations, the Chinese, in particular, moved out of Chinatown to neighborhoods of higher socioeconomic status in other parts of the city and the suburbs. They tended to move into predominantly white, integrated neighborhoods. The process is not homogeneous. The authors also identified other groups in the Chinese community, where members dropped out of school at an early age, and although they didn't inherit the low-income

jobs of their parents, they still remained in the low-wage labor force of the city. The authors

suggest that the members of this group will probably live in Chinatown their whole lives or may

even experience downward social and spatial mobility.

In addition to the generational differences, whether the immigrants are native-born also

matters in terms of spatial assimilation. In the United States, native-born members are less

segregated than the foreign-born (South, et. al., 2008). For example, we identified three types of

Chinese immigrants in in the United States early in the thesis—ABC (American-born Chinese),

FOB (fresh-off-the-boat Chinese), and FOP (fresh-off-the-plane Chinese). Among these three

categories, ABC is the groups least likely to be segregated because they were born in the U.S,

were socialized into the culture, and have residential patterns indistinguishable from those of

whites. FOBs are the most likely to suffer segregation because they have low language ability,

low-income jobs, and less interaction with whites and the mainstream society. FOPs are in the

middle range of assimilation because they typically have Chinese American relatives. Most of

them have moved to the United States for higher education. They often are English speakers, and

bring with them economic support from their family in China. They have a high probability, if

provided permanent residency or citizenship, to move to neighborhoods with proportionally

more Anglo residents (South et. al., 2008).

Summary

To sum up, spatial assimilation is the focus of this chapter. First, I discussed spatial

assimilation using a model developed by the geographer F. W. Boal. Using this model, I

described how the spatial outcomes of immigrant groups were based on the distinctiveness of the

groups in comparison to the Charter Group in the host society. The more distinct the group, the

more difficulty they have in the assimilation process. In some cases, like with Haitians, the

differences may be so great that spatial assimilation may never occur. I then traced the movement of immigrants from inner-city ethnic enclaves to predominately white neighborhoods, showing that as the economic and social capital of ethnic groups improves, their residential patterns change as well. I showed that this is a process that takes place over generations. The dissimilarity index also measures segregation. Using this index I showed the variation by time and ethnic and racial group. Generations is the time frame needed for these changes to manifest themselves, and I ended the chapter with a discussion of types of Chinese immigrants and their changing social, economic, and residential patterns by generation. The Chinese fit the straight-line assimilation model well. In the third generation, the majority of Chinese Americans have residential patterns similar to native-born whites.

Chapter Six: The Assimilation of Chinese Immigrants into American Society

"The assimilation process involves a host of psychological as well as sociological transformations" (Fong, 1965, p. 265).

Overview

In this chapter, I will focus on the second generation of Chinese Americans, and measure the extent to which they have been assimilated into this society. Four measures are used, which are residential integration, socioeconomic integration, language, and intermarriage. Residential integration describes where this ethnic group lives in a community and how segregated they are as measured by the Index of Dissimilarity. Socioeconomic integration is measured by this group's level of education and income, and in this section the first and second generations are compared using socioeconomic factors such as income and rates of college graduation. The ability to speak English well is a skill vital to the assimilation process, and a sensitive indicator of the level of assimilation of a group. Finally, intermarriage is the gold standard and probably the best indicator of how well ethnic groups have been assimilating into the mainstream of this society.

Social scientists use an array of terms such as "assimilation, integration, acculturation, and incorporation" to describe the process by which a group enters a society and eventually is absorbed into the host society (Schwab, 2013, p. 64). The United States is one of the most ethnically, racially, and religiously diverse societies in the world, and it is also one of the few nations in the world that openly welcomes immigration. As we have seen in previous chapters, this society's immigration history is reflected in the nation's immigration policy—today, it is generally viewed as a positive force in the economic and the social health of this society. One goal of assimilation is to remove the divisions between ethnic groups so that future generations

can live in harmony with the mainstream of this society in the United States (Yeung, Chai, and Hatanaka, 1984).

Residential Assimilation

Immigrants with a high degree of distinctiveness in language, custom, or race, who require a high degree of assimilation, with differences not easily removed, will typically experience long-term or permanent segregation (Schwab, 2004). Residential segregation, in turn, affects other parts of the assimilation process, such as language acquisition, upward mobility and intermarriage. First-generation immigrants typically live in ethnic enclaves, and since people tend to organize and maintain their social networks in the communities in which they live, residential integration is a necessary step in the assimilation process (Kasinitz et al., 2008).

Among the major ethnic group immigrants in the United States, Hispanics and Asian Americans are more likely than African Americans to live in predominately white neighborhoods. This likelihood is even higher for those with greater educational attainment (Qian, 1997). In studying assimilation, the segregation level is usually measured with values ranging from 0 to 100, in which 0 implies no segregation and 100 indicates complete segregation (Frey, 2015). Values of 60 and above are considered high; values of 30 and below are considered low. The chart below is an average level of segregation in some metropolitan areas in the U.S. from 1990 to 2010 (Frey, 2015). This chart clearly shows a higher level of segregation of blacks, which peaked in 1990 with a segregation level of 61, whereas Hispanics and Asians have much lower levels of segregation. Among these three ethnic groups, Asians are the least segregated.

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Blacks, Hispanic, and Asian Segregation: Average Levels for 100 largest Metropolitan Areas, 1990-2010
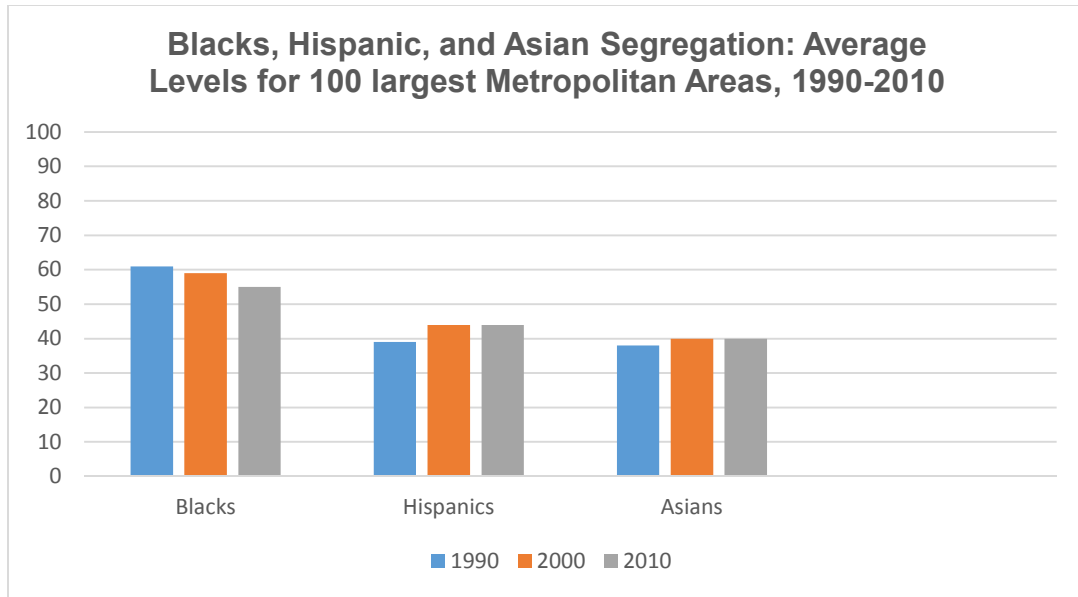
Source: 1990-2010 U.S. Censuses

Segregation levels represent the percentage of blacks, Hispanics, or Asians who should have to change neighborhoods to be completely integrated with whites. Adapted from William H. Frey's book *Diversity Explosion*, published by Brookings Institution Press, 2015, p. 179.

As late as 1960, the Asian population in the United States was approximately 878,000, representing only 0.5 percent of the population (Frey, 2015). The rapid growth of Asian immigrants in the past fifty years, when combined with Americans with mixed heritage, means that the total number of Asians in America approaches 20 million. Approximately 20% are newly arrived immigrants (Frey, 2015). Among those arriving between 2008 and 2010, the Chinese ranked second after Mexican, followed by Indians, Filipinos, and Koreans (Frey, 2015). In some years, the number of Asian immigrants surpasses the number of Hispanics arriving in the U.S. The chart below is a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2010, which reflects the percentage of Hispanic and Asian arrivals from 2000 to 2010. Note that in 2010, Asian immigrants surpassed Hispanics.

Meet the New Immigrants: Asians Overtake Hispanics: percentage of immigrants by year of arrival, 2000-2010
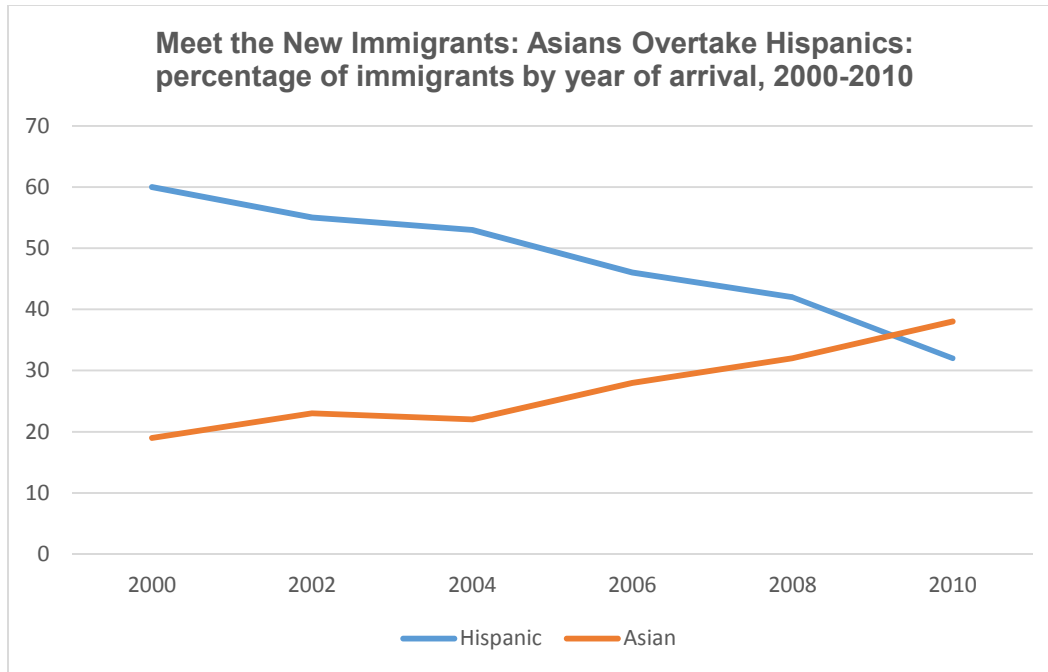
Source: Data come from Pew Research Center's analysis of 2010 American Community Survey, IPUMS. Adapted from Paul Tylor's book *The Next America*, published by Public Affairs, New York, 2014, p. 78.

Note: Based on total foreign-born population, including adults and children. Asians include mixed-race Asian population. The 2010 ACS includes only partial-year arrivals for 2010; arrivals for 2010 adjusted to full-year totals based on analysis of 2005-2009 ACS data on partial-year arrivals.

Chinese immigrants are more likely than other Asian newcomers to settle in metropolitan areas (Frey, 2015). In the past, Chinese Americans settled in cities such as Boston, Chicago, Washington, Seattle, Houston, and Philadelphia (Frey, 2015), but the new trend is that the newest wave of immigrants are settling in Houston, Dallas, New York, Chicago, and Denver. A new residential form has emerged as a result. Called *global neighborhoods*, and concentrated in these new destination cities, they have a complex ethnic composition and are now home to 60 million Americans (Schwab, 2013). Large numbers of Chinese have settled in these cities, but the largest numbers of Chinese Americans have settled in the New York metropolitan area, and

they account for one-fifth of the nation's total Chinese American population (Frey, 2015). Los Angeles, followed by San Francisco and San Jose, have the next highest concentration of Chinese residents.

In 2050, the majority of Americans will be from ethnic minorities. Today, the majority of children are from ethnic minorities. As a result of this demographic, the nation is moving in the direction of greater racial and ethnic neighborhood integration, even though segregation is far from being eliminated (Frey, 2015). A home is not just a structure; it is a bundle of housing services, and it determines the quality of schools, the accessibility of cultural and religious institutions and community organizations, as well as risks such as gangs, violent crime, and public health risks (Kasinitz et al., 2008). Moving to better neighborhoods has been a major strategy by which Chinese Americas have raised their socioeconomic status, and have integrated into the fabric of the communities in which they live.

Socioeconomic Assimilation

The degree of socioeconomic integration varies based on the level of the given group's average level of education, language abilities, and immigration status (Schwab, 2013). Immigration status is related to educational attainment because many immigrate to the United States as students because of the nation's outstanding education system (Bound and Turner, 2013). The early Chinese immigrants mostly worked as laborers on the western frontier. It was a wave of immigration associated with the Gold Rush and, later, with railroad construction (Frey, 2015). Since the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, the majority of Chinese immigrants have had high levels of education upon arrival.

Rising socioeconomic status among Chinese Americans is closely related to their educational achievement. K-12 education offers all children in the United States the opportunities to access to education regardless of their immigration status, ethnicity, and class (Schwab, 2013). The media has framed Chinese youth as "whiz kids" with great talents both in school performance or other talents like piano or cello (Zinzius, 2005). During the 1980s, this became attached to the stereotype of successful Americans of Asian descent, with Chinese Americans often standing at the forefront. American-born Asians have a greater potential for pursuing higher education than all other Asian groups. The Chinese community views it as a major way of achieving upward mobility, and parents encourage it (Frey, 2015). In the process of growing up in America, outside influences can undermine individuals' commitment to Chinese cultural norms, but not when it comes to education (Fong, 1973). When Chinese children enter the American public school system, they learn new skills and social values, which are foreign to their parents. It is common in the American culture to teach children to make their own decisions and to assert their own independence. This is contrary to the Chinese approach (Fong, 1973).

A 1980 survey by the U.S. Department of Education showed that Asian Americans receive the grade "A" more often than white Americans or any other ethnic group at school (Zinzius, 2005). Education is regarded in the Chinese community as the best way for immigrants to achieve upward mobility and economic success (Zinzius, 2005). Often reported in the media, Chinese parents want the best for their children, but are never satisfied with their achievements, an unrelentingly push for their academic success (Zinzius, 2005). Pew Research Center conducted a survey comparing American parents with parents of Asian origin in terms of the pressure they put on their children. Nearly 39 percent of Asian Americans say that parents put too much pressure on their kids for a better school performance. Only nine percent of Asian

parents reported that the pressure they put on their kids was not enough, which is the same percentage of American parents who said they put too much pressure on kids' school performance (Taylor, 2014).

Who is a "Tiger Mother": % of parents saying pressure on their children to do well in school
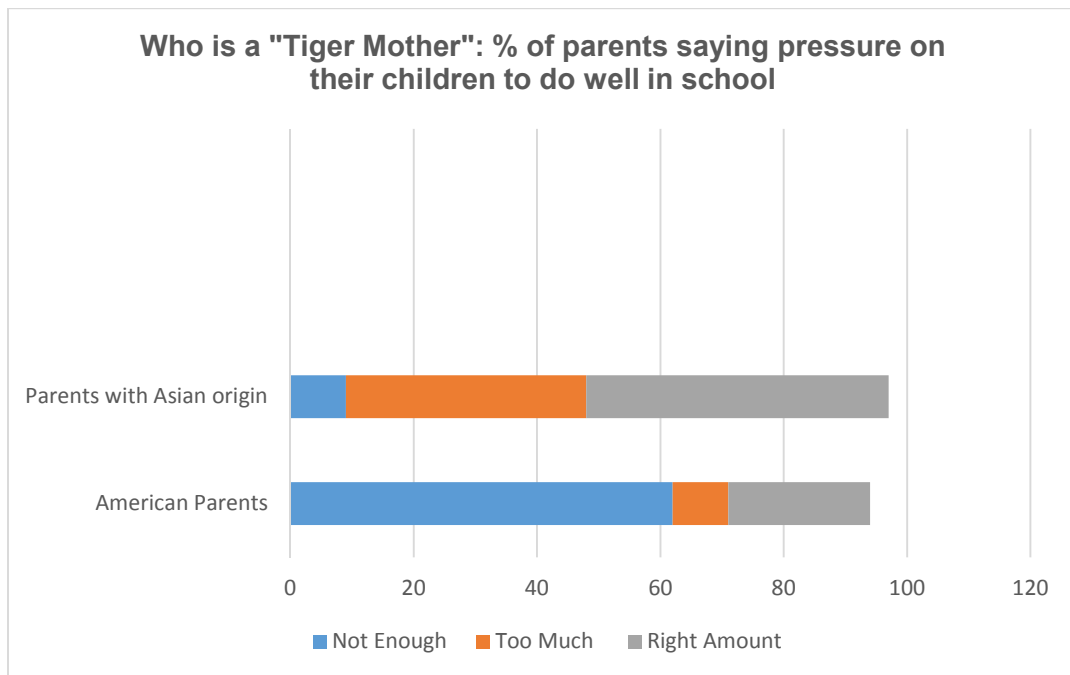
Source: Data from the Pew Research Center, Asian-American survey, Jan.-Mar. 2012, N=3,511 U.S. adults. Adapted from Paul Taylor's book *The Next America*, published by Public Affairs, New York, 2014, p. 80.

The socioeconomic integration of second-generation Chinese Americans is a result of education and high-skilled employment. In 2010, 78 percent of low-skilled immigrants (high school education or less) were from Latin American countries, whereas half of the high-skilled workers (BA or higher) came from Asian countries (Bound and Turner, 2013). In 2013, approximately 10 million Chinese left the mainland for the U.S. and many were members of the wealthy elite and affluent middle class bringing with them high levels of education and skills (Rietig, 2014). These workers were meeting the demand for professionals in the high-tech

industry. This immigration was encouraged by U.S. immigration policy (Bound and Turner, 2013).

American visa policies determine who can enter the labor market, how long they can work here, and if they can obtain U.S. citizenship (Bound and Turner, 2013). For example, H1-B visas are reserved for high-skill workers, and require the employer to post a substantial application fee and certify that a foreign employee will be paid the prevailing wage. New immigrant employees can legally work in the U.S. for three years with the possibility of another three-year extension (Bound and Turner, 2013). In addition, the J-1 visas, which are usually issued for visiting scholars by universities and research institutions, increased from 146,549 to 324,294 in 2011. Many J-1 visa holders will apply their education and skills in the U.S. labor market (Bound and Turner, 2013).

These high-skill immigrants pass on these characteristics on to their children, and they too have a high potential to obtain high education and economic achievement (Bound and Turner, 2013). Children of college-educated parents are much more likely to be college-educated than children whose parents have a lower educational level (Bound and Turner, 2013). According to census data, one-half of all Asian adults have college degrees and seven in ten have some schooling beyond high school (Frey, 2015). Asian youths and adults perform better than the average American or other ethnic groups on tests used to determine IQ, learning ability, and cognitive thinking abilities (Zinzius, 2005). A study conducted by University of California about educational disadvantages confirmed that Asians have the highest test scores among all ethnic groups. The study showed that 32.2 percent of all Asian high school graduates in California were eligible for the University of California, compared to 12.7 percent of the statewide average, 12.3
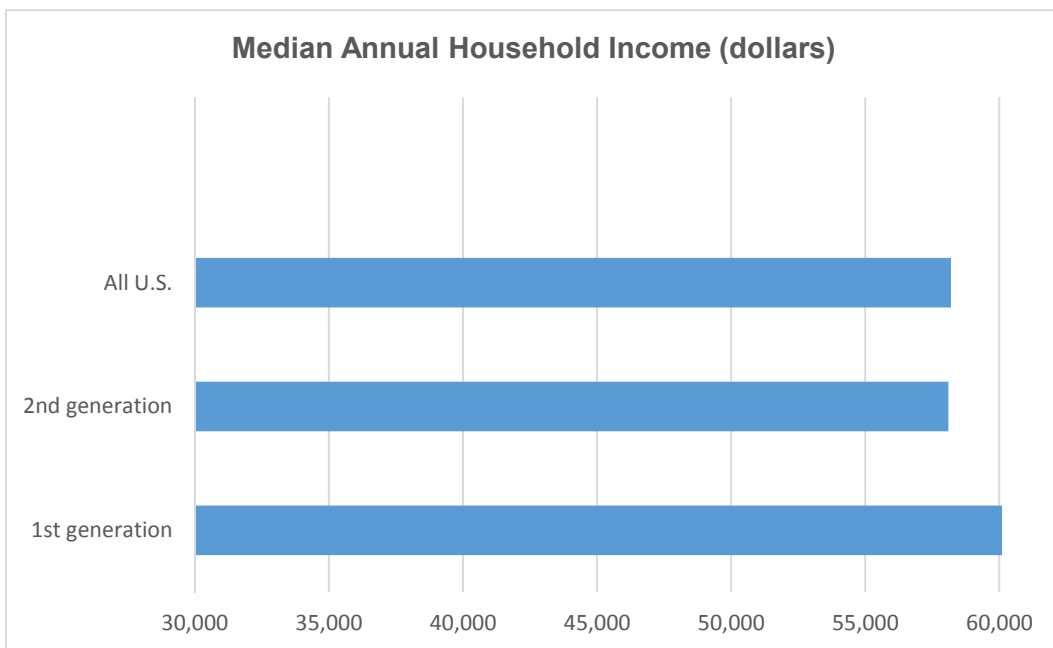
percent of white Americans, 5.1 percent of the Hispanic Americans, and 3.9 percent of black

Americans (Outreach Task Force, University of California, 1997, 4) (Zinzius, 2005).
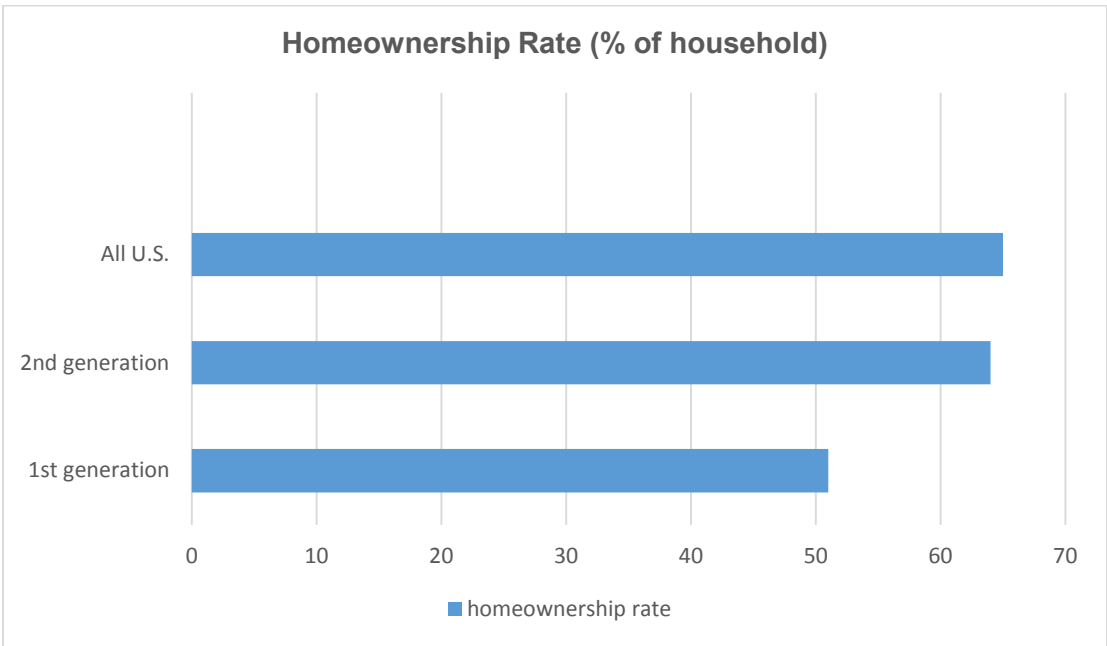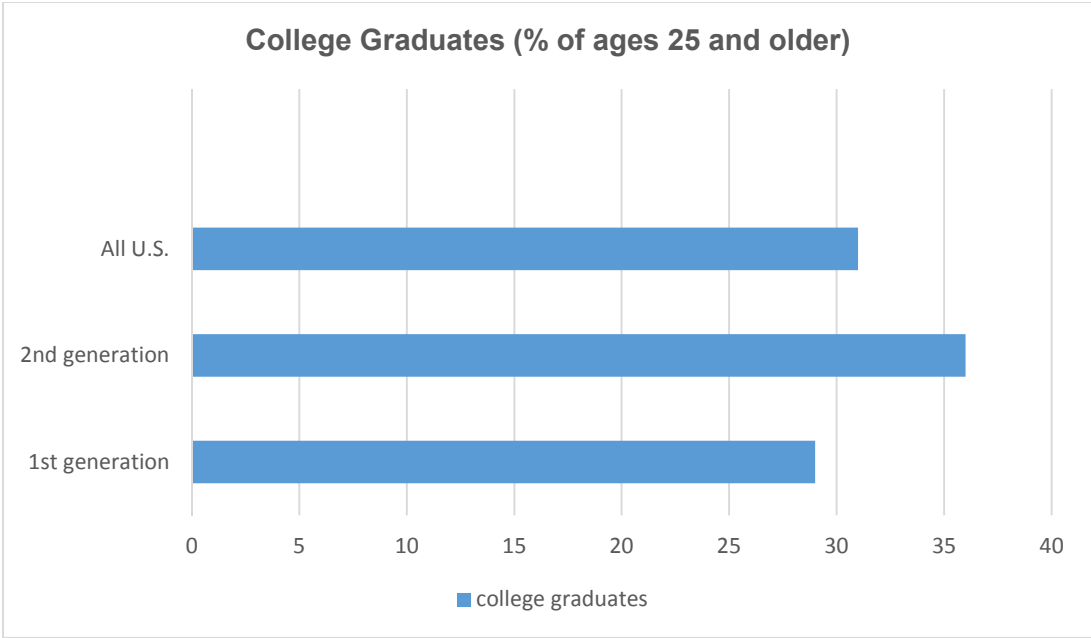
Nearly half of Asian American adults have a college degree, compared with 28 percent of

the overall U.S. population (Schwab, 2013). Also, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor

Statistics (2012), the percentage of high-school graduates entering college is much higher for

Asians than for other groups, including whites, Hispanics, and blacks. The chart below indicates

that the peak of college enrollment for Asians is approximately 90 percent in 2008 and the lowest

level was 82 percent in 2000. However, Hispanics had the highest increase college entry, nearly

70% in 2012, up from 48% in 2000. Higher educational achievement translates into higher

incomes. For example, the median household income for Asian Americans is about $66,000, far

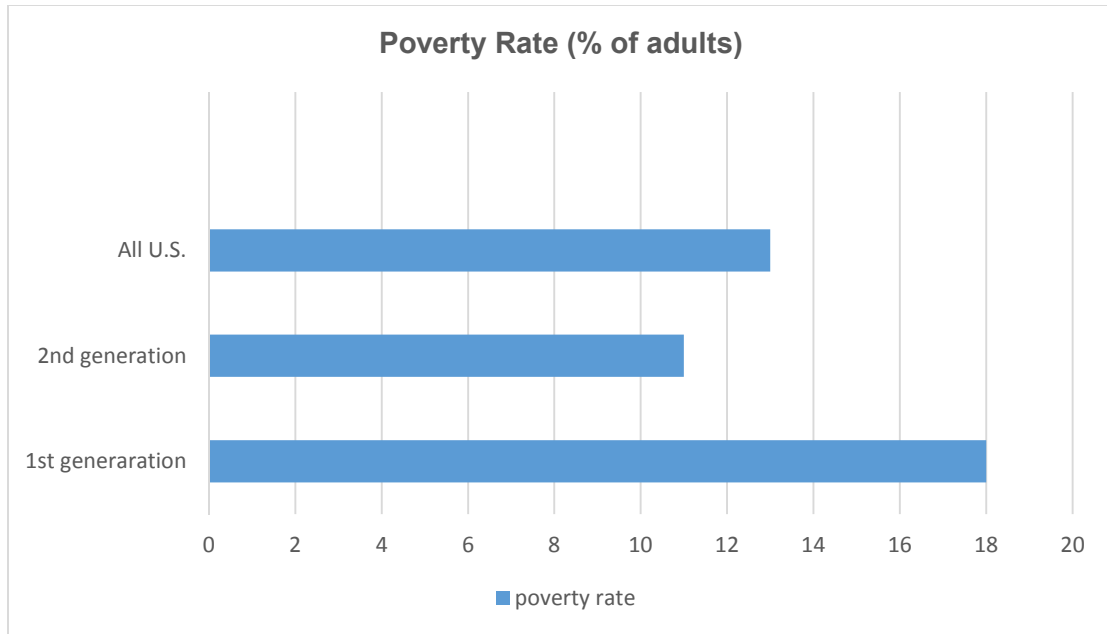larger than the $49,800 for the average U.S. household (Schwab, 2013).
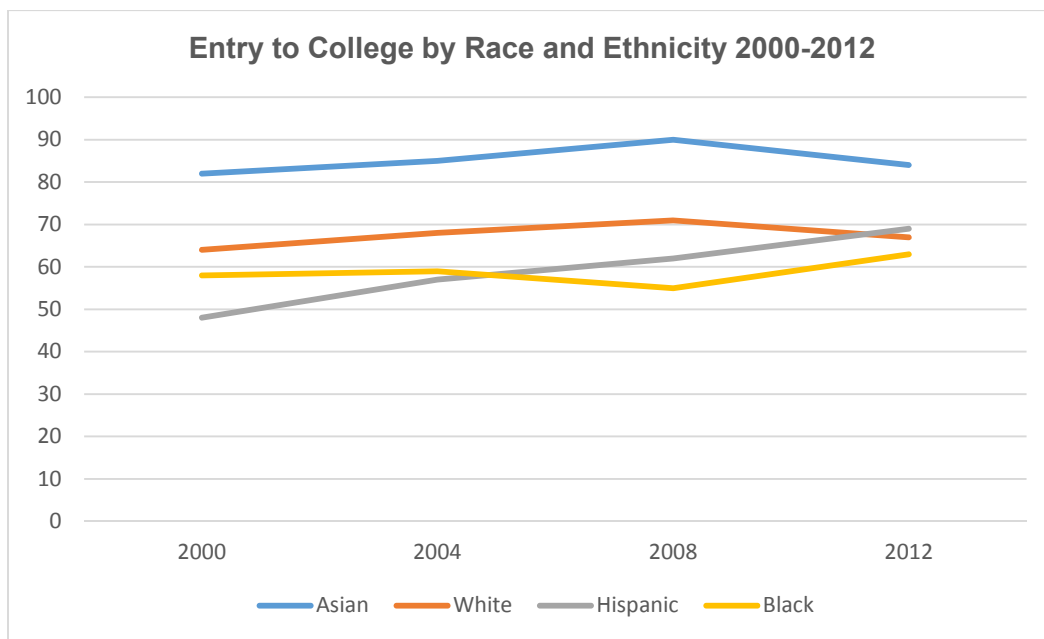
Source: US Bureau of Labor Statistics' annual "College enrollment and work activity of high school graduates" news release, and the National Center for Education Statistics' *The Condition of Education 2012*. Adapted from Paul Taylor's book *The Next America*, published by Public Affairs, New York, 2014, p. 75.

Finally, a 2013 Pew Research Center analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data (2013) reported that approximately 20 million U.S.-born children of immigrants (second-generation Americans) have better socioeconomic attainment then their immigrant parents. The Pew study (2013) also found that in all measures of socioeconomic attainment, whether annual household income, college degrees, home ownership, or the poverty rate, the second generation surpassed the first in every measure. Second-generation Chinese Americans surpass whites and all other groups in the nation. The evidence is overwhelming that the Chinese have experienced socioeconomic integration.

Median Annual Household Income (dollars)

Group	Income
All U.S.	~58,000
2nd generation	~58,000
1st generation	~60,000

Axis values: 30,000 · 35,000 · 40,000 · 45,000 · 50,000 · 55,000 · 60,000

College Graduates (% of ages 25 and older)

Category	College graduates (%)
All U.S.	~31
2nd generation	~36
1st generation	~29

college graduates

Homeownership Rate (% of household)

Category	Homeownership rate (%)
All U.S.	~65
2nd generation	~64
1st generation	~51

homeownership rate

Poverty Rate (% of adults)

Source: Pew Research Center, "Second generation Americans: a portrait of the adult children of immigrants" by Taylor, Cohn, et al., 2013, p. 2. Data from PRC analysis of Current Population surveys, Integrated Public Use Micro Data Series (IPUMS) file.

Language

If immigrants expect to be accepted as citizens, they must learn the host society's language, norms, and culture to show their loyalty to the adopted nation (Schwab, 2013). Language is the foundation for assimilation; it is the bridge that narrows the gap between different ethnic groups and the host society. In the assimilation process, immigrants in the second and third generation are often bilingual. Bilingualism refers to "learning the second language within a social context that allows the individual to maintain the first language" (Mouw and Xie, 1999, p. 234). In 2014, 36 million people residing in the United States had at least one foreign-born parent. Combining this number with the more than 40 million immigrants living in this society, one in four people in the United States were either first- or second-generation immigrants. It is estimated that 25% of this number are bilingual.

Recent research (Alejandro Portes and Richard Schauffler 1994, Mouw and Xie 1999, Zinzius 2005, and Daisuke Akiba 2007) suggests that bilingualism has a positive effect on the academic achievement of immigrant children. According to this perspective, growing up speaking two languages is beneficial because it stimulates cognitive-language development and gives immigrants a means of resisting unwanted assimilation (Mouw and Xie, 1999). In 1989, 6.3 million youths, ages five to 17, spoke a language other than English at home (Mouw and Xie, 1999). The cognitive perspective suggests that bilingualism is beneficial to mental development because it allows bilingual children to switch easily between two linguistic mediums. Subtractive bilingualism occurs when pressure is exerted to replace the first language with a second one (Mouw and Xie, 1999). For immigrant children, rapid acquisition of English and retention of native-language ability are affected by unobserved factors such as intelligence and motivation, which also have positive effects on academic achievement (Mouw and Xie, 1999).

Americans believe that speaking the English language is a key component of national identity, which provides the social glue that holds the nation's 315 million people together (Schwab, 2013). The 2010 census showed 52 percent of Chinese Americans speak English proficiently, compared to 63 percent of Asian Americans in general and 90 percent of the U.S. population overall (Taylor et al., 2012). This percentage is expected to improve in the future because more Chinese immigrants are entering the U.S. with higher levels of English proficiency.

The development of globalization makes English the official language of international business. As a quickly developing country, China puts lots of emphasize on English education. The cultivation of English learning from elementary school on provides good preparation for

those who immigrate to the United States. The Chinese government policy lowers the language barrier and speeds their assimilation into American society.
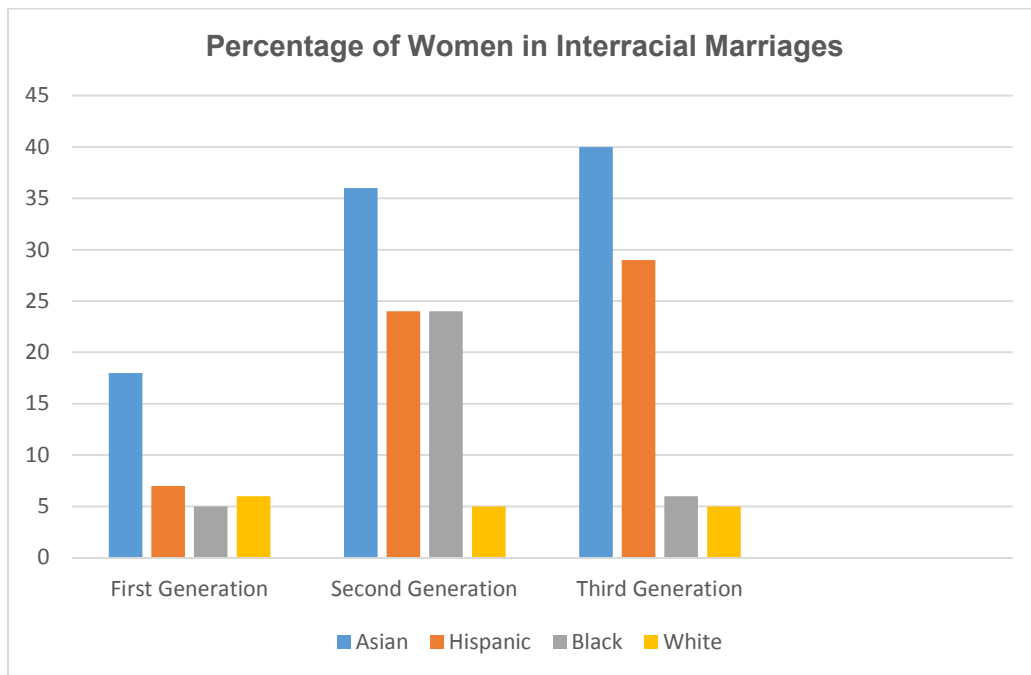
Intermarriage

Intermarriage is often considered the ultimate step in the assimilation of immigrants. Marriages between partners with different ethnic backgrounds are a sign of the breakdown of social distance between different groups (Lichter, Carmalt, and Qian, 2011). Interracial and interethnic marriage is particularly instructive for Asian Americans because of the nation's long history with Asian Americans and current immigration trends. Historically, immigrants from Asia suffered discrimination and exclusion. As a result, intermarriage was rare among Asians and whites. With the growth in the number of Asian Americans in the past 50 years, and their high levels of education, and desire to assimilate, intermarriage is on the rise.

Interracial marriage of whites occurs most frequently with Asian Americans, followed by Hispanics, and finally African Americans (Qian, 1997). In Los Angeles, the Japanese rate of out-marriages was the highest (60.6 percent), followed by the Chinese (41.2 percent) and Koreans (27.6 percent). However, the figures were reversed in Hawaii, with Korean rates of out-marriage the highest (83 percent), followed by the Chinese (76 percent), and then the Japanese (59 percent). Moreover, according to the research conducted by Kitano et al. (1984), an influential factor affecting the interracial marriage is generation, with the third generation out-marrying at a higher rate than the first generation. Furthermore, compared to the native-born, first-generation immigrants are less likely to out-marry because they more closely tied to traditional culture that does not sanction out-marriage (Lee and Fernandez, 1998). The levels of interracial and interethnic marriages increases steadily over generations as the social barriers

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between ethnic groups diminish and preference for in-group marriage fades (Stevens, McKillip, and Ishizawa, 2006).

In addition to the generation differences, gender also plays a significant role in intermarriage. Females of all three groups (Hispanics, Asians, and blacks) out-marry at a higher rate than males (Kitano et al., 1984). The report from the Pew Research Center shows that approximately 36 percent of Asian females married someone outside of their race compared with just 17 percent of males having interracial marriages (Wang, Passel, and Taylor, 2012). The chart below from the Migration Policy Institute (2006) shows the rate of women in interracial marriages, considering the influences of generation, gender, and ethnicity. It indicates a higher degree of interracial marriage of Asian women than of the other three ethnic groups.

Percentage of Women in Interracial Marriages

Source: Migration Policy Institute, "Intermarriage in the second generation: choosing between newcomers and natives" by Gillian Stevens, Mary E. McKillip, Hiromi Ishizawa, published on migrationpolicy.org, 2006, p. 3.

The Chinese have traditionally been accustomed to living in a culture with a prescribed pattern of behavior that differs greatly from Western culture. A social hierarchy exists in family institutions, which takes into account generation, age, and sex (Zinzius, 2005). The Confucian philosophy behind the family system prescribed certain statuses for men and women, and defined their position in the social order (Fong, 1973). Confucianism regards family and tribe as the basic elements of the state and the nucleus of society (Zinzius, 2005). However, people in the United States seek freedom and equality in life when they are entering marriage. These family norms may conflict with the culture of Chinese immigrants who adhere to traditional marriage norms.

Although the traditional Chinese family values may reduce the possibility of intermarriage, intermarriage is increasing over time in this society. A study by Pew Research Center (2010) showed that about 15 percent of all new marriages in the United States were between spouses of differences races or ethnicities, and 28 percent of Asians married exogenously (Wang et al., 2012).

Summary

In sum, this chapter mainly focused on the four measurements of assimilation—residential integration, socioeconomic integration, language, and intermarriage. In residential integration, ghettos and ethnic enclaves are two examples of the residential forms that retard the assimilation process. However, as the number of Chinese immigrants increases, the data shows that they are more likely to be dispersed throughout various residential locations than are other immigrant groups. First-generation Chinese immigrants follow well-established migration streams and the majority settled in major metropolitan areas on the East and West Coasts. Also, Asian immigrants are more likely to live in predominantly white neighborhoods when compared

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to Hispanics and blacks, with high educational and career achievements held constant. Socioeconomic integration is also high among the Chinese. With the concentration of high-education, high-skilled jobs in the Chinese American community, along with strict parenting practices, immigrant children with Chinese and Asian origins perform better in school than whites, blacks, and students from other ethnic groups. Subsequently, socioeconomic integration is enhanced in the second and third generations. Language acquisition is high among Chinese and other Asian immigrants in the second generation. Many are bilingual, which provides a distinct advantage for immigrant children because knowing two languages has been shown to contribute to better cognition and school performance. The fast pace of globalization greatly helps the prevalence of English and the emphasis on English education in destination countries makes immigrants' assimilation process easier. Finally, intermarriage is regarded as the ultimate measure of assimilation because it reduces group differences quickly. Generation and gender are also two influential factors in determining interracial marriage. Approximately 28% of Chinese marry outside their group in the second generation; this bodes well for the rapid assimilation of Chinese Americans into the mainstream of American society in subsequent generations.

CONCLUSION

The United States is the most ethnically diverse nation in the world, attracting vast numbers of immigrants over its history. In the past half-century, the nation's first-generation immigrant population has grown to over 40 million. When you add the 37 million members of the second generation, 25 percent of the nation's population is a first- or second-generation immigrant. These numbers have not been seen since the height of the last wave of immigration in the teens and twenties of the twentieth century.   The United States' long immigration history makes it a desired destination because previous waves of immigrant have worked, lived, assimilated, and thrived here.

The rate of assimilation varies with each group's race and ethnicity. These differences in the rate of assimilation are caused by several factors. The United States' long and chaotic immigration policies are an important reason. These laws both encouraged and discouraged immigration from the world's regions. Some of these laws were aimed to slow or prevent immigration from a specific country like the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which banned Chinese laborers from entering the United States for ten years. Or the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act was passed to limit Hispanic illegal immigrants.

The majority of immigrants in the nation's fourth wave of immigration are from Latin America and Asia. Among Asian immigrants, the Chinese are the fastest-growing population and have had the highest level of educational attainment and income growth. In general, the Chinese have been assimilated faster than other ethnic groups in terms of their residential and socioeconomic integration, language acquisition, and rate of intermarriage. One reason is that a large number of Chinese nationals enter the United States as students, obtaining residency after they receive a degree. Many of them major in engineering and science disciplines, which are in

high demand in the nation's knowledge- and information-based economy. Employment opportunities, high pay, and the prospects of upward social mobility are much better in the United States than in China, so many of them choose to stay. A high-skilled occupation translates into high incomes, and high incomes mean these immigrants can live anywhere in a metropolitan area, and they often choose housing in white-dominated neighborhoods in the suburbs. Therefore, residential integration seems to be vital to the assimilation process. Residential integration offers the opportunity for immigrants to interact with whites, improve their language ability, learn the culture, and assimilate. The residential dispersal of this cohort means faster assimilation into the fabric of a community and the society at large. The process is especially important to second-generation Chinese Americans. Chinese immigrant parents spend lots of time, money, and energy managing their children's academic performance, and this contributes to majority of these children pursuing higher education and professional degrees. The result is that the Chinese have the highest level of educational achievement of any ethnic group in the United States, including native-born whites. Again, high incomes mean residential choice, and the process of dispersal increases the rate of assimilation.

This thesis discussed the role of Chinatowns, the voluntary segregation of this group in the central cities of New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other large metropolitan areas on the East and West Coasts. In the first generation, these ethnic enclaves provide an environment rich in social and economic support networks. Newly arrived immigrants can find kin, jobs, eat familiar foods, read Chinese daily papers, and learn the new language and culture. However, ethnic enclaves can slow assimilation because the new group may not interact with members of the larger society. The Chinese emphasis on education as the major means of upper social mobility reduces this effect in the second and third generations, though. As noted earlier,

higher education means mobility, movement out of the ethnic enclaves, and spatial and social

assimilation. Spatial assimilation, in turn, leads to a higher probability of intermarriage, the

ultimate step in the assimilation process. Ethnically integrated neighborhoods provide the

opportunity for singles of different subcultures to meet. If they marry, couples from different

ethnic backgrounds, who share different subcultures, but speak English help complete the

assimilation process.

The high rate of Chinese assimilation does not begin with this group's high performance

in the United States, but from the foundation laid down in China. Although China is still a

developing country, the fast-growing economy provides many opportunities for international

cooperation in a global economy. The Chinese government emphasizes the importance of

providing all children with basic English communication skills. In addition, globalization offers

many Chinese the opportunity to have access to Western culture, which provides them with a

general knowledge of American society. When Chinese immigrants arrive in the United States,

their English skills and knowledge of American society help them assimilate into the American

life faster than other recent immigrants.

Two competing theories of assimilation were presented in this thesis--the Straight-Line

and the Segmented Assimilation models. My research suggests that the Straight-Line Model best

describes the experience of post-1965 Chinese immigrants to this nation. The group's high levels

of education and income, concentration in managerial and professional professions, English

proficiency, and high rates of intermarriage bode well for rapid assimilation. As noted earlier,

Chinese American's high incomes also mean the freedom to live anywhere in a metro area, and,

as we have seen, they have chosen to live in integrated white neighborhoods in the suburbs.

These personal and structural characteristics portend rapid assimilation of this group into the

mainstream of American society. Falling segregation indices in the larger metropolitan areas where they live suggest this process is well underway. Recent research in New York City and Los Angeles suggests that the Segmented Model better describes the experiences of Hispanic and other immigrant groups whose affinity group is linked to African Americans. These groups suffer the same prejudice and discrimination as blacks in this society. Groups like Dominicans and Haitians are an example. The affinity group for Chinese Americans is majority white with a predictable better outcome.

About two percent of the world's population lives outside the country in which they were born (Passel and Fix, 1994). This rise in international migration has led 40 million immigrants to choose the United States as their new home. The percentage of foreign-born in this country is at levels not seen for more than a century.   The key role of the United States in globalization implies that the number of immigrants coming to the United States is likely to increase. The increase may include large numbers of legal and illegal immigrants. Despite the positive impact that immigrants have on the national economy, there are social problems associated with increasing numbers of immigrants—crime, residential segregation, and tension between the ethnic group and members of the majority. However, the contribution of the new immigrants to the labor supply of a rapidly aging workforce, and their contribution of $2.5 trillion to the nation's economy mean that, in my opinion, the positive contribution of immigrants far exceeds their costs. I believe that an immigration policy that encourages naturalization will motivate immigrants to seek long-term residency in the country. Citizenship is proof of immigrants' loyalty to their adopted country, their faith in the values and norms of the host country, and their desire to make the host society better.

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