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ABSTRACT

A study of the economic characteristics and occupational status of the Chinese in the United States, based primarily on a special tabulation of the 1970 census, has resulted in a demographic profile of this bicultural and physically distinct ethnic group. Potential improvement and expansion of the occupational sphere of the Chinese is discussed in terms of cultural aspects. Extensive tabulation accompanies the text, including 89 tables, 7 charts, and 9 maps. Each of the 14 chapters contains a list of findings relating to employment aspects of the Chinese; titles include: (1) Patterns of Chinese Immigration; (2) Foreign-born and Alien; (3) Geographical Dispersion; (4) Educational Level; (5) Labor Force and Occupational Pattern; (6) Working Women; (7) Chinese in Government Work; (8) Unions a Major Hurdle; (9) Income; (10) Unemployment and Underemployment; (11) The Chinese Work Ethic; (12) Self-employment and Small Business; (13) Cultural Baggage; and (14) Racism Modified. A listing of 34 summary findings, cultural anchors and differences, and 24 recommendations are provided, with four tables appended. It is stated that the study may be useful to social scientists, government agencies, administrators, and social service organizations. (LH)

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Report to:

*Manpower Administration
U.S. Department of Labor*

Chinese American Manpower & Employment

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City College of New York.*

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<p>16. Abstracts Study of the employment characteristics and occupational status of the Chinese in the United States based primarily on a special tabulation of the 1970 census and supplemented by data from other sources. Topics covered include immigration, geographical dispersion, demographic characteristics, education, occupations, working women, unions, civil service, income, unemployment, underemployment, self-employment, cultural differences, prejudice, and how the Chinese are coping with their problems.</p> <p>In addition to developing a basic set of statistical data about this ethnic group, the report brings out many cultural aspects and sensitivities that must be addressed in assessing or in projecting any potential course of action for improving or expanding the occupational sphere of the Chinese.</p> <p>Brought out also are the special obstacles that a bicultural and physically distinct people like the Chinese encounter in competing in the American labor market. The report is specific and pragmatic in its findings and recommendations. The study is useful to social scientists, government agencies, administrators, and social service organizations.</p>				
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FOREWORD

The 1960s were the decade of protest against racial inequality, environmental pollution, and senseless wars. The anger characterizing the period was both frightening and promising--promising in that the conscience of the American people was aroused to action.

The 1970s will be a decade of redress. Progress will be registered, but how much progress depends upon how committed we are to the principles we espouse, the policies we follow, and the tactics we employ.

Now that the shouting and recrimination have toned down, the nation is taking a hard look at what can be done. The hard look means facts and the implications of those facts. What are the causes of the pathology? The symptoms are already manifest.

To look at one area--racial inequality in employment--the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor awarded me a grant to undertake a study of the economic characteristics and occupational status of the Chinese in the United States. The intent was to obtain a demographic profile of the Chinese and to determine where the Chinese stand occupationally and economically. It was suggested that I utilize the findings of the 1970 census instead of undertaking my own survey. This was an excellent suggestion, except in the past, the Census Bureau tabulated and published very little detailed information about the Chinese. The information was there--all gathered during the taking of the census--but in racial breakdown, the Chinese are usually lumped under the indistinguishable heading, "Others". The grant afforded me the opportunity to take the Public Use Sample Tapes and do a special tabulation pertaining to the Chinese.

Methodology

There are drawbacks to sole reliance upon the 1970 census data. The most obvious one, of course, is that the information is already out of date. Rapid increase in the Chinese population over recent years has radically changed the make-up of this ethnic group. Like parched land soaking up water after a drought, the Chinese have been flocking here since 1965 to be reunited with their families. Approx-

imately one-fourth of the Chinese now in the United States have come in since 1970. Consequently, the census of that year reflected the situation of the settled Chinese who had been in the United States a bit longer more than it did the situation of recent immigrants.

Without question, there has been underenumeration of the Chinese, and the excluded population may be sizable. We shall see that the Chinese are heavily concentrated in urban areas and especially in the coastal Chinatowns. Almost half of the population is foreign-born. The native-born are the younger generations, but it is the parents or the foreign-born who fill out the questionnaires. Censuses are definitely not a part of their tradition or background.

The Chinese are highly suspicious of government officials. They had experienced sixty-one years of stringent exclusion (1882-1943) and twenty-two more years of restricted immigration (a 105 quota until 1965), so that the ghosts of illegal or extralegal entry still haunt them. These people tend to avoid the census taker.

Chinatowns today are not exactly secure neighborhoods, and people do not readily open their doors to strangers. Even when the door is opened and an interviewer is introduced by a mutual acquaintance, the suspicions are there. A wall of silence greets the census taker.

Fully cognizant of the difficulties that would be encountered, New York's Chinatown carried out an extensive campaign to educate the people and whip up enthusiasm so that everybody would be counted. At the last moment, the New York City Council even voted monies to print the census forms in Chinese. A group of dedicated young people, concerned about underenumeration, worked very hard as census takers, but they would be the first to admit that many Chinese chose not to be counted or were left out inadvertently.

Most likely, the Chinese who filled out their questionnaires, or who responded to the census takers, tended to be native-born, English-speaking, better educated, and non-Chinatown residents. If we take into account the fact that the data is slanted in these directions, the census is not without its worth. After all, the census attempts a 100 percent headcount and a 20 percent sampling of social and economic characteristics. In interpreting the census data, therefore, one must constantly keep in mind these biases.

Nineteen-seventy was the first time that the Census Bureau devoted a special report to the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos, and this volume, PC(2)1G, provided a wealth of statistics never before tabulated or published. As the data presented in this volume came from the basic records made from the original census questionnaires and was based upon a 20 percent sample, I utilized the data from

this volume wherever possible. But my study called for many cross tabulations or other information not found in the special report. Since the basic census records are confidential and not available to the public, I utilized the Public Use Sample Tapes, which had been carefully constructed to reflect as closely as possible an accurate cross section of the demographic characteristics of the American population.

Dr. Paul T. Zeisset, of the Census Bureau, the man who constructed these tapes, explained to me in great detail the selection process and the weighting of the factors, but I am afraid he lost me in the technicality of the explanation. Suffice it to say that the reputation of the Census Bureau is such that few question its methods or integrity.

The Public Use Sample Tapes draw upon a 1 percent sample. In comparing the computer print-outs from the tables I constructed with the available 20 percent data from the Census Bureau, I found that the figures for the larger categories were fairly close. In the finer categories and minute breakdowns, there were discrepancies. In those cases, I discounted the data or omitted those tabulations entirely. All data used have been carefully studied and analyzed.

Acknowledgments

A great deal of attention was devoted to scrutiny of the census questionnaire and the Public Use Sample Tape to see what information could be gleaned and what cross tabulations were possible. For invaluable assistance in this phase of my research, I am indebted to Ms. Tobia Bressler and Nampeo McKenny and their wonderful staff at the Ethnic Origins Division of the Census Bureau.

When the tables were set up and formatted, they were sent to Mr. Walter Postle of the Region IX Manpower Administration in San Francisco, who had generously offered me the use of his computer facilities at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratories.

Miss Sylvia Sorrell was assigned to program my tabulations. I cannot stress enough the importance of her expertise in deciphering and translating my needs into meaningful print-outs.

I did not rely upon the census data alone. I searched the bibliographies and indexes for private research material, as well as other governmental sources. Luckily, the EEOC reports generated much information on the ethnic make-up of work forces. State and municipal government statistics were combed for comparative purposes. Annual publications, such as Vital Statistics of the United States and the Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Reports, were goldmine sources.

I tried to corroborate my findings or test them by talking to Chinese people, young and old, from all walks of life, and from different regions of the country. I studied the listings pasted on the employment offices in the Chinatowns of San Francisco and New York. I interviewed successful men and women in their fields. I had long talks with my graduating seniors to find out how they went about applying for jobs and what was their attitude toward work and the future. My research assistants were sent out to ascertain the pay scale for certain occupations by asking people on the jobs.

At this point, I would like to acknowledge the contributions of a few of my student assistants. They are Wai Ting Leung, Anita Yue, Chor Lee, Ellen Lau, and Yuk Wah Mui. The voluminous tables in this report were typed by Lillian Ling and Cynthia Sung.

I attended as many Asian-American gatherings as I could possibly squeeze into my hectic schedule. My community contacts on both the East and West Coasts stood me in good stead and opened up for me many sources of information.

Most important, I was in the midst of where things were happening. New York City has become the focal point of Chinese-American awareness. Ethnic consciousness is most acute with the young and rising generations of Chinese-American youth who are in colleges and universities. At City College New York, there is an Asian-American student enrollment of approximately 1,400. Its Department of Asian Studies stresses the Asian-American aspect, and it can claim to be the East Coast birthplace of the Asian-American movement.

I needed the activity, the pace, the strong sentiments expressed by my students to cull from their attitudes and to validate my findings. I am also grateful for the strong support given by the college administration that enabled me to undertake this research.

All these other avenues, inspirations, and sources of material were used to supplement, interpret, and corroborate the statistical information from the census. Space does not permit me to acknowledge all of the people whom I consulted and interviewed. Even if they are not named, they will know that they were part of this effort.

Before and after I embarked on my project, I consulted Dr. Eli Ginzberg of the Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, and recently appointed chairman of President Ford's National Commission for Manpower Policy. In spite of his tremendous commitments to teaching, writing, research, and civic undertakings, he took time out to point me in the right direction and to read my manuscript.

Messrs. Alan Wong of San Francisco and Danny Yung, both of whom are involved in research on Chinese-Americans, also graciously consented

to look over my findings and recommendations.

Of course, none of this research would have been possible were it not for the grant awarded me by the Manpower Administration. At Manpower, ten thousand thanks go to Howard Rosen, Herman Travis, Stuart Garfinkel, Frank Mott, and Karen Greene. Mrs. Greene supervised my grant, and she was a Houdini when it came to unraveling red tape.

At the Research Foundation of City College, it was Mr. Morton Pavane who hounded me relentlessly until I handed in my proposal, which started the ball rolling, and it was he and his staff who kept a fiscal eye on the grant expenditures.

Credit for editing the manuscript goes to Mrs. Muriam Hurewitz and Barbara Kelman-Burgower, who helped me tie the report together, and who polished those rough edges.

As I have already recounted, this was a massive endeavor involving many groups and many people, all of whom played essential roles in the structuring of this study and report. To each and every one, I again acknowledge my debt and proffer my thanks. One more expression of gratitude remains; and that one goes to my family: To my husband, Charles Chia Mou Chung, for his moral support and understanding, to my daughter, Cynthia Sung, who typed the final report, and to all eight of our children, who shared and spared their mother during these past two and a half years.

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CHART A

CHINESE ALIENS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES
1944-1973

Female
Male

Source: Appendix Table 87.

1944 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68 70 72 74

YEARS

CHAPTER I

PATTERNS OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION

The history of this nation spans but a few hundred years and, for more than a century and a quarter, the Chinese have been a part of it. The Chinese were among the "Forty-niners" who flocked to California during the Gold Rush. These Chinese came from the southern Chinese province of Kwangtung, near the mouth of the Pearl River. They left their homes, braving the unknown, pulling up firmly embedded roots, risking the executioner's ax, and journeying 7,000 miles across the Pacific in sail-driven vessels to seek their fortunes in a new land they called the "Mountain of Gold." They were referring to the hills of San Francisco during the days of the Gold Rush. The pull was the prospect of gold, but the push was the impoverished soil of China, which would yield not even a marginal livelihood, made poorer by civil strife and political unrest.

Hardly two years after the first cry of gold went up, 25,000 stalwarts from Cathay were found in California. The virgin lands and undeveloped country needed hands, and the Chinese willingly provided the manpower to work the mines, drain the ditches, till the soil, harvest the seas, and build the net of railroads that bound the nation together. When their work was done, their ungrateful beneficiaries said, "America is for whites. Go back to where you came from."

America for the Whites

Thus was set in motion a racist campaign that resulted in a continuing series of legislative maneuvers designed to keep the Chinese out and to make life intolerable for those who remained.

Chinese immigrants dropped from 40,000 in 1882 (prior to exclusion) to 10 persons in the year 1887. For sixty-one years following, fourteen separate pieces of legislation were enacted by the United States Congress that virtually sealed the doors of the United States against Chinese immigration. These laws were repealed in 1943, when a gesture of goodwill was made toward China, but repeal was little more than that—a gesture.

Beginning in 1943, the Chinese were given a quota of 105 immigrants per year, and this quota included anyone of Chinese blood, regardless of his country of birth or residence or allegiance. For the next twenty-two years, until 1965, a mere 6,055 Chinese were admitted to the United States. This figure included persons admitted under a number of refugee relief acts.

At that rate of admission it is a wonder that there were any Chinese at all extant in the United States. To preserve themselves against complete extinction, the Chinese resorted to inconspicuous circumvention of the immigration laws so that, for a half century before repeal, the Chinese population for the entire country hovered around 60,000 to 80,000 and was almost all adult male, with few females and few children. If they all attended a football game at the same time one afternoon in the Orange Bowl in Miami or the Cotton Bowl in Dallas, they would fit comfortably into either stadium. Dispersed throughout the country, they were hardly noticeable and politically impotent.

It was the express intent of the American government to keep it that way. Governmental policy was directed not only against the Chinese, it was aimed against any people of darker shades of skin coloring—the most desirables were the Northern European types. This intent was spelled out in the immigration laws by the national origins quotas; Great Britain, Germany, Ireland and the Scandinavian countries had claim to about 120,000 quota slots out of the 150,000 total available annually. By 1965, this racist viewpoint was no longer in vogue and was absolutely indefensible. The national origins quotas were amended and an entirely different premise substituted for American immigration policy.

The Chinese and most other Asiatic countries were prime beneficiaries of this change in the immigration laws. Formerly, with the exception of Japan, with a quota of 185, Turkey, with a quota of 225, and, of course, the Chinese with 105, no other Asian country had a quota of more than a 100. The Immigration Act of 1965 extended the upper limit of any one country to 20,000. Consequently, it was inevitable that a spurt in Asian immigration would result.

Removing the Cork

Since 1965 and the liberalization of quotas, Chinese immigration in particular has been spectacular. Chart A shows the rate by sex at which Chinese aliens were admitted to the United States for thirty years following repeal of the exclusion acts. If admittance had depended solely upon the 105 quota allotted Chinese persons, the total numbers would have remained in the hundreds. But, in 1946,

some relief was given by a proviso permitting Chinese male citizens to bring their wives and children into the country without charge to the national quota. That same year, the War Brides Act was passed, allowing GI wives to join their husbands in the States, again without charge to the quotas. Consequently, Chinese immigration slowly climbed up to six thousand until President John Kennedy, by executive order, permitted the admission of a number of refugees. This took Chinese immigration into another higher plateau, but it was not until the full force of the 1965 Immigration Act took effect that immigration really soared, increasing by as much as 400 percent to 500 percent. (See also Appendix Table 87.)

This percentage increase can be exploited by sensationalism, and it has been. Scaremongers are already headlining their articles with captions like "Growing Surge of Immigrants from Asia" and "Trickle Turns to Flood." Few take note of the facts that the base was so small for so long and that consequently, a comparable increase in numbers for other countries with larger immigration bases would yield smaller percentage increases.

Nonetheless, the spurt in immigration has made a tremendous impact upon the Chinese communities in the United States and has completely altered the demographic characteristics of this ethnic group. The immigrants of yesteryear were able-bodied males whose purpose in coming was to earn and save enough to go back to China. They brought no family, and they lived the lives of rootless transients. They filled the gap in the lower occupational strata, working at jobs that other disdained. They clustered in Chinatowns for the familiarity and security in numbers. They were poorly educated and made little or no attempt to learn the English language.

Before 1943, Chinese immigrants were not permitted to become citizens no matter how long they had resided in this country, so they had no political backing and little use for American customs or ways. They were made scapegoats for the ills of the times, and they were used as a political football to be booted and booed at even when their numbers had dwindled to the point of insignificance. They were forbidden by the Alien Land Acts to own land. Denied a normal family life by a court ruling that all Asians were aliens ineligible to citizenship and hence not permitted the benefits of the family reunification aims under the immigration laws, they were also denied the right to intermarry in many Western states.

Thus cowed and oppressed by the weight of institutionalized discrimination, the Chinese worked hard within his circumscribed confines, looking only to the day when he could be free to return to his homeland. By true definition, therefore, the Chinese was not an immigrant, but a transient--a sojourner. Each generation departed these shores leaving no roots that reached into American

TABLE 1A

CHINESE IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED BY SEX AND AGE GROUP, 1962-1973

	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967	
	4,669		5,370		5,648		4,769		17,608		25,096	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
TOTAL	1,916	2,753	2,297	3,073	2,597	3,051	2,242	2,527	8,613	8,995	12,811	12,285
Under 5 Yrs.	92	160	98	110	102	137	78	103	548	520	734	646
5-9 Yrs.	104	85	115	117	135	165	117	115	953	828	1,125	1,006
10-19 Yrs.	335	335	389	483	419	448	439	430	1,888	1,739	2,309	2,187
20-29 Yrs.	319	885	411	992	316	939	338	704	1,376	1,649	2,221	2,913
30-39 Yrs.	232	409	407	509	554	611	438	398	1,817	1,480	3,310	2,329
40-49 Yrs.	210	306	256	315	355	312	293	294	998	912	1,528	1,223
50-59 Yrs.	278	311	262	302	288	277	226	274	532	904	879	955
60-69 Yrs.	279	192	276	193	327	128	221	165	355	630	514	683
70-79 Yrs.	61	54	77	51	86	32	82	41	130	289	160	288
80 Yrs. +	6	15	6	1	15	2	10	3	16	44	31	55
TOTAL	16,434	20,893	17,956	17,622	21,730	21,656	1972	1973				
IMMIGRANTS	16,434	20,893	17,956	17,622	21,730	21,656	1972	1973				
TOTAL	7,862	8,572	10,001	10,892	8,586	9,370	8,287	9,335	10,437	11,293	9,937	11,719
Under 5 yrs.	399	450	686	622	437	438	396	390	617	531	571	539
5-9 Yrs.	639	518	989	891	685	636	561	509	755	734	750	660
10-19 Yrs.	1,412	1,523	1,964	2,037	1,427	1,428	1,153	1,245	1,506	1,548	1,445	1,583
20-29 Yrs.	1,436	2,409	1,588	2,756	1,776	3,249	2,106	3,679	2,610	4,264	2,537	4,058
30-39 Yrs.	1,986	1,478	2,337	1,823	2,258	1,602	2,345	1,606	2,622	1,797	1,981	1,630
40-49 Yrs.	904	789	1,277	1,182	1,028	862	901	767	1,234	965	1,164	1,045
50-59 Yrs.	530	645	709	744	551	557	484	556	629	688	765	1,119
60-69 Yrs.	379	478	311	545	285	374	246	367	323	467	526	743
70-79 Yrs.	151	223	117	239	117	177	87	171	112	239	174	277
80 Yrs. +	16	59	23	53	22	47	8	45	29	60	24	65

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports (Washington, D.C.: 1962-1973, Tables 9.

TABLE 1B

PERCENTAGE OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED, BY SEX AND AGE GROUP, 1962-1973

AGE GROUP	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total (100%)	4.8	5.8	4.3	3.6	3.9	4.5	3.5	4.1	6.4	5.8	5.7	5.3
Under 5 Years	5.4	3.1	5.0	3.8	5.2	5.4	5.2	4.6	11.1	9.2	8.8	8.2
5-9 Years	17.5	12.2	16.9	15.7	16.1	14.7	19.6	17.0	21.9	19.3	18.0	17.8
10-19 Years	16.6	32.1	17.9	32.3	12.2	30.8	15.1	27.9	16.0	18.3	17.3	23.7
20-29 Years	12.1	14.9	17.7	16.6	21.3	20.0	19.5	15.7	21.1	16.5	25.8	19.0
30-39 Years	11.0	11.1	11.1	10.3	13.7	10.2	13.1	11.6	11.6	10.1	11.9	10.0
40-49 Years	14.5	11.3	11.4	9.8	11.1	9.1	10.1	10.8	6.2	10.1	6.9	7.8
50-59 Years	14.6	7.0	12.0	6.3	12.6	4.2	9.9	6.5	4.1	7.0	4.0	5.6
60-69 Years	3.2	2.0	3.4	1.7	3.3	1.0	3.7	1.6	1.5	3.2	1.2	2.3
70-79 Years	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.6	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.4
80 and Over												

AGE GROUP	1968		1969		1970		1971		1972		1973	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total (100%)	5.1	5.2	6.9	5.7	5.1	4.7	4.8	4.2	5.9	4.7	5.8	4.6
Under 5 Years	8.1	6.0	9.9	8.2	8.0	6.8	6.8	5.5	7.2	6.5	7.6	5.6
5-9 Years	18.0	17.5	19.6	18.7	16.6	15.2	13.9	13.3	14.4	13.7	14.5	13.5
10-19 Years	18.3	28.1	15.9	25.3	20.7	34.7	25.4	39.4	25.0	37.8	25.5	34.6
20-29 Years	25.4	17.2	23.4	16.7	26.3	17.1	28.3	17.2	25.1	15.9	19.9	13.9
30-39 Years	11.5	9.2	12.8	10.9	12.0	9.2	10.9	8.2	11.8	8.5	11.7	8.9
40-49 Years	6.7	7.5	7.1	6.8	6.4	5.9	5.8	6.0	6.0	6.1	7.7	9.6
50-59 Years	4.8	5.6	3.1	5.0	3.3	4.0	3.0	3.9	3.1	4.1	5.3	6.3
60-69 Years	1.9	2.6	1.2	2.2	1.4	1.9	1.0	1.8	1.1	2.1	1.8	2.4
70-79 Years	0.2	0.7	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.6
80 and Over												

Source: Table 1A.

soil. In spite of the long history of the Chinese in this country, each successive generation had to start anew without the benefit of a foundation built by those before him.

The picture began to change after World War II. The impetus was not the repeal of the entire body of Chinese exclusion acts in 1943--the 105 quota was tantamount to exclusion and was so intended. It was the War Brides Act of 1946 that wedged open the door for wives of Chinese who had served in the Armed Forces of the United States. The spurt in Chinese immigration after 1946, shown in Chart A, reveals that almost 90 percent of the immigrants were females taking the first opportunity they could to join their husbands in this country.

Almost every year since that time, female immigrants have exceeded males. The tremendous disparity of the sexes seems to exert a magnetic pull that is still evident among Chinese immigrants today. The proportion of females to males hovered around 9:1 for many years. It has declined, but as late as 1973 females still made up .54 percent of the total Chinese immigrants. (See Tables 1A and 1B.)

The predominance of the female in the Chinese immigration pattern has great implications for the Chinese population in this country. For one, the genocidal policy of cutting off a future native-born Chinese generation was arrested. Children born of the reunions made possible by the War Brides Act are the emerging leaders of their people, and their outlook is entirely different from that of past generations. The communities are now better established by the presence of women and children, young and old, thus bringing about a restructuring of Chinese society into families rather than communal organizations.

Age Groups

An outstanding feature of the Chinese female immigrants is that generally one-fourth to one-third are concentrated in the 20- to 29-year age group. This one factor has held constant for more than a decade. (See Table 1A.) It probably indicates that females are generally taken as brides in China and then are brought to the United States by husbands at least ten years older than they, for the largest age group for male immigrants is the 30- to 39-year one.

The fact that Chinese immigrants consist overwhelmingly of grown adults has several implications. For one, these people are already set in their ways and outlook. In other words, adjustment takes longer than for the younger ones, and, most likely, there

will be a gravitation toward Chinatowns. Second, these immigrants will need to seek a livelihood right away. Third, they are producers, rather than dependents, instead of adding to the taxpayers' expense for schooling, they will join the labor force directly.

Immigration below the ten-year age bracket is insignificant. The future young of the Chinese-American population will be the offspring of the heavy influx of young women and will be native-born. At the same time, it is unusual to see men and women in their eighties immigrating to the United States. This is a definite departure from the past, when the old invariably returned to China to enjoy their latter years and be buried in the motherland; traffic now seems to be heading the other way. These elderly do not seem to be sitting in their rocking chairs, smiling benignly at their large brood of grandchildren either. In fact, one-fourth of the Chinese males over sixty-five are still in the labor force, and one-eighth of the females in the same age bracket are, too. (See Table 25.)

Intended Residence in the United States

In 1960, the census showed that three states contained almost three-fourths of all the Chinese in the United States. California held the lead with 40 percent; New York and Hawaii trailed with 16 percent each. By 1970, a shift had taken place. California maintained its position, but New York pulled ahead of Hawaii and more than doubled its Chinese population. By looking at Table 2, one can readily see why. Immigrants heading for New York outnumbered by a wide margin those who indicated that their future home would be in San Francisco/Oakland, Honolulu, Los Angeles, or Chicago. California's population increase is coming from births, but New York's increase is coming from immigration. Consequently, the native-born/foreign-born ratio for the three states varies widely:

	<u>Native-born</u>	<u>Foreign-born</u>
California	54.4%	45.6%
New York	35.6%	64.4%
Hawaii	88.9%	11.1%

What significance do these figures have? A trans-Pacific leap means major readjustment and adaptation for the new immigrants, who must deal with a new environment, new culture, new language, new social alignments all at once. And the experience at times is overwhelming and bewildering. The Chinese community of New York, therefore, will experience greater difficulties than that of Hawaii

TABLE 2

INTENDED CITY OF RESIDENCE OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS, YEARS ENDED JUNE 30, 1962-1972

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
San Francisco and Oakland	831	853	764	799	3,621	3,233	1,827	2,502	1,845	968	1,696
New York City and New Jersey	999	1,010	957	817	3,336	4,624	3,029	3,304	2,776	3,263	4,839
Honolulu	93	113	89	90	303	294	220	369	385	242	334
Los Angeles and Long Beach	210	257	241	262	865	1,300	772	938	743	802	930
Sacramento	76	76	77	87	402	353	146	223	163	107	146
Seattle	66	88	122	55	207	301	224	251	158	150	199
Chicago	88	161	206	104	306	754	386	407	367	402	661
Boston and Cambridge	75	104	110	100	337	418	308	252	206	223	241
Philadelphia	33	34	47	22	82	167	119	136	99	135	184
Houston	42	44	37	34	124	175	121	155	184	106	177

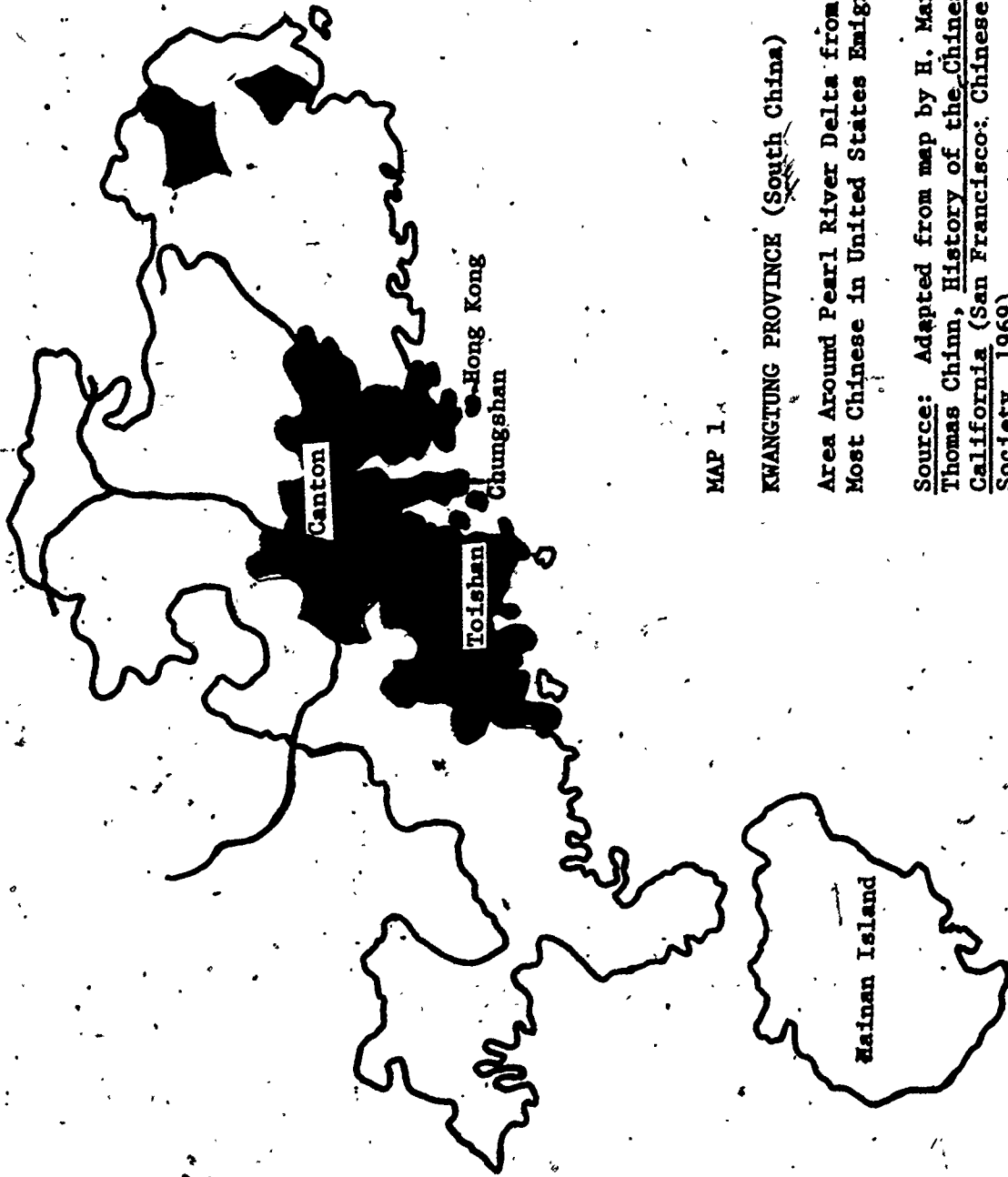
Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports (Washington, D.C.: 1962-1972), Table 12B.

TABLE 3

ESTIMATED JOBS IN NEW YORK CITY AND SUBURBAN COUNTIES,
1970-1990 (in thousands)

<u>County</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>% change</u> <u>1970-'90</u>
New York City	4,062	3,994	4,090	4,166	4,255	4.7
Bronx	285	276	278	282	290	1.8
Brooklyn	665	625	630	637	644	-3.1
Manhattan	2,519	2,515	2,548	2,573	2,616	3.9
Queens	536	515	557	587	607	13.4
Staten Island	58	64	77	87	97	68.0
NY Suburban Counties	1,483	1,581	1,728	1,855	1,960	32.2
Dutchess	90	91	108	120	132	46.9
Nassau	591	623	655	675	690	16.8
Orange	77	85	94	110	122	58.6
Putnam	12	14	17	19	22	88.0
Rockland	72	84	92	102	114	58.7
Suffolk	278	315	367	415	455	63.6
Westchester	365	370	397	414	427	16.9

Source: Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, Adapted from
New York Times article by Edward Burk, 22 May 1974.



MAP 1

KWANGTUNG PROVINCE (South China)

Area Around Pearl River Delta from Where Most Chinese in United States Emigrated

Source: Adapted from map by H. Mark Lai in Thomas Chinn, History of the Chinese in California (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society, 1969).

or California because of its larger percentage of newcomers, especially in view of, the fact that cities like New York are losing jobs rapidly to the suburban areas or more likely to other areas of the country. (See Table 3.)

Where Are They Coming From?

In the past, Chinese immigrants generally have originated from the area within a small radius of the mouth of the Pearl River near the city of Canton. To be specific, the county or district of Toishan and three or four districts adjoining it are fountainhead. To ascertain whether Chinese immigrants are more diverse in their place of origin now or whether these places are still the main sources of immigration to the United States, a count was taken from the data of a study now underway by the China Institute. Of those indicating their hometown, 48 percent of those surveyed in 1972 were from Sze Yup, or the four districts, and 30 percent were from Toishan itself, 12 percent were from the city of Canton. In other words, Chinese immigrants are still predominantly Toishanese, but those from other areas and provinces are increasing.

The immigrants hail from the abovementioned districts in mainland China, but they embark from Hong Kong because an exit visa is difficult to obtain from the Chinese government. An exit visa is also required to leave Taiwan, and immigrants to the United States from this island constitute a growing proportion, though not as great as that from the Pearl River Delta. These two groups speak a different dialect, and their backgrounds are quite dissimilar.

Occupations

Because of such past immigration barriers to this country as exclusion, circumvention of the laws, detention in quasi-prisons like Ellis Island or Angels Island, only the laboring classes would subject themselves to the indignities of trying to gain admission to the United States. What Chinese of any wealth, position, background, or educational attainment would come to the United States? Hardly any. Not until the 1950s was there any shift in the emphasis from brawn to brains.

The very early immigrants were miners and farmers and railroad laborers. Then followed the service workers and operatives, who perpetuated themselves in the laundry and restaurant business until recent times. Today, of those who indicate their occupation in their application for immigration, the largest percentage are professionals and technicians. This can be verified by the figures

TABLE 4

IMMIGRANT ALIENS ADMITTED FROM CHINA OR HONG KONG* AS REGION OF BIRTH, BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, 1950-1972

Year	Number Admitted	Prot., Tech. Kindred Wkrs.	Farmers & Farm Mgrs.	Mrs., Offic. & Propriet.	Clerical & Kind, Wkrs.	Sales Workers	Craftsmen, Foremen & Kind, Wkrs.	Operat. & Kind, Wkrs.	Private House- hold Wkrs.	Serv. Wkrs. exc: Priv. Household	Farm Labor. & Foremen	Laborers, exc. Farm & Mine	No Occup.
1950	1,494	83	1	9	39	7	11	2	1	3	---	2	1,336
1951	1,821	106	2	21	99	47	58	13	1	18	2	3	1,451
1952	1,421	70	4	16	35	3	14	9	6	4	7	2	1,251
1953	1,536	66	---	15	17	5	3	16	2	5	---	---	1,407
1954	2,770	95	---	33	35	2	12	24	4	18	---	---	2,547
1955	2,705	118	3	43	52	17	7	16	6	36	1	1	2,405
1956	4,450	551	32	119	214	44	60	64	44	110	22	27	3,163
1957	5,425	1,029	12	250	392	67	60	74	49	321	12	14	3,145
1958	3,213 342	589 52	4 ---	108 6	101 50	29 5	25 ---	38 1	22 1	235 3	10 ---	9 ---	2,043 224
1959	5,722 844	787 63	12 1	231 9	233 60	65 4	68 2	196 2	26 1	388 6	20 ---	16 ---	3,680 696
1960	3,681 475	279 40	12 ---	251 6	155 26	33 2	63 1	245 2	37 ---	386 6	9 ---	34 ---	2,177 392
1961	3,213 625	182 22	4 ---	198 6	94 51	15 3	36 ---	152 3	18 4	255 4	10 ---	18 ---	2,231 532

(continued)

*From 1958 on, top-figure refers to China, including Taiwan, and bottom figure refers to Hong Kong.

TABLE 4--Continued

Year	Number Admitted	Prof., Tech. & Kindred Wkrs.	Farmers & Farm Mgrs.	Mgrs., Offic. & Propriet.	Clerical & Kind. Wkrs.	Sales Workers	Craftsmen, Foremen & Kind. Wkrs.	Operat. & Kind. Wkrs.	Private Household Wkrs.	Serv. Wkrs. exc. Priv. Household	Farm Labor. & Foremen	Laborers, exc. Farm & Mine	No Occup.
1962	4,017 652	270 44	3	239 10	168 39	26 4	62 2	233 2	66 1	332 7	5	27	2,586 543
1963	4,658 712	712 96	5	223 7	160 48	38 8	43 2	254 6	57 4	336 7	9	24	2,797 534
1964	5,009 639	1,014 53	6	307 13	157 42	19 5	40	207	12 1	382 8	14	13	2,838 517
1965	4,057 712	281 79	27	307 9	143 37	62 5	59 1	287 7	20 3	473 11	14 1	12	2,372 559
1966	13,736 3,872	1,142 139	30	573 15	585 42	213 13	251 9	1,386 29	133 4	1,884 37	34	88 1	7,417 3,583
1967	19,741 5,355	3,924 403	23 3	851 58	739 141	184 33	349 16	1,298 52	251 15	2,023 84	27 3	155 7	9,917 4,540
1968	12,738 3,676	2,536 344	18 1	539 69	481 103	107 26	221 19	603 28	345 13	1,091 48	23 4	105 5	6,669 3,036
1969	15,440 5,453	2,688 194	15	569 48	640 82	199 17	445 19	706 29	519 23	1,253 37	17 1	300 16	8,089 4,987
1970	14,093 3,868	3,715 209	18	544 36	603 97	137 18	325 22	575 44	218 5	980 47	13 3	164 15	6,801 3,367
1971	14,417 3,205	4,108 184	4 1	458 24	541 106	132 23	349 12	610 62	127 2	1,145 44	16	55 2	6,872 2,745
1972	17,339 4,391	4,060 203	1	672 46	746 117	196 21	464 16	971 94	229 4	1,513 65	22	145 6	8,320 3,819

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports (Washington, D.C.: 1950-1972).

put out by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, by a direct tabulation of applications from the Hong Kong Consulate, and by a special tabulation of the 1970 census. This preponderance of professionals also holds true for immigrants from other nations.

Especially since 1966, the professional and technical category has exceeded the other occupational groups by a wide margin. To a large measure this is dictated by the preference system of the Immigration and Naturalization Act that gives priority to those with needed skills and training. On the other hand, it is also a reflection of the flight of the intelligentsia and monied classes from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong following the overthrow of the Nationalist government and the takeover of Mao Tse-tung in 1949. A highly elite corps of former officials and experienced personnel in business, technology, and education sought political refuge in this country, and this group has contributed immeasurably to the advancement of science, medicine, art, and the understanding of China. Thousands of these refugees now teach in the American colleges and universities, and thousands more are in private industry and enterprises. Since 1949, over 20,000 Chinese have entered the country under the various refugee relief acts. (See Table 4.)

Brain Drain

From the American point of view, the high caliber of recent Chinese immigrants is a positive factor because the human resources of a nation are its most valuable asset, but, from the point of view of the emigrating nation, it is an incalculable loss and what is popularly termed a "brain drain".

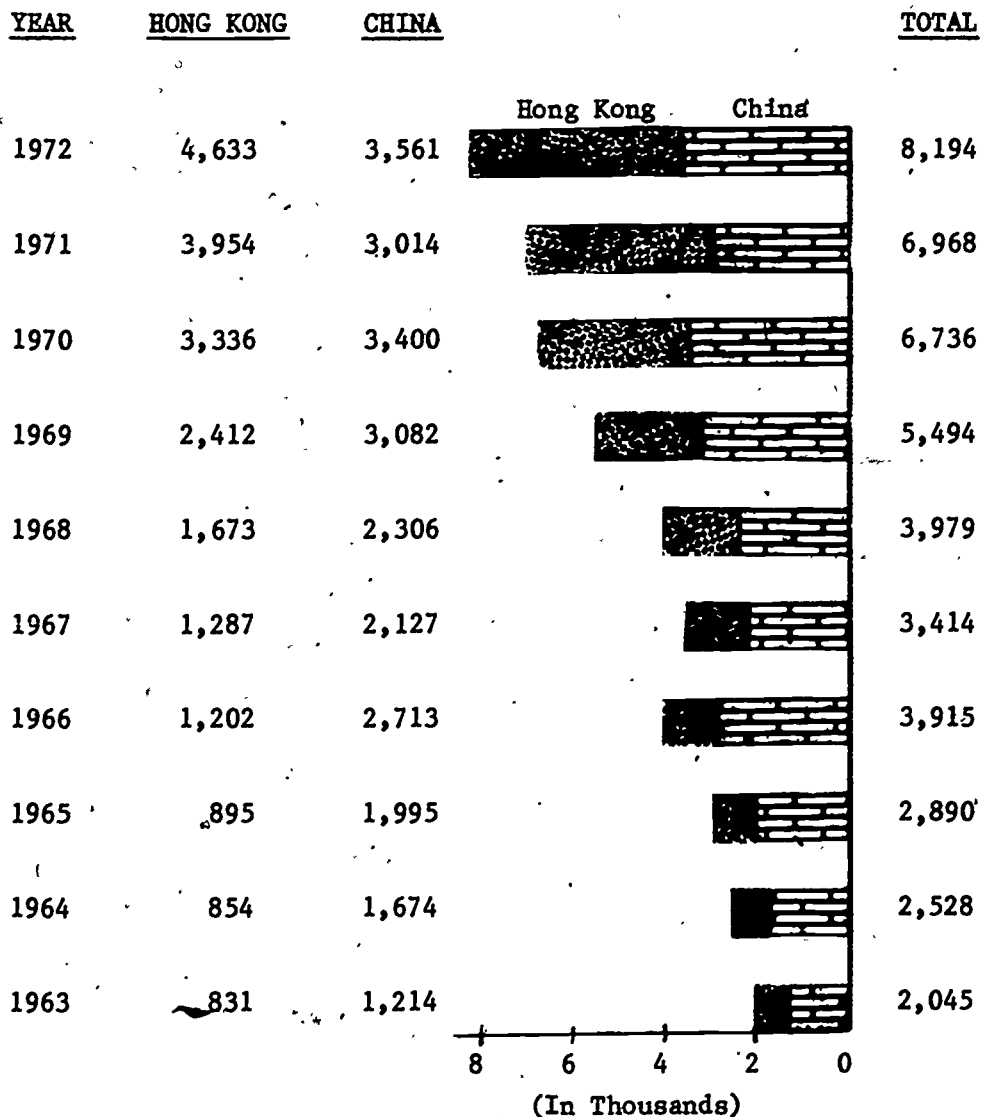
The anomaly of the situation is that the brain drain is not always reflected in the official immigration figures. Many Chinese are admitted under nonimmigrant classifications as officials or students or visitors. Afterwards, their status is adjusted to permit them to remain in this country.

Chart B shows the number of students from China and Hong Kong admitted to this country over the past ten years. It increased from 2,045 in 1963 to 8,194 in 1972. Taiwanese students are included in the figures. These students must be college graduates, over twenty-two year old, and, if male, have completed their military service. Most must qualify by highly competitive examinations before they are permitted to go abroad for higher study. To use a cliché, these students are the cream of the crop. Their family circumstances must also be above average to enable their parents to support sons and daughters abroad. This is no mean feat, considering the unfavorable rate of exchange between Hong Kong or Taiwan dollars and American currency. The students are more

CHART B

STUDENTS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES FROM HONG KONG AND CHINA*

1963 to 1972



Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports (Washington, D.C.: 1963-1972).

*China includes Taiwan

inclined to be males because of the traditional emphasis placed upon giving males in the family better educational opportunities.

Students of Chinese descent originating from Southeast Asia, Canada, or Latin America are tabulated separately under their country of origin. In the United States, these students tend to identify more closely with the Chinese population than with the country that issued them a passport, but they are not counted in the totals of Chinese students.

Of those who leave Hong Kong, mainland China, and Taiwan, how many remain in this country? My information is taken from two studies: "A New Estimate of the Student Brain Drain from Asia," by Tai K. Oh,¹ and "China or Taiwan: The Political Crisis of the Chinese Intellectual," by Shu Yuan Chang.² Mr. Oh based his deductions on a survey of Asian students on the campuses of the Universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota. His estimate of those who did not plan to leave the United States immediately upon completion of their studies was approximately 80 percent at the highest, and 46 percent at the lowest. Ms. Chang's study included intellectuals as well as students. When queried whether they would like to remain permanently in the United States, only half said yes. Ten percent were undecided and 40 percent said no. Yet Ms. Chang found that only 2 percent to 6 percent of the Chinese students from Taiwan actually went back during the years 1962-1969.

This discrepancy is quite revealing. Many do not intend or desire to remain, but they stay on anyway, hoping that political conditions in their homeland will improve so that they can go home. These students or intellectuals have tasted freedom and want to live under a more democratic form of government. This is one of the main reasons why they prefer the United States to their motherland.³

Objective: Family Reunification

Glancing back at Table 4, one sees that the column on the far right, labeled "No Occupation," is consistently the largest proportion of the Chinese immigrants. Take the year 1970 as an example: 17,961 persons were admitted; 10,168 said they had no

1. International Migration Review, 7(1972): 449-56.
2. Amerasia Journal, 2(Fall 1973): 47-81.
3. Ibid.

occupation. Of these, 5,051 were under nineteen years of age and 742 said they were over sixty. (See Table 1B.) Of the remainder, no doubt, most are women--wives and mothers who keep a home for their families. From these figures, it is obvious that well over half of the immigrants from China and Hong Kong are not immediate contenders in the labor market. But they lend stability to the Chinese community by immigrating as part of a family unit or to be reunited with family members already in the United States. Immediate family members such as spouse and children are entitled to enter the country without charge to the quota. Table 5 shows Chinese immigration by quota and nonquota. One can see a steady and consistent decline in the nonquota column, indicating that the objective of family reunification may soon be achieved and that most future Chinese immigrants will be coming in under the numerical limitations and preference categories of the quota.

In essence, then, Chinese immigration consists of two major groups, both of which directly reflect the immigration policy of the American government. At one extreme, we have highly qualified professionals, screened under the third preference, who, in all probability, are somewhat conversant in English. The other extreme mirrors the family reunification goal. This latter group consists of relatives of former immigrants. In general, the latter group has a lower educational and socioeconomic background. By and large, they do not speak English and will have greater difficulty accommodating themselves to life in the United States.

Work and Pay

Among the conditions upon which a visa is issued to an immigrant are that he have a sponsor and can demonstrate that he will not be a public charge. In other words, he must have an offer of employment from an employer and certification from the United States Department of Labor that his line of work does not compete unduly with jobs of American citizens. The Department of Labor also requires that his skills or training be in short supply or in demand in this country. Consequently, most immigrants will not be unemployed. Their primary problem is underemployment. For instance, a former official in the Chinese government with years of technical experience to his credit accepted a draftsman's job, primarily because that firm offered to sponsor him. There are innumerable other instances of former doctors, teachers, accountants, engineers, et alia, who take jobs as janitors and waiters when they first arrive. Some stay in the rut because of language problems or because they are afraid to venture out and compete vigorously in the job market. For others, it is a matter of time before they can utilize their knowledge and skills in the profession in which they were educated.

David S. North, in his study of "Immigrants and the American Labor Market," found that upper occupational level immigrants generally moved lower and the lower occupational level immigrants generally moved upward right after arrival in this country. The crucial factor in job success was command of the English language.⁴

In the case of the Chinese, although a concentration toward the lower pay scale can be seen for recent immigrants, an isolated few have already penetrated the \$20,000-plus level.

Illegal Entry

Not too long ago, my husband and I were invited to speak to the alumni of the Young Presidents Association. A question was put to me: "Aren't many Chinese presently in the United States illegal entrants?" "I know three chefs," said the man in the melon shirt and white jacket, "and they all jumped ship."

To people all over the world, the magnetism of the United States is very strong. The appeal comes from the freedom enjoyed by those within its boundaries, the better educational opportunities, and the economic advantages. To those who must wait interminably for a visa issued within the quota limitations, there is a temptation to enter the country by illegal or extralegal means:

In the past, illegal entry was fairly commonplace because that was practically the only way to gain admission to this country. The fear of detection was so great that the Chinese refrained from any publicity or visibility. Illegal entry is not as widespread today. The Chinese can enter as bonafide immigrants and these make up the larger numbers. Violators of the immigration laws generally fall into the categories of visitors, students, and crewmen. These people are admitted to the United States as non-immigrants. In other words, they enter the country for a specific purpose, and they are required to leave after that purpose is fulfilled. There is an increase in the number of illegal nonimmigrants.

In 1972, 64,000 visitors from China came in as tourists or for a brief visit, and most departed. The table shows us that approximately 600 who were apprehended overstayed their visit. This may have been intentional or inadvertent, but the numbers who violated their status are small in relation to the numbers who came. Students who stay on after they have finished school are more numerous. By and large, these students file quickly to readjust their status to permanent resident so that they will not be in violation of the

4. Op. cit., 31(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1974).

TABLE 5

QUOTA AND NONQUOTA IMMIGRANTS
FROM CHINA AND HONG KONG,
1963-1972

<u>Year</u>	<u>Quota</u>		<u>Nonquota</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1963	367	6.8	5,003	93.2
1964	333	5.9	5,315	94.1
1965	1,152	24.2	3,617	75.8
1966	12,900	73.3	4,708	26.7
1967	19,712	78.5	5,384	21.5
1968	12,386	75.4	4,048	24.7
1969	17,258	82.6	3,635	17.4
1970	14,699	81.9	3,257	18.1
1971	14,598	82.8	3,024	17.2
1972	16,546	85.2	2,881	14.8

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service,
Annual Reports (Washington, D.C.: 1963-1972).

TABLE 6

CHINESE FOUND DEPORTABLE BY VIOLATION OF STATUS, 1963-1972

<u>Year</u>	<u>Visitor</u>	<u>Student</u>	<u>Crewmen</u>
1963	238	282	1,979
1964	265	293	2,182
1965	339	431	3,068
1966	388	618	2,855
1967	507	779	1,963
1968	588	992	3,232
1969	554	953	5,263
1970	550	705	3,519
1971	534	828	2,910
1972	605	456	4,692

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service,
Annual Reports (Washington, D.C.: 1963-1972), Table 27B.

immigration laws. Since 1973, when a new immigration ruling went into effect, students from Hong Kong have found it more difficult to adjust their status. Jumping ship is the popular term used for crewmen who do not leave the country when their shore leave is up. In other words, they enter the country when their ship (or plane) lands. For some, their overstay is unintentional: they cannot find another vessel to ship out on before their leave expires. Technically, they are in violation of their immigration status and are subject to deportation. (See Table 6.)

Those crewmen who evade detection and remain in the country find themselves in a very precarious set of circumstances. They find it hard to obtain employment because they cannot work without the green card, which verifies that they are legal immigrants admitted as permanent residents. As a rule, these crewmen do not have family or kin to turn to, and the majority are not from the province of Kwangtung or from the Canton area, so they are looked upon as outsiders by the more homogeneous Cantonese.

These crewmen are the favorite targets of zealous immigration agents who swoop down on a restaurant or Chinese establishment and line up all the Chinese within for inspection. If they cannot produce green cards on the spot, they are detained or taken into custody. These tactics subject the Chinese to harassment and fear. Many do not understand the immigration inspectors and do not know what they are after. Others do not know that such searches without warrants are illegal and a violation of their civil rights. They are just plain scared out of their wits, even if they have nothing to hide or fear.

In his article, "The Illegal Alien: Criminal or Economic Refugee?"⁵ Austin T. Fragomen asserts that approximately 2,900 Chinese who entered the country without inspection were deported in 1973. Presumably, these people were smuggled in. How this was accomplished and how they were apprehended as entering without inspection are not known. The rate of apprehension is quite high, testifying to the efficiency of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in apprehending Chinese.

Here to Stay

Unlike the Chinese immigrant in bygone years, today's immigrant is here to stay. This fact can be ascertained by the increasing numbers who apply for citizenship. The jump from 2,800 naturalized

5. Op. cit., (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1973).

in 1971 to 9,056 in 1973 attests to the eagerness with which the Chinese immigrants are becoming citizens as soon as they fulfill the requirements. (See Table 10.). The reason why the numbers are not greater than they are is that there is a waiting period of five years before citizenship can be conferred. Large-scale Chinese immigration was not possible before 1965. The bureaucratic process and red tape add to the interval between setting foot on American soil and the issuance of that prized piece of naturalization paper.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS.

1. The first wave of Chinese immigrants were pioneers of the American West.

2. In spite of its long history, the Chinese-American population has continually been a first-generation one made up predominantly of adult males. This distorted population picture was brought about by sixty-one years of Chinese exclusion and twenty-two more years of restricted immigration.

3. The impact of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 on the Chinese-American community has been tremendous.

4. The Chinese are the fourth largest immigrant group in the United States today. They are fully utilizing their national quota of 20,000 annually.

5. Since 1946, Chinese immigrants have been predominantly female. About one-fourth of the females fall within the 20- to 29-age group, and one-half within the 20- to 39-age group.

6. Male immigrants are older. The largest age group is 30- to 39-years old.

7. Whereas former immigrants were from the lower socioeconomic classes, today's immigrants are gradually shifting toward the professional and technical classes.

8. Approximately one-half of the immigrants do not indicate an occupation. In all likelihood, these are housewives who did not work outside the home in China.

9. The Chinese immigrants are still a fairly homogeneous group hailing primarily from the Canton area, but this homogeneity is being diluted.

10. By the shifting of the proportion between quota and nonquota immigrants, the effects of governmental policy toward family reunification may be leveling off and the upper limits of Chinese immigration may stabilize around the 20,000 national quota.

11. Crewmen are the most common violators of the immigration laws, according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, but the rate of apprehension is high.

12. Today's Chinese immigrant is no longer a sojourner. He intends to put down roots in this country and to make it his home.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The figures show a sharp increase in Chinese immigrants within the last few years, along with a drastic change in the type of men and women who come to the United States today. The immigrant of yesteryear was expected to come in at the bottom of the occupational scale and work his way up. Today's immigrant is screened for his education and skills, and he cannot be expected to start at the lowest rung in the economic ladder. Yet he may be handicapped by unfamiliarity with the American ways, by language problems, perhaps by licensing stipulation and citizenship requirements. The situation creates a manpower anomaly which calls for some adjustment between the high caliber of recent immigrants and the bottom-rung jobs that immigrants are expected to take.

It is obvious that some realignment is necessary in the immigration preference system. Is the United States to be a haven only for the privileged and the rich? Is it fair to the world's developing countries to siphon off the cream of their sons and daughters? The third and sixth preference quotas should be utilized to aim for a more equitable mix of rich and poor, male and female, young and old, and not be restricted primarily to the highly skilled or educated and to those who can show that they have at least \$10,000 in the bank to bring into the United States.

Since 1949, 216,000 Chinese have been admitted to this country. The sudden influx, especially since 1965, has taxed the facilities of the Chinese-American communities, if not overwhelmed them completely. In trying to absorb this influx, the Chinese communities have suffered severe dislocation.

Note the Cuban Refugee Program and its success in assisting Cuban refugees to resettle, to find jobs, or to obtain temporary welfare assistance to bridge their period of transition. Approximately 450,000 Cubans were aided at a cost to the federal government of \$412 million. The program has been hailed as a prime example of how government seed money can be utilized to advantage, for, in aiding these people in their transition, the economy of those places where the Cubans have resettled has benefited considerably.

In one instance, we see a large group of Cuban refugees resettled successfully with government aid. In the case of the Chinese, we see a group heroically struggling to get on its feet but plagued with problems of overcrowded housing, underemployment, juvenile delinquency and personal maladjustment.

Why the differential treatment? Proponents of the Cuban

Refugee Program cite humanitarian reasons, an anti-Communist stance, as well as the fact that it was something done to assuage a national guilt conscience. If so, greater retribution is due the Chinese for nearly a century of discriminatory and shameful immigration practices against them. In this period of transition and readjustment from years of population imbalance, it is imperative that some cognizance be taken of the immigration difficulties that the Chinese communities are now experiencing. At present, the China Institute in New York is conducting a more in-depth study of recent Chinese immigrants. Their findings should shed more light on the specifics.

CHAPTER II

FOREIGN-BORN AND ALIEN

John F. Kennedy, thirty-fifth President of the United States, entitled a well-known book of his A Nation of Immigrants. That we are a nation of immigrants is an accepted fact, and the Kennedys are an outstanding example. In 1848, Patrick Kennedy, a penniless Irishman from Wexford, arrived in Boston. His son became a saloon keeper. His grandson earned millions in Wall Street and became the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James. His great-grandson became the president of the United States. In four generations, the Kennedys had come from the bottom and gone to the top.

To Be an Immigrant Is to Have One Strike Against You

Apparently, being an immigrant was for some no great disadvantage, and a naturalized citizen presumably enjoys all the rights and privileges of an American-born except one: eligibility to be the president or vice-president of the United States. But it is obvious that a foreign-born person has greater hurdles to scale than a native-born, even if the Constitution does guarantee equality under the law.

In Chapter I, we mentioned that most Chinese immigrants are adults in their twenties or thirties. These people have grown up under a different culture in a different milieu. Their language is Chinese and their ways are firmly molded. Migration, to them, is yanking up deeply imbedded roots and transplanting them in foreign soil, a traumatic experience that requires a tremendous amount of readjustment.

Many Chinese are political refugees who have given up all their worldly possessions and have experienced personal tragedy in their lives. Though in midlife, they are starting life from scratch. To be a Chinese immigrant is to have one strike against you. Redemption lies in the hopes and dreams that the newcomers think this country will offer them.

Nativity

Each decade since 1900 has seen an increase in the percentage of native-born Chinese in America and a corresponding decrease in the percentage of foreign-born. The year 1970 was an exception to this trend.

TABLE 7

NATIVITY OF CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>Native- Born</u>	<u>Foreign- Born</u>
1900	10%	90%
1910	21%	79%
1920	30	70
1930	41	59
1940	52	48
1950	53	47
1960	61	39
1970	53	47

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census (1900-1970)

The winds have changed, and it is my contention that the 1980 decennial census will show a greater percentage of foreign-born Chinese for two basic reasons. The Chinese birthrate is 1.5-- less than the replacement rate of 2.1. Each year from 6,000 to 7,000 Chinese babies are born (See Table 8A), whereas annual immigration from China runs close to 20,000. There is no question that the Chinese population in the United States will be sustained by immigration and not by native births.

The native-born/foreign-born proportions vary greatly from state to state. In New York, the percentage of foreign-born runs as high as 64. In Hawaii, it is 11 percent. In California, it is 46 percent.

In actuality, the proportion of foreign-born is greater than it seems due to the way the Census Bureau defines native-born. The Census Bureau includes in the category of native-born, people born abroad who have at least one parent who is an American citizen. In other words, if a person were born in China but his father claimed American citizenship, he would be classified as native-born. This derivative citizenship was the channel whereby most Chinese effected entry into this country despite the exclusion laws. Until the late

TABLE 8A

LIVE BIRTHS OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S., BY SEX,
1946-1969

Year	Male	Female	Total
1946	796	738	1,534
1947	1,093	1,077	2,170
1948	2,218	1,992	4,210
1949	2,581	2,481	5,062
1950	2,562	2,467	5,029
1951	2,560	2,310	4,870
1952	2,504	2,238	4,742
1953	2,408	2,184	4,592
1954	2,256	2,140	4,396
1955	2,252	2,177	4,429
1956	2,364	2,326	4,690
1957	2,364	2,302	4,666
1958	2,424	2,282	4,706
1959	2,614	2,410	5,024
1960	2,966	2,880	5,846
1961	3,160	3,012	6,172
1962	2,990	2,790	5,780
1963	3,198	2,850	6,048
1964	2,378	2,120	4,498
1965	3,032	2,776	5,808
1966	2,864	2,804	5,668
1967	NA*	NA*	5,798
1968	3,232	3,038	6,270
1969	NA*	NA*	NA*

TABLE 8B

DEATHS OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S., BY SEX,
1946-1969

Year	Male	Female	Total
1946	1,139	140	1,279
1947	977	146	1,123
1948	1,004	158	1,162
1949	978	184	1,162
1950	888	169	1,057
1951	1,046	142	1,188
1952	1,038	168	1,206
1953	1,031	164	1,195
1954	1,102	191	1,293
1955	989	176	1,165
1956	1,088	195	1,283
1957	1,150	206	1,356
1958	1,114	221	1,335
1959	1,134	209	1,343
1960	1,328	292	1,620
1961	1,376	301	1,677
1962	1,355	319	1,674
1963	1,427	302	1,729
1964	986	319	1,305
1965	1,337	334	1,671
1966	1,331	390	1,721
1967	1,401	414	1,815
1968	1,450	461	1,911
1969	1,458	487	1,945

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

*Not Available

TABLE 9

NATIVE-BORN AND FOREIGN-BORN,
U.S., CHINESE, JAPANESE AND FILIPINOS, 1970

	U. S.		Chinese		Japanese		Filipinos	
	<u>Native Born</u>	<u>Foreign Born</u>	<u>Native Born</u>	<u>Foreign Born</u>	<u>Native Born</u>	<u>Foreign Born</u>	<u>Native Born</u>	<u>Foreign Born</u>
United States	193,591	9,679	229,237	204,232	464,175	122,500	157,853	178,970
Percent	95.2	4.8	52.9	47.1	79.1	20.9	46.9	53.1
California	18,199	1,758	92,663	77,711	167,438	44,683	56,583	79,058
Percent	91.2	8.8	54.4	45.6	78.9	21.1	41.7	58.3
New York	16,127	2,110	29,586	53,595	8,551	11,254	47,166	9,391
Percent	88.4	11.6	35.6	64.4	43.2	56.8	30.7	69.3
Hawaii	693	76	46,566	5,809	196,848	20,821	61,731	33,623
Percent	90.1	9.9	88.9	11.1	90.0	10.0	64.8	35.3

(in thousands)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Summary, PC(1)C1, Table 143;
Subject Report, PC(2)IG, Tables 3, 18, 33.

1940s there were few Chinese women here, so Chinese born on American soil are a fairly recent occurrence. Hence, all but a very few Chinese in the United States were born outside the United States. Since native-born cannot be taken literally to mean United States-born, we must make allowance for this definition and reduce the numbers considerably.

How does the Chinese native-born/foreign-born ratio compare with other ethnic groups? In 1900, approximately 15 percent of the American population was foreign-born. By 1970, the percentage had shrunk to less than 5 percent. (See Table 9.) The United States is now producing her own sons and daughters. The percentage of foreign-born Japanese-Americans in the United States is considerably smaller than that for Chinese-Americans. It is about 21 percent, or about one in five. Again, the variation between states is great—10 percent in Hawaii versus 57 percent in New York. For the Chinese, the nativity ratio is approximately 1:1. But if we revise the census definition of native-born to exclude those not born in the United States, the foreign-born proportion would be greater.

Citizenship

Place of birth is a major determinant of citizenship, but it is not the sole determinant. The United States confers citizenship by two means: by birth and by naturalization. Birth means being born on American soil or born to at least one parent who is an American citizen. To become a naturalized citizen, one must meet certain requirements and make application.

Before 1943, Chinese in the United States were not eligible to apply for naturalization no matter how long they had resided in the country, how fluently they spoke English, or how ardently they subscribed to the ideals of American democracy and its form of government. As far back as 1870, the Chinese had been declared "aliens ineligible to citizenship." The logic for this was that the Constitution granted the free white man the right to be naturalized, and the Fourteenth Amendment certainly extended this right to the black man, but, since the yellow man was neither white nor black, he was adjudged ineligible. Only after repeal of the exclusion acts was the right of naturalization given to the Chinese.

The requirements for citizenship are more stringent than is ordinarily presumed. To enter the United States, one needs an immigration visa. To obtain such a visa, the applicant must prove that he will not become a public charge, that he is not taking a job away from anyone else, that his training or skills are in short supply, and that he will have a place to live when he gets

here. Furthermore, a visa is issued only if there is a quota number available to him. These requirements must be fulfilled if the applicant does not have a parent or spouse who is already a citizen or permanent resident to sponsor him.

Labor certification is the most difficult hurdle to pass over. In effect, the U.S. Department of Labor must approve of the person's entry into the United States. After certification, permission to remain in this country is obtained when the Immigration and Naturalization Service issues a little green card granting the applicant permanent resident status. Getting a green card is the first step on the road toward citizenship.

Citizenship regulations require that the applicant be eighteen years of age, that he have lived in this country continuously for at least five years (with a few exceptions), that he be able to read and write the English language and know basic facts about American history, and that he be of good moral character. For Chinese persons, the most difficult stipulation to fulfill is the language requirement.

Table 10 shows the number of Chinese who became naturalized citizens in the decade from 1963 to 1973. Prior to 1971, only 2,000 to 4,000 Chinese changed their allegiance each year. What caused the sharp spurt in 1972 and 1973 of 9,000 and more? It is important to remember that there is a lag from five to seven years between the time immigrants enter this country and when they are eligible to apply for citizenship, and it seems that a large percentage did so immediately following the liberalization of the immigration laws in 1965. The sharp increase in naturalization certainly indicates that the Chinese do want to apply for citizenship.

TABLE 10
CHINESE WHO BECAME NATURALIZED CITIZENS
1963-1973

Year	Number
1963	4,268
1964	4,045
1965	3,692
1966	3,111
1967	2,924
1968	3,186
1969	3,399
1970	3,099
1971	2,880
1972	9,434
1973	9,056
Total 1963-73	49,094

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports, 1963-1973, Table 39

Table 11 shows that 73 percent, or approximately three-fourths, of the Chinese in the United States are American citizens. Almost all the Chinese in Hawaii have citizenship; of the Chinese in New York, however, only 63 percent are citizens.

TABLE 11

CITIZENSHIP OF CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES, BY PERCENT,
TOTAL AND SEVEN SELECTED STATES, 1970

	Citizen	Alien
Total	72.6%	27.4%
California	72.7	27.3
New York	62.5	37.5
Hawaii	96.1	3.9
Illinois	70.9	29.1
Massachusetts	58.8	41.2
Washington	78.8	21.2
Texas	53.3	46.7

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data, 1970.

Strike Number Two

What is the relationship between citizenship and employment opportunity? The entire federal government service is closed to noncitizens. Sensitive industries like aerospace will not employ them. At one time, most scientific and technological industries were closed doors to the noncitizen because many companies held government contracts related to military supplies. At one time, all local, municipal, and state government civil service jobs banned noncitizens from their payrolls. Since 1970, local governments have relaxed this ban, but the federal government has not.

For many professionals, such as doctors and teachers, citizenship is required before one can practice or teach. Most job applications ask for citizenship, whether or not it is relevant to the performance of the occupation. Preference is invariably given to the citizen. The list can go on and on. Being without citizenship in this country is like being crippled. This is the second strike against foreign-born noncitizens. For these Chinese, the only thing they can do is wait. Naturalization requirements call for at least five years of continuous residence in this country. Several months of red tape and several more months of processing time often stretches the waiting

period out to nearly seven years. For example, most of the people who got their citizenship papers in 1973 arrived in this country in 1966 or 1967. During these six or seven years, the noncitizen is severely restricted in his options. He has few alternatives except to take any job available at any pay offered because beggars cannot be choosers, and employers know that as well.

Mother Tongue: Strike Number Three

Having traveled extensively throughout the world and having experienced the frustration of not being able to communicate in a land where I could not speak the language, I can appreciate how an immigrant feels when he first arrives in this country if he does not speak English. The simple task of getting something to eat and finding my way back to the hotel with the help of a Berlitz handbook is not comparable to making a whole new life for oneself in a foreign land. Suppose I had to compete actively for a job with the natives of that country! I am afraid I would be at a terrible disadvantage, and I cannot imagine who would employ me, even for the most routine tasks, such as operating an elevator. I could learn the numbers for the floors easily enough, but what would happen if someone asked for directions? I would not be able to respond.

This simple introspection helps me understand what an immigrant faces when he uproots himself and tries to support himself in another country where the language, ways, and culture are entirely different from his own. The immediate need for employment puts an instantaneous demand on him to "retool" overnight. This is an absolutely impossible task; a new language cannot be acquired overnight. The inability to communicate--to convey one's ideas and to understand someone else--is the single greatest handicap that the Chinese bear. It is strike number three that almost puts them out of the ball game.

To what extent is language a problem among the Chinese in the United States? The census data reveals that it is a greater problem than is generally presumed, although the Census Bureau tends to feel that the mother tongue data is overstated. According to Table 12, at least three out of four Chinese persons listed Chinese as their mother tongue. This is the language usually spoken in an individual's home in early childhood. In all likelihood, this percentage is even greater than recorded because the people who did not report their mother tongue but come from a Chinese-speaking home are submerged in the "other or not reported" category.

I included Spanish and French in my tabulation for some clue as to whether Chinese are immigrating to the United States from Latin America and Southeast Asia. I was able to ascertain that Cuban Chinese are one large group that has entered the country in recent years, but I was also curious to know how many Chinese came to this country as displaced persons or refugees from the Vietnamese war. This information, however, could not be extrapolated from the census figures on mother tongue--Chinese refugees of the war might still have reported their mother tongue as Chinese, not French or Vietnamese. Among the large numbers of South Vietnamese refugees, I am sure a considerable number are of Chinese extraction.

TABLE 12

MOTHER TONGUE OF CHINESE IN THE
UNITED STATES, BY PERCENT, 1970

	<u>English</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other or Not Reported</u>
United States	14%	74%	1%	0%	11%
California	12	78	1	0	10
New York	4	83	2	0	11
Hawaii	44	45	0	0	11
Illinois	14	72	0	0	14
Massachusetts	4	85	0	0	11

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data, 1970.

Note: Based on 1 percent sampling.

You Speak Funny

But whether a person speaks Chinese or Spanish or Indonesian is not the issue. The national language of the United States is English. In the state of New York, only 4 percent of the Chinese list English as their mother tongue. In California, 12 percent, and in Hawaii, 44 percent do so.

These figures also point out the places where the lack of English may prove to be a problem. The Chinese in the United States are still very much a Chinese-speaking group. To what extent they are bilingual or also fluent in English, we do not know exactly; the census does not give us this information. From personal observations, I would say that a very large proportion have problems

with the English language--even college graduates or post-graduate students. A number of my acquaintances have no difficulty in reading or writing, but they have a heavy accent that is difficult to understand. These people are extremely self-conscious about their speech and are reluctant to open their mouths. Consequently, they gravitate toward occupations where they will not have to deal with the public, preferring instead to cloister themselves in work dealing with numbers or machines.

At least these persons can still resort to the written language. The people most in need of help are those who can neither speak, nor read, nor write English. And the most handicapped are those who are illiterates in any language. Learning builds on learning and, without learning techniques carried over from childhood, an illiterate starts far below ground zero.

Mother tongue is also a supplementary indicator of ethnic origin, country of origin, and the degree of acculturation. Obviously, the Chinese have clung to their language more tenaciously than other national groups. This is commendable and it could prove a national asset to have a human resource of bilingual people. The key word here is bilingual--in other words, to be conversant in both languages. Lack of English will invariably prove a handicap; giving up one's mother tongue is psychologically damaging. One reason why such a large percentage of Chinese have retained their mother tongue is the recentness of their arrival in this country. The American-born are turning their backs on the Chinese language. The parents send their children to Chinese language schools and make every effort to transmit the language to their offspring, but the battle is a losing one. After the offspring become adults, most lament their inability to speak Chinese.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. The non-English-speaking foreign-born Chinese immigrant has three strikes against him when he uproots himself and tries to start life anew in this country.

2. There are more Chinese-Americans born abroad than are born in the United States. The foreign-born ratio will become greater because immigration exceeds native births. In essence, the Chinese-American population is largely a first-generation or immigrant-generation one.

3. The tremendous adjustment that first-generation Chinese-Americans must make puts them in a disadvantaged position in every respect. They must reeducate themselves completely and quickly. Call strike number one.

4. Not having citizenship in this country is like being crippled. Many industries will not or cannot hire noncitizens; professionals may not practice. A large area of the job market, therefore, is forbidden ground to those without citizenship papers. Call strike number two.

5. The Chinese do apply for naturalization as soon as they fulfill the length of residence requirement. The law says five years; the usual wait is six to seven years before papers are issued. There is no recourse except to wait.

6. Lack of knowledge of the English language places the Chinese in a most unfavorable competitive position when it comes to looking for a job. In most instances it puts the Chinese out of the job market, except in occupations owned and operated by other Chinese or catering to the Chinese. Call strike number three.

7. As few as 4 percent of the Chinese in New York and Massachusetts list English as their mother tongue. In all likelihood, these are American-born Chinese who make no effort to retain their Chinese language, but regret it later.

8. Hawaii's Chinese have less of a problem with the English language; 44 percent list English as their mother tongue. The nationwide percentage is 14 percent.

9. The statistical data on mother tongue provides other clues beside the number who speak Chinese. It is an index of acculturation and it could reveal where the Chinese emigrated from other than China and Hong Kong.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Immigrants

In August 1973, Congresswoman Patsy Mink introduced a bill (H.R. 9895) in the Ninety-third Congress to provide federal programs of educational, employment, and other assistance to areas with heavy concentrations of foreign-born persons. The bill declared that:

(whereas) 1. many foreign-born persons in the United States lack sufficient education to function adequately in our technological society;

2. the lack of adequate education prevents many such persons from having satisfactory employment opportunities;

3. newly arrived foreign-born Americans also experience difficulty in such areas as food, housing, and health;

4. the needs of newly arrived foreign-born Americans may place heavy financial strains on communities in which they reside;

5. a number of "gateway cities" exist where such persons reside in great numbers, thereby placing disproportionate burdens on particular areas of the country;

6. the policies under which persons move to the United States are set and determined by the federal government;

7. the federal government therefore has a responsibility to assist those states and cities having concentrations of foreign-born populations in meeting the special needs thereby thrust upon such communities.

Congresswoman Mink called for federal aid to states where more than 5 percent of the population are immigrants. The aid would go toward programs of education, health, housing, and job training. In addition, travel grants of up to \$250 per immigrant would be provided for travel from a "gateway city" to another state for purposes of employment. Mrs. Mink recognized that most immigrants tend to concentrate in seaboard cities, placing the burden of adapting the immigrant to his new homeland upon a limited number of such cities. The travel allowance would induce immigrants to

disperse and relocate to other states.

I heartily endorse Congresswoman Mink's bill and hope that it will be enacted. If such funds are available to the states, there are some administrative recommendations that I would make:

1. A multiservice center where immigrants can go for help if the need should arise should be set up.
2. The center must have multilingual personnel if it is to be able to effectively help the new immigrant.
3. The existence of the center must be publicized so that the immigrant knows that there is a place to which he can turn if he needs help. A brochure describing the center and its services might accompany the issuance of the immigration visa.
4. More incentives should be offered to encourage dispersion of the immigrants inland or to cities other than the "gateway" ones.
5. Subsidiary grants should be offered to community institutions or organizations if these organizations can provide a more personal touch in dispensing services.
6. Social service agency directories directing the new immigrant to other places where he might seek assistance or guidance should be compiled.
7. A simple language or phrase book, like the Berlitz language booklets for travelers should be made available to enable the immigrants to look up essential phrases they will use daily.

I envision the multiservice center as something like the Welcome Wagon carried on by many communities to welcome families who have just moved into the neighborhood. I shall never forget the friendly lady who called upon me when I first moved into my present home. She was herself a local resident. She told me about the area, the schools, the transportation facilities, and the local stores. She even presented me with a packet of discount coupons. I was so moved by this friendly gesture that I have patronized these stores regularly ever since. The stores employed the lady to make these calls, and it was money well spent. If all the families she called upon felt as I do, it was also money wisely spent.

Citizenship

In January 1970, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission issued guidelines on discrimination because of national origin.

quote from Title 29—Labor, Chapter XIV, Part 1606.1:

(c) Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 protects all individuals, both citizens and noncitizens, domiciled or residing in the United States, against discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(d) Because discrimination on the basis of citizenship has the effect of discriminating on the basis of national origin, a lawfully immigrated alien who is domiciled or residing in this country may not be discriminated against on the basis of his citizenship, except that it is not an unlawful employment practice for an employer, pursuant to section 703(g), to refuse to employ any person who does not fulfill the requirements imposed in the interests of national security pursuant to any statute of the United States or any Executive order of the President respecting the particular position or the particular premises in question.

(e) In addition, some States have enacted laws prohibiting the employment of noncitizens. For the reasons stated above, such laws are in conflict with and are, therefore, superseded by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

This guideline is effective upon publication.¹

State and local governments have removed their ban upon noncitizens for civil service jobs, but the federal government has not. In February 1974, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco handed down a unanimous decision calling upon the federal government to permit resident aliens to apply for federal employment. The ruling came as a result of a lawsuit filed more than three years previously by five San Franciscan Chinese aliens.² As of this writing, the ruling is being appealed by the federal government and more than 3 million civil service jobs are still closed to noncitizens. It is ironic that the government that is asking for enforcement of the Civil Rights Act should try to circumvent the guidelines of its own laws, especially since exemption has already been provided for those jobs that might jeopardize national security. Besides, most

1. Federal Register, vol., 35, no. 8 (January 18, 1970): 421.

2. East/West, The Chinese-American Journal (February 6, 1974).

of the jobs in the national bureaucracy are not defense related.

Language

English-language classes for adults will equip them to step beyond the boundaries of Chinatown and enable them to expand their occupational horizons. Of all programs, I give this top priority, and so do all the community leaders and the immigrants that I have spoken to. I stress adult because most of the recent immigrants are over age twenty. These people cannot afford the luxury of full-time schooling; they must work. Classes must, therefore, be held before or after work hours.

To give some idea of the urgency of the problem, the Chinese communities have responded to the need with individual and sporadic attempts to alleviate the situation. Churches and social agencies offer English language classes with volunteer teachers. Concerned individuals tutor others. Some groups manage to get piecemeal funding. But teachers and administrators are uncertain whether their programs will be there next year. The uncertainty makes it difficult to attract the best qualified and professional personnel, and much of the time of the administrators is spent trying to raise enough money to keep the programs running.

The English language classes offered by the Chinatown Foundation in New York are an example of this sort of program. Funded by the New York State Department of Education and HEW, the program can accommodate 500 students. Over 1,500 persons applied within a few days after classes were announced. Attendance is excellent. Absence from three classes without a good excuse means that the student is dropped and another eagerly takes his place. Classes are offered in the morning to accommodate the restaurant workers and in the evenings to accommodate the garment factory workers. It is most heartening to see the eagerness with which these students come to classes, but it is more than disheartening to see them turned away because the classes are filled.

For those who are turned away from language classes, as well as those who live some distance from Chinatown, I would recommend television classes. This method has been successfully tried in San Francisco and has been well received. The same video tapes can be repeated or rerun in other cities over educational channels. Television classes are not as effective as classroom instruction, however, because there is no teacher present for practice or interaction or correction of mistakes.

Bilingual Education

For those who have spent ten or twelve years learning one language—Chinese—only to find that it is no longer useful because this is a land where it is not the medium of expression, bilingual education may be a transitional aid. The right to bilingual education was guaranteed by a Supreme Court ruling handed down in the Lau v. Nichols case in January 1974. In its ruling, the Supreme Court said, "students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education."³

The Congress has acted with the passage of the Bilingual Education Reform Act of 1974, but no plans have been formulated for its implementation. The machinery of government grinds slowly. Laws on the books do not in themselves remedy social ills. They must be put into effect.

3. Loc. cit. March 29, 1974.

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHICAL DISPERSION

If three strips were laid down vertically each extending two degrees east and two degrees west of the 74th, 120th, and 158th meridians on a map of the United States, they would cover the areas where over 90 percent of the Chinese reside. These meridians are along the East Coast, the West Coast, and Hawaii. The only other significant concentrations of Chinese are in the midwestern city of Chicago and, surprisingly, Houston, Texas, which lately seems to be attracting the Chinese. Outside these coastal strips, one might travel thousands of miles without encountering a Chinese face.

The coastal states have traditionally been the destination of all immigrant groups when they first land in the United States. Each national or ethnic group tends to congregate in particular locales, giving rise to distinctive communities and coloring these areas with the flavor of their native cultures.

An Urban Population

This clustering phenomenon seems to be more intense with the Chinese. Not only are they an almost completely urban population (97 percent), they tend to gravitate to a limited number of cities, primarily San Francisco, New York, Honolulu, and Los Angeles; and in these cities they tend to be found within the borders of a very distinct area called Chinatown.

Table 13 shows the eleven Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) that have the highest Chinese populations. In every one of these urban centers, the increase in population over a twenty-year period was substantial and, in many instances, it doubled with each decade. The most impressive gain was in New York City, with an increase of 40,000 or 109 percent. San Jose, a town about fifty miles southeast of San Francisco, however,

TABLE 13
THE LARGEST CENTERS OF CHINESE POPULATION
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1950, 1960, 1970

SMSA	1950			1960			1970			Percent Increase	
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	1950-1960	1960-1970	1950-1960	1960-1970	
San Francisco - Oakland	34,774	53,250	88,108	53	+65						
New York	20,550	36,503	76,208	78	109						
Honolulu	15,409	36,875	48,288	139	31						
Los Angeles - Long Beach	9,275	19,402	40,798	109	110						
Chicago	3,737	5,866	12,653	157	116						
Boston	2,897	5,564	12,025	92	116						
Sacramento	3,852	6,457	10,444	67	62						
Washington D.C. - Md. - Va.	1,825	3,925*	8,298	115	111						
San Jose	192	585	7,817	205	1236						
Seattle	2,703*	4,611	7,434	71	61						
Philadelphia	N.A.	2,544	4,882	-	92						

Source: U.S. Census Bureau,

NOTE: The SMSA boundaries are not exactly the same from census to census. For example, the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA includes more counties in 1970 than in 1960.

*Not Available

chalked up the most spectacular percentage increase. In 1950, it had a Chinese population of 192. This figure increased by more than 205 percent over the next decade and by 1,236 percent ten years later. In many ways, San Jose has become an extended suburb of San Francisco. Its electronics industries have attracted many professionally trained and technically skilled Chinese to the area.

Rank

The ranking of the cities has also undergone important shifts. San Francisco has always held the lead as the oldest and largest center of Chinese population, but it attracted fewer persons during the decade from 1960 to 1970 than did New York. At the same time, former Chinese residents of San Francisco were moving out to Sacramento, San Jose, Stockton, or other nearby towns, maintaining ties with San Francisco, but preferring a less congested place for their children to grow up in.

Over 92 percent of Hawaii's Chinese reside in Honolulu. In 1960, it was neck-and-neck with New York City for second place. Ten years later, New York had pulled far ahead of Honolulu, with 76,208 Chinese residents to Honolulu's 48,288. Honolulu's growth had come about during the decade from 1950 to 1960. Since then, the increase has slowed down considerably. Immigrants are not going to Honolulu, and the young people are moving away from the island to the mainland. (See Table 14.)

Of the three ranking cities, New York is growing the most rapidly. During the census year 1970, it trailed San Francisco only slightly. By now, the absolute number of Chinese in the SMSA of New York may already exceed that of San Francisco. Attention to Chinese-American problems must, therefore, focus more upon this Eastern Seaboard city, rather than upon the traditional centers of Chinese population.

TABLE 14

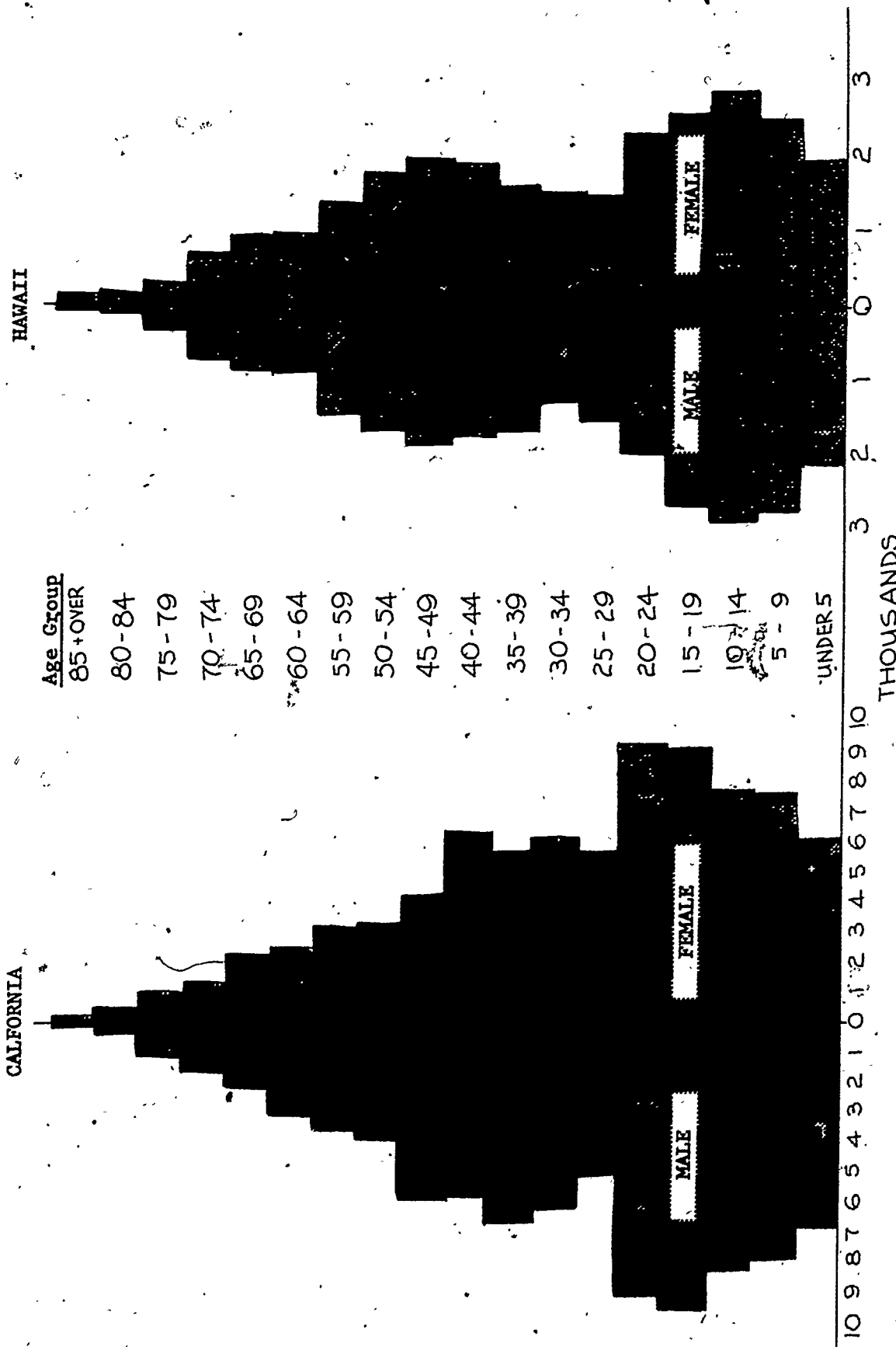
PERCENTAGE OF CHINESE IN FOUR URBAN CENTERS TO TOTAL UNITED STATES CHINESE POPULATION, 1960, 1970

<u>SMSA</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
San Francisco	22%	20%
New York	16%	18%
Honolulu	16%	11%
Los Angeles	8%	9%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Reports, PC(2)1C (1960), and PC(2)1G (1970)

CHART C

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA AND HAWAII



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data.



Factors Influencing Growth

Before long, New York City may be the most concentrated center of Chinese population. A look at the intended state of residence will provide some answer to this dramatic shift. (See Table 2.) The number of immigrants who go to Hawaii has become insignificant. At the most, less than 400 have been immigrating to Hawaii each year over the past ten years, and in some years it was less than 100. Yet, in almost every year during the same period, the number immigrating to New York has been roughly ten times the number going to Hawaii.

The Pacific Island State is also losing its young men and women in the 25- to 35-year age group. (See Chart C.) At many of the Asian-American conferences that I attend, I come across numerous young Asians from Hawaii who now work or live on the mainland. Only yesterday I attended a dinner where I sat at a table for ten people; three of the ten were Hawaiian-born young men.

Los Angeles continues to attract immigrants, but the other SMSAs with sizable Chinese populations seem to be increasing from migration between the states, rather than immigration from China or elsewhere abroad.

The difference in make-up of the Chinese population in the various localities are very great. Many of the tables in this study were set up--sometimes by cities, sometimes by state, and sometimes by region--to point out these differences so that specific problems would not be camouflaged by national averages.

The age pyramids (Chart C) show California on the left and Hawaii on the right. The one for California is fairly representative of the total Chinese population in the United States, and it reveals a most important trend: with each younger age group from 20 to 24 on down, the numbers get smaller. The base of the pyramid is no longer the broadest. With each younger five-year age group, we note a decreasing population.

Later in our study, we will see that the number of children born to Chinese parents over the ten-year period between 1959 and 1968 was only 5,000-6,000 for the entire United States. (See Table 8A.) This fact is further substantiated by the number of children ever born to Chinese-American women ever married. (See Table 38.)

Present in All Fifty States

The Chinese are heavily concentrated in a few cities, but they

TABLE 15

CHINESE POPULATION BY STATE AND PERCENT CHANGE, 1960, 1970

State	1960	1970	% Change	State	1960	1970	% Change
Total U. S.	237,292	435,062	83.3				
Alabama	288	626	117.4	Missouri	954	2,815	195.1
Alaska	137	228	66.4	Montana	240	289	20.4
Arizona	2,936	3,878	32.1	Nebraska	290	551	90.0
Arkansas	676	743	9.9	Nevada	572	955	66.9
California	95,600	170,131	78.1	New Hampshire	152	420	176.3
Colorado	724	1,489	105.4	New Jersey	3,813	9,233	142.1
Connecticut	865	2,209	115.3	New Mexico	362	563	55.5
Delaware	191	559	192.7	New York	37,573	81,378	116.6
District of Columbia	2,632	2,582	-1.9	North Carolina	404	1,255	210.6
Florida	1,023	3,133	206.2	North Dakota	100	165	65.0
Georgia	686	1,584	130.9	Ohio	2,507	5,305	131.5
Hawaii	38,197	52,039	36.2	Oklahoma	398	999	151.0
Idaho	311	498	60.1	Oregon	2,995	4,814	60.8
Illinois	7,047	14,474	105.4	Pennsylvania	3,741	7,053	88.5
Indiana	952	2,115	122.2	Rhode Island	574	1,093	90.4
Iowa	423	993	134.8	South Carolina	158	521	229.7
Kansas	537	1,233	129.4	South Dakota	89	163	83.1
Kentucky	288	558	93.8	Tennessee	487	1,610	230.8
Louisiana	731	1,340	83.3	Texas	4,172	7,635	83.0
Maine	123	206	67.4	Utah	629	1,281	103.6
Maryland	2,188	6,520	197.9	Vermont	68	173	154.4
Massachusetts	6,745	14,012	107.7	Virginia	1,135	2,805	147.1
Michigan	3,234	6,407	98.1	Washington	5,491	9,201	67.6
Minnesota	720	2,422	236.4	West Virginia	138	373	170.3
Mississippi	1,011	1,441	42.5	Wisconsin	1,010	2,700	167.3
				Wyoming	192	292	52.1

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Subject Reports, PC(2) IC (1960), PC(2) IG (1970).

are also widely dispersed. This statement is not a contradiction considering that there are Chinese in all of the fifty United States. The 1970 census enumerated about 165 hardy souls in each of the Dakotas and 173 in the state of Vermont. Even Alaska had 228. Judging from the state figures, the Chinese do not like the cold climate, but that cannot be the deciding factor. Michigan winters are quite severe, yet that state has over 6,400 Chinese residents.

In the late nineteenth century, the Chinese population of the northwestern states of Washington, Idaho, and Wyoming was fairly substantial. The early Chinese were engaged in mining gold in Idaho¹ and coal in Wyoming, and in domestic service and produce farming in Washington. Some vestiges of those early Chinese settlements still remain, but others are fast disappearing.²

Table 15 gives us a breakdown of the Chinese population by state for the census years 1960 and 1970, and shows the percentage change during the decade. The five leading states in Chinese population are California, New York, Hawaii, Illinois, and Massachusetts. Following at some distance are the states of Washington and Texas. This last state should be subjected to closer scrutiny so we can discover why it has almost doubled its Chinese population in the last two decades.

Every state registered substantial gain, except for the District of Columbia with a -1.9 percent change. This figure is extremely misleading however, since it reflects the movement of the Chinese out of the central city, or district proper, into the surrounding suburbs in Maryland and Virginia. The SMSA figures for the nation's capital shows that there are at present 8,298 persons of Chinese ancestry. The actual percentage increase from 1960 to 1970 for the DC-VA-MD SMSA is 111.

Is there any noticeable shift in the Chinese population from state to state or region to region? The large number of immigrants tends to overshadow the movement of those already residing in the United States, but some data from the census give an indication whether the Chinese are moving away from the West, whether they are

1. Sister M. Alfreda Elsensohn, Idaho Chinese Lore, (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1970).

2. In 1973, I visited Walla Walla and learned that the China building had just been torn down and some of the old records and papers contained within had been carted away with the rubble.

TABLE 16

PHYSICAL MOBILITY OF THE CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES
16 YEARS AND OVER, FOR SELECTED STATES, 1970

Residence in 1965	U. S.		Calif.		N. Y.		Hawaii		Illinois		Mass.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
TOTAL	309,850	100.0	121,848	100.0	60,149	100.0	36,459	100.0	9,974	100.0	9,961	100.0
Same House	133,994	43.2	53,574	44.0	27,713	46.1	22,955	63.0	3,248	32.6	3,789	38.0
Different House in U. S.	100,029	32.3	41,481	34.0	15,243	25.3	10,396	28.5	3,425	34.3	3,586	36.0
Same County ¹	57,649	57.6	26,861	64.8	7,057	46.3	8,907	85.7	2,226	65.0	1,860	51.9
Different County ¹	42,380	42.4	14,620	35.3	8,186	53.7	1,489	14.3	1,199	35.0	1,726	48.1
Northeast ²	5,975	14.1	919	6.3	703	8.6	86	5.8	186	15.5	482	27.9
North, Central ²	4,556	10.8	1,069	7.3	504	6.2	211	14.2	220	18.4	237	13.7
South ²	3,841	9.1	755	5.2	437	5.3	134	9.0	138	11.5	145	8.4
West ²	28,008	66.1	11,877	81.2	6,542	79.9	1,058	71.1	655	54.6	862	49.9
Abroad	57,665	18.6	20,999	17.2	13,649	22.7	1,654	4.5	2,391	24.0	1,830	18.4
Moved 1965, Resid. Not Reported	18,162	5.9	5,794	4.8	3,544	5.9	1,454	4.0	910	9.1	756	7.6

Sources: U. S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 20.

- Percentages for these two categories add up to 100 percent of those who lived in a different house in the U. S.
- Percentages for these four regions add up to 100 percent of those who moved to a different county.

NOTE: The U. S. Census Bureau cautions readers that its mobility figures for the Western region may be inaccurate.

still concentrating in the cities or trekking out to the suburbs like the rest of America, whether they are getting out of Chinatowns or expanding the boundaries of their own settlements to further accommodate the influx of immigrants, and whether they are filtering into states where they have never ventured before. As we look at the figures, we will try to find out what triggered the ingress or exodus.

A Rootless People

As I study the various aspects of statistical data on the Chinese, I am continually surprised by some startling facts. One of these is the high mobility rate of the Chinese. Only 43.2 percent were living in the same house as they had five years earlier, which means that 57 percent, or almost three out of five persons sixteen years and over moved between the years 1965 and 1970. They had either moved to a different house in the same county or to a different county or were abroad. In fact, about one out of five were immigrants. This rate varies by state and age. In Table 16, we can see that only 4.5 percent of Hawaii's Chinese sixteen years and over were abroad, whereas 24 percent of Illinois's Chinese were. This gives one some idea of the disparity of characteristics of the Chinese from state to state. These figures also confirm what we already know: New York and Illinois have the highest percentages of immigrants.

In states like California and Hawaii, the people who changed their residence from that of 1965 generally moved to a different house within the same county, and they tended to stay in the West. But it is significant that, whereas about one-fourth moved from the West to New York, the reverse flow was much less. Again, we see that New York has greater magnetic force.

Where we tabulated mobility by age group, we can see that the most mobile age group is 25 to 34. For all the states tabulated in Table 17, the percentage of this age group who moved between 1965 and 1970 runs from 60.8 percent, for Hawaii, to 84.5 percent, for Illinois. This means that three to four out of five Chinese persons in this age group changed their residence during this five-year interval, and, for a large proportion of those who moved into these states, the jump was a trans-Pacific one. In other words, they were not in this country five years ago. The 20 to 24 age group's mobility is only slightly less spectacular. The significance of these figures is that the adult Chinese population is essentially a recently uprooted one.

Of those who moved within the United States, about two-thirds

TABLE 17

CHINESE 16 YEARS AND OVER WHO MOVED BETWEEN 1965 AND 1970 AS A PERCENT OF
TOTAL CHINESE POPULATION, BY AGE GROUP, FOR SELECTED STATES

Age Group, 1970; Residence, 1965	U. S.	Calif.	N. Y.	Hawaii	Illinois	Mass.
16 - 19 years						
Different House	50.1%	48.5%	51.2%	31.3%	59.9%	53.9%
Abroad	17.8	17.9	21.8	5.8	14.4	20.1
20 - 24 years						
Different House	70.8	70.6	65.5	50.2	79.9	77.2
Abroad	29.6	39.3	31.4	9.0	36.0	27.8
25 - 34 years						
Different House	78.6	77.5	70.9	60.8	84.5	81.6
Abroad	27.3	21.2	31.9	7.8	35.3	26.1
35 - 44 years						
Different House	55.2	52.7	55.8	40.9	61.4	56.0
Abroad	14.8	14.6	23.2	3.7	14.1	8.6
45 - 64 years						
Different House	39.6	40.4	41.6	24.9	49.5	45.5
Abroad	11.1	11.8	15.3	2.5	14.6	13.1
65 years and over						
Different House	39.3	45.4	35.7	23.7	45.3	41.2
Abroad	9.0	10.2	11.8	1.3	15.6	8.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 20.

NOTE: The U.S. Census Bureau cautions readers that its mobility figures for the West may be inaccurate.

stayed in the same county, except for those living in New York. There, the tendency leaned just a bit toward moving out of Manhattan, no doubt, into the suburban counties of the greater metropolis. It seems that there is reluctance to make any long-distance jump after the gigantic one from across the Pacific Ocean.

The realization that three out of five Chinese sixteen years and over moved within a five-year period is quite jarring until one compares it with figures for whites and blacks. It seems that about half the American population, white or black, moved over the same period. The American population is generally quite mobile, but for the Chinese the experience may be more unfamiliar. The ancestral home was often the abode of a family reaching back for many, many generations; stability, tradition, roots, are the the cultural heritage of most Chinese. Mobility is a more difficult phenomenon for them to cope with.

Huddling Together for Security

This high rate of uprooting undoubtedly causes nostalgia or homesickness, which is described as a brooding, poignant, severe melancholia caused by absence from one's family and familiar surroundings. To reduce the shock and emotional pain and loneliness, the Chinese tend to seek out their own kind and to congregate in certain sections of the urban centers which are popularly called Chinatowns.

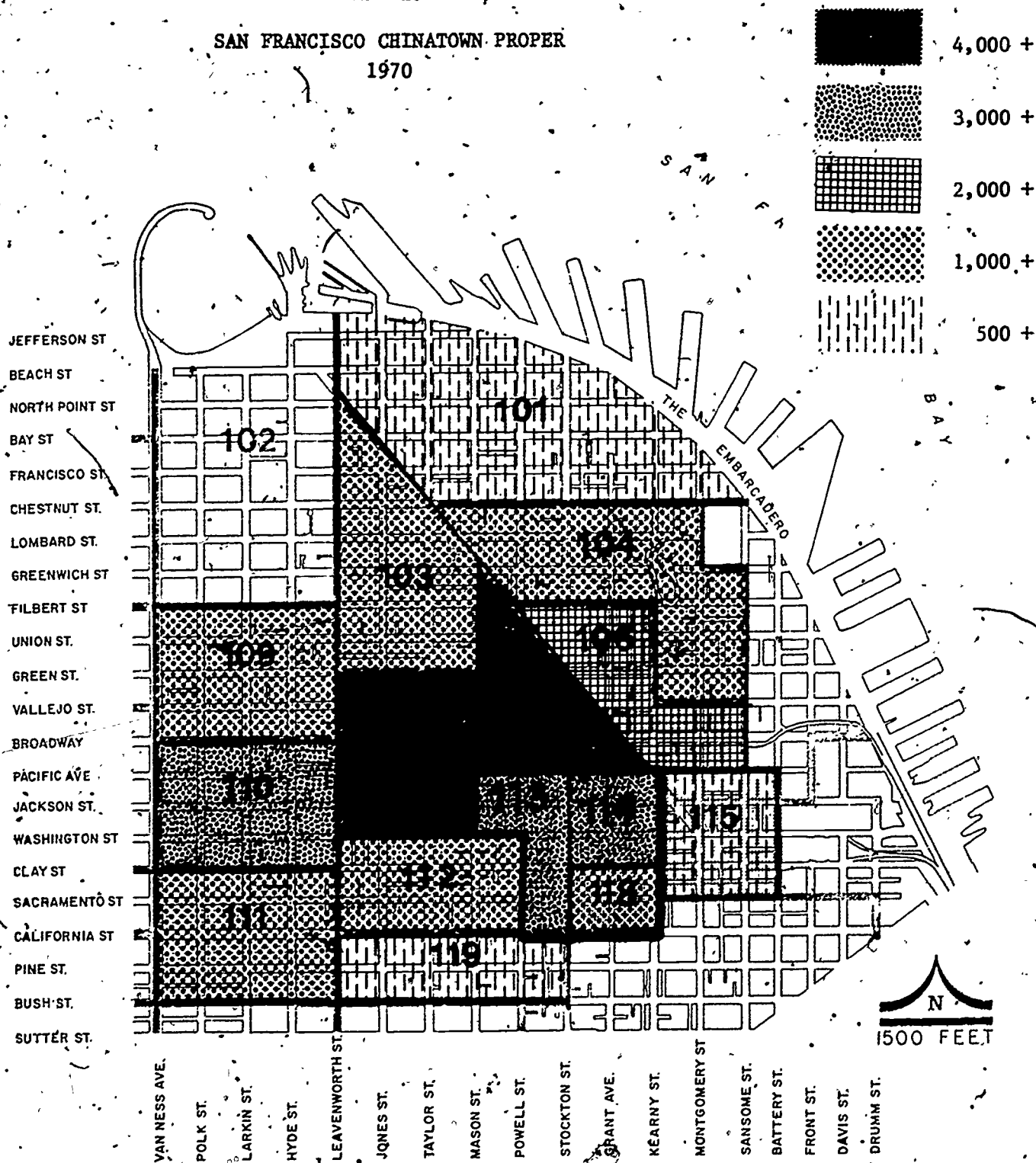
In the past, other factors, such as the Alien Land Acts, restrictive covenants, and white aversion to having an Oriental neighbor, contributed also to the consolidation of these distinct ethnic enclaves. Chinatowns were inevitably in the older sections of the core city. In San Francisco, Chinatown is situated smack in the center of the business, financial, shipping, and civic districts. (See Maps 2 and 3.) In cities like Oakland (see Maps 4 and 5) and New York, as well as other places, Chinatowns are in the shadow of city hall. New York's Chinatown is found in the lower tip of Manhattan. (See Map 4.) It is apparent from these locations that the Chinese were early residents of the major urban centers. They occupy what is now prime real estate, but invariably the sections are rundown slums.

In the "San Francisco's Chinese Community Citizens' Survey and Fact Finding Committee Report," it was found that 77 percent of the dwellings in Chinatown were substandard.³ Sixty percent

3. Op. cit., (San Francisco: H.J. Carle, 1969), p. 55.

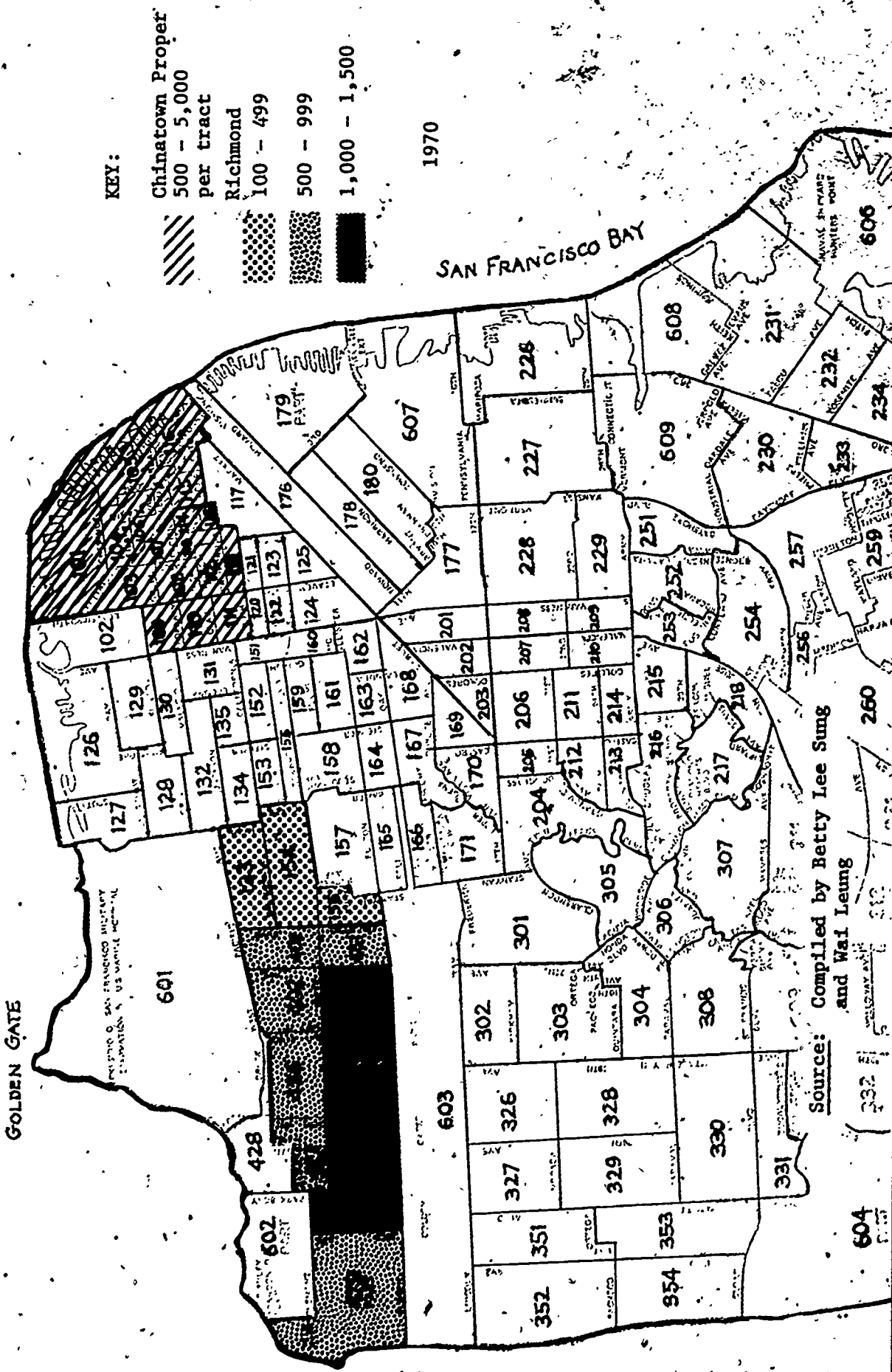
MAP 2.

SAN FRANCISCO CHINATOWN PROPER
1970



Source: Compiled by Betty Lee Sung and Wai Leung

MAP 3
 SAN FRANCISCO CHINATOWN PROPER AND RICHMOND AREA



of the buildings in New York's Chinatown were built before 1900 and 99 percent were built before 1939. In his Chinatown Report, written for the City Planning Commission in 1969, Danny Yung wrote:

Within the core of Chinatown and in the surrounding areas, most of the buildings were constructed before 1915. Some of them are fireproof but most are not, and few are modernized. The few buildings constructed since 1945 can be easily detected and counted on one hand. The physical plant of Chinatown is old, frequently obsolete, and in various degrees of decay.

In 1970, I visited Sacramento just before the inauguration of that city's brand-new Chinatown. I strolled through the inner mall with its sculptured gardens and moon gates. I visited the Confucian Temple and gazed up at the high-rise Wong Family Association. Everything was gold and red and spanking new. The old Chinatown had been completely leveled and a new one planned, designed, and rebuilt on two city blocks adjacent to Sacramento's commercial district.

I crossed the street and peered down into filthy holes; nearby remnants of buildings that had not been included in the new Chinatown complex. These decaying structures told me what the old Chinatown must have been like before the renewal.

Ubiquitous Chinatowns

Do most Chinese live within Chinatowns? Are these places still islands of Cathay in America? The answers to these questions depend upon the city you are talking about. Some Chinatowns are growing and expanding and some are in various stages of decline or have disappeared--and for different reasons.

In Honolulu, where ethnic boundaries were never sharply defined,

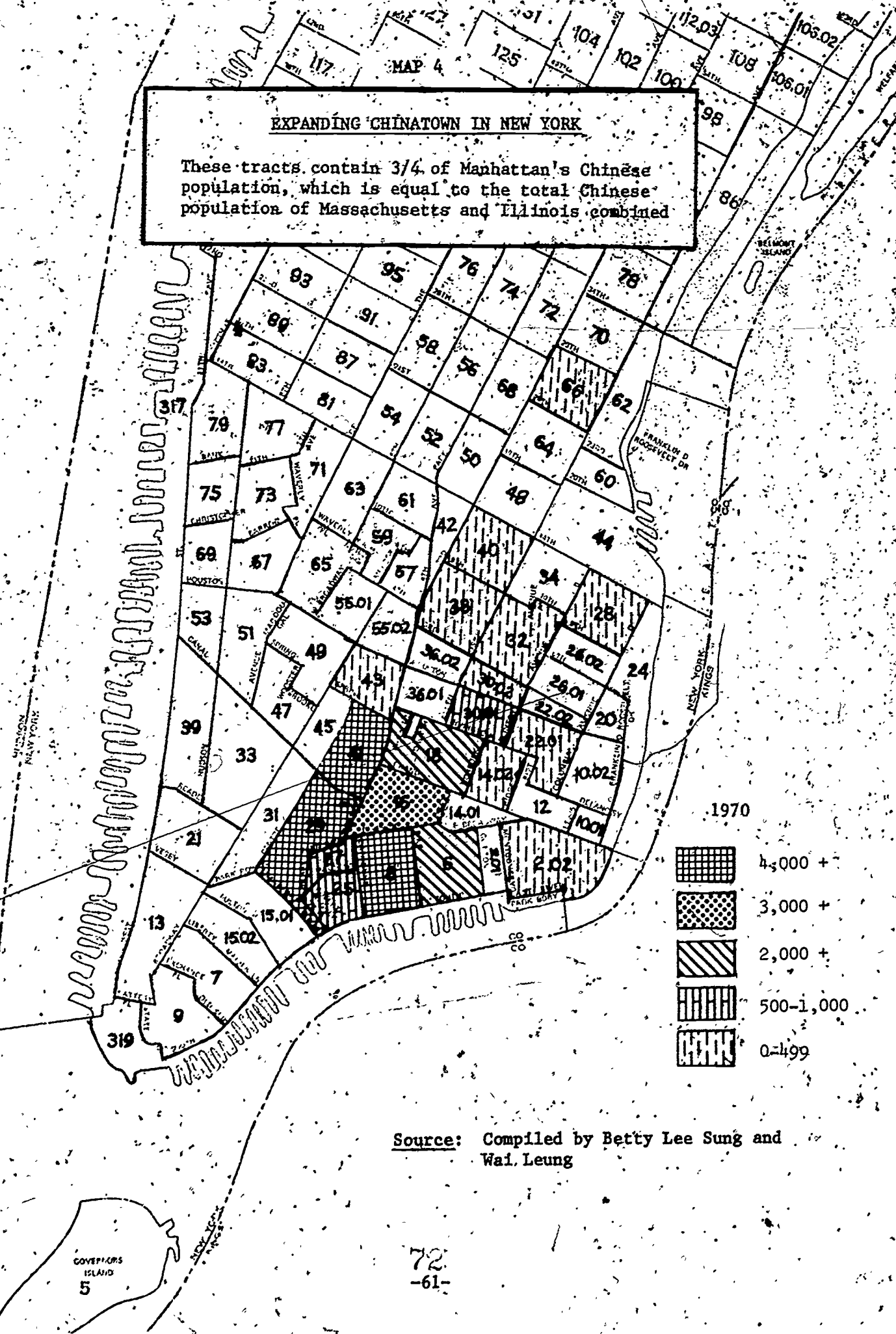
Only the Chinese manifested any marked tendency to concentrate residentially . . . by 1884 for example; the Chinese population of Honolulu had increased to more than five thousand persons, of whom 73 percent resided within the Chinatown district. This, incidentally, was the period when anti-Chinese agitation was at its height. . . . Within another twenty years, Chinatown was definitely on the decline. . . .⁵

4. Op. cit., (New York: Planning Commission, 1969), p. 46.

5. Andrew Lind, Hawaii's People (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1967), p. 55.

EXPANDING CHINATOWN IN NEW YORK

These tracts contain 3/4 of Manhattan's Chinese population, which is equal to the total Chinese population of Massachusetts and Illinois combined



Source: Compiled by Betty Lee Sung and Wai Leung

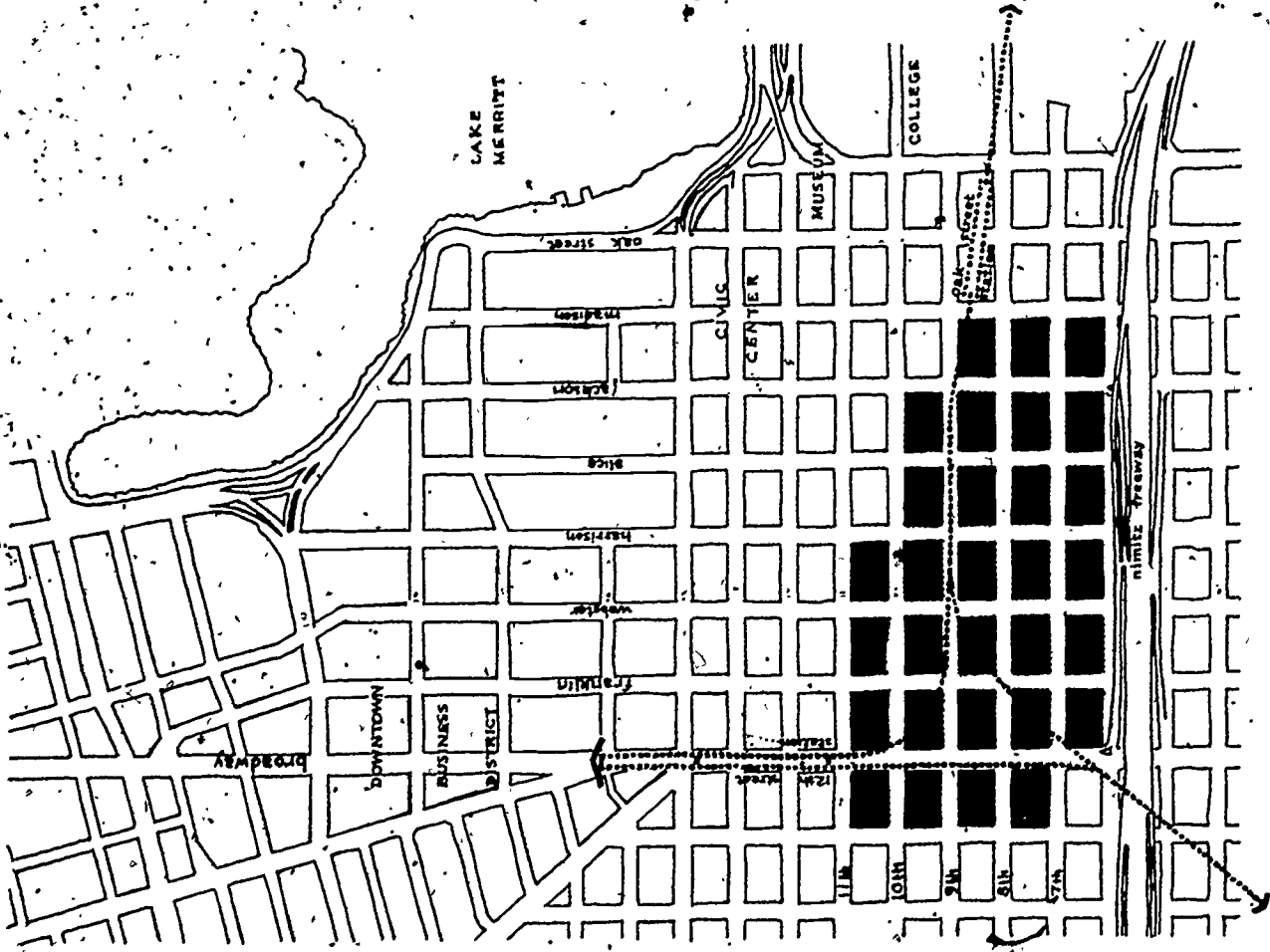
MAP 5

CHINATOWN

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

1970

Source: Oakland Chinatown Project



As one travels through the Pacific Northwest, one can catch glimpses of leaning shacks that once were the centers of flourishing Chinatowns in the mining districts. These are now ghost Chinatowns.

Urban sprawl, urban renewal, eminent domain have all been factors in the demise of many a Chinatown, but when there is a need, a new one will spring up. It happened in the case of Los Angeles (see Map 6), where the site of the old Chinatown was needed for a railroad station. The residents redistributed themselves into three Chinatowns, but the Los Angeles Chinatown is now reconsolidated into a major one along North Broadway.

Philadelphia's Chinatown was seriously reduced in size when the city converted the main street of the ghetto into a thoroughfare leading into the Benjamin Franklin Bridge. . . . Pittsburgh's Chinatown was totally obliterated by the building of a modern expressway. . . .⁶ (See Map 7.)

Chicago's old Chinatown is centered at Cermak Road and Wentworth Avenue on the South Side, but, with its population more than doubled since 1960, the old Chinatown has no more room for expansion. Besides, more Chinese are found on the North Side, so an enterprising business group has been quietly buying up a three-block stretch of property along Argyle Street and is busily planning a fanciful new Chinatown.⁷ (See Map 8.)

Boston's Chinatown is the mutilated victim of a superhighway--the Massachusetts Turnpike. When that cement ribbon bisected Chinatown, half of the community life died and the people moved away. In 1940, 62 percent of Boston's Chinese resided in Chinatown. Each decade saw a reduction: 57 percent in 1950, to 25 percent in 1960, to 9 percent in 1970. Table 18 shows how widely scattered the Chinese are in the metropolitan Boston area and the pattern of their dispersion. Although only a small percentage of Chinese reside within the Chinatown area, the place still serves as a social and cultural center. (See Map 9.)

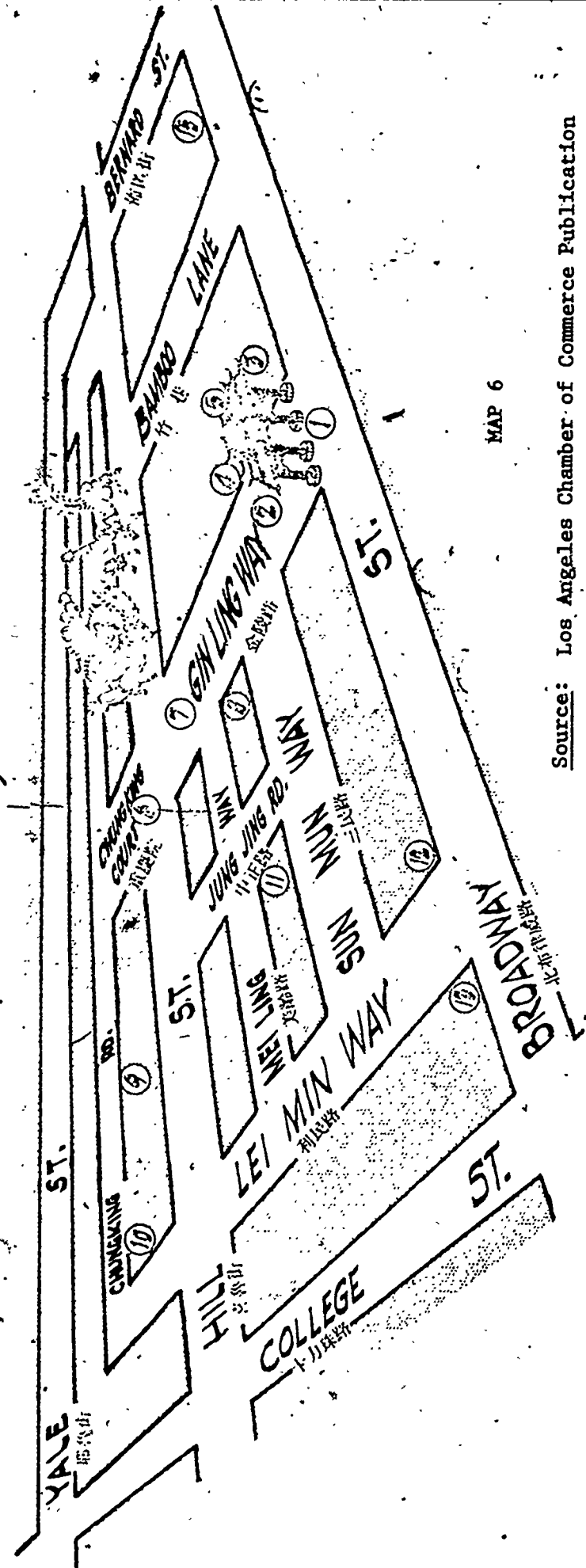
San Francisco's Chinatown

San Francisco's Chinatown burst its seams and spilled over into

6. Rose Hum Lee, The Chinese in the United States of America (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), pp. 65-6.

7. East/West (April 3, 1974).

Los Angeles' Chinatown



MAP 6

Source: Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Publication

North Beach and spread out to the Inner Richmond district. Map 2 shows the core areas and expanded census tracts. 33,208 Chinese lived in this area in 1970, and the population density reached from 120 to 180 persons per gross acre as compared to 24.6 persons per gross acre city-wide.⁸ Map 3 shows the proximity of the North Beach area and Inner Richmond district to Chinatown and explains why, in part, Richmond has become "the other Chinatown."

In a series of articles in March and April 1974, East/West stated that real estate prices are going through the roof in the Richmond district and 80 percent of the buyers are Chinese. To give some idea of the rapid influx, East/West said, "One block in the Richmond core area has seen 14 property purchases this year. Ten of them were made by Chinese."⁹

The houses in this area are primarily private dwellings and among the attractions of the area are its excellent public transportation to the main Chinatown, better housing, and proximity to Golden Gate Park. Only 10,265 Chinese were counted in the Richmond district in 1970, but if the recent frenetic scramble for real estate in that area is any indication, the numbers must have increased phenomenally. Still, Richmond is a bedroom community and has not cut its umbilical cord to the main Chinatown. Nor is there any way, at this moment, to ascertain whether new immigrants are snapping up the Chinatown premises vacated by movers to Richmond and other districts. If so, Chinatown proper's problems can only be aggravated by the rapid turnover of its tenants and the more acute needs of its recent arrivals.

New York's Chinatown

New York's Chinatown merits special attention because it will no doubt soon replace San Francisco as the most important center of the Chinese in the United States for reasons already set forth above.

When Calvin Lee wrote his book, Chinatown, U.S.A., in 1965, he predicted the decline of Chinatown and so did Rose Hum Lee, the eminent sociologist and former head of the Department of Sociology at Roosevelt College.¹⁰ But these people were writing before the enactment of the

8. "San Francisco Chinese Community Citizen's Survey and Fact-Finding Committee Report," p. 54.

9. East/West (April 10, 1974), p. 8.

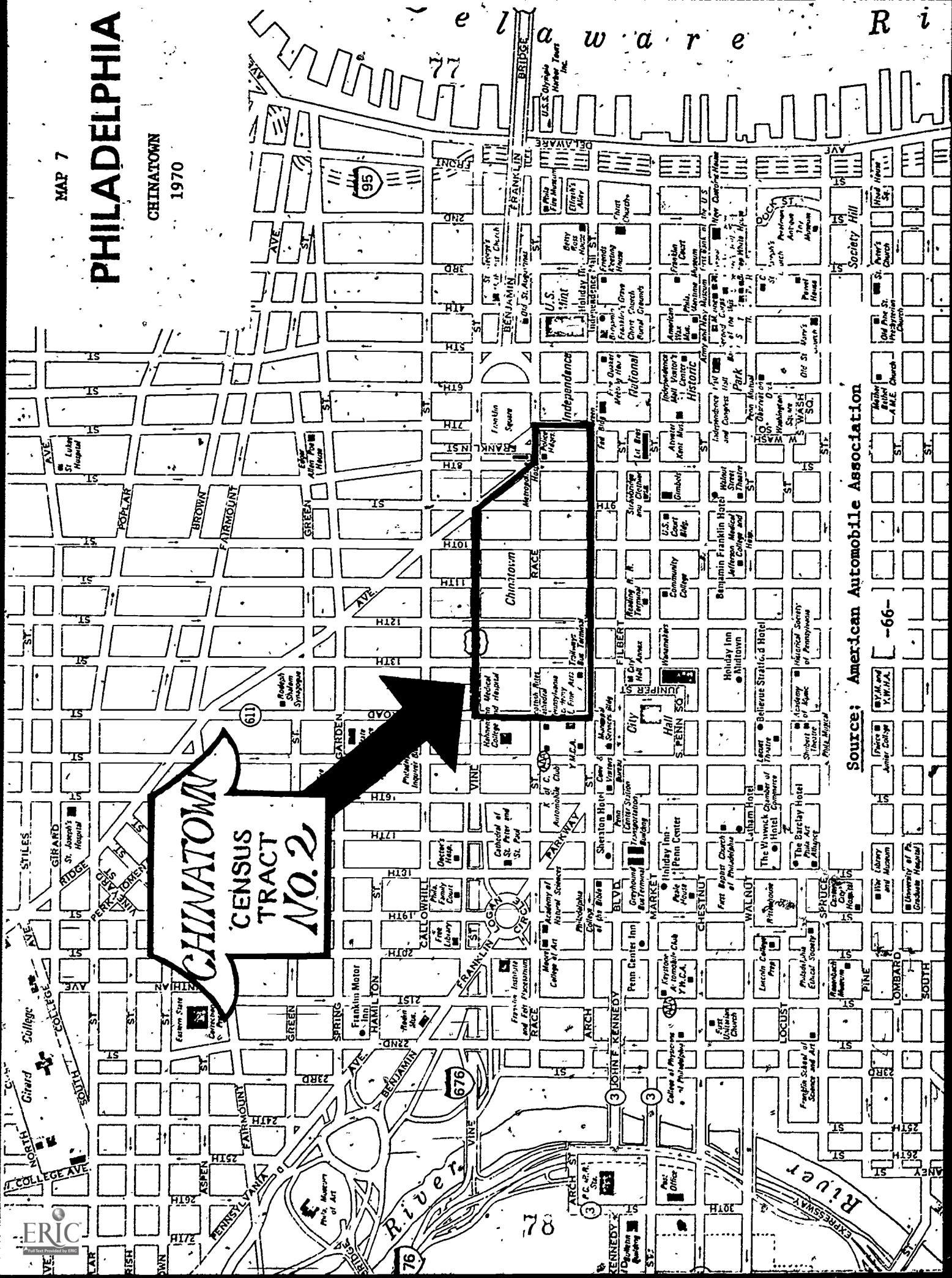
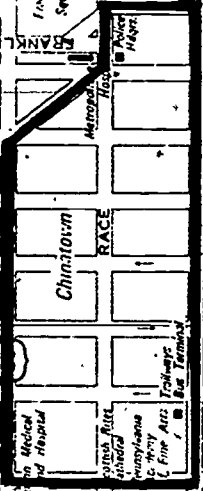
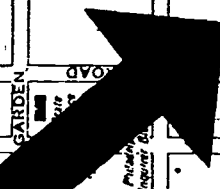
10. Rose Hum Lee, "Decline of Chinatowns in the U.S.," American Journal of Sociology 54 (March 1949): p. 442.

PHILADELPHIA

CHINATOWN

1970

CHINATOWN
CENSUS
TRACT
NO. 2



Source: American Automobile Association

DOWNTOWN CHICAGO AND LAKE FRONT

MAP 8

SCALE OF MILES

1/4 1/2 3/4

ONE INCH EQUALS APPROXIMATELY 3/8 OF A MILE (GENERAL)

CHINATOWN
CENSUS
TRACT
3402

Source: American Automobile Association 80



TABLE 18

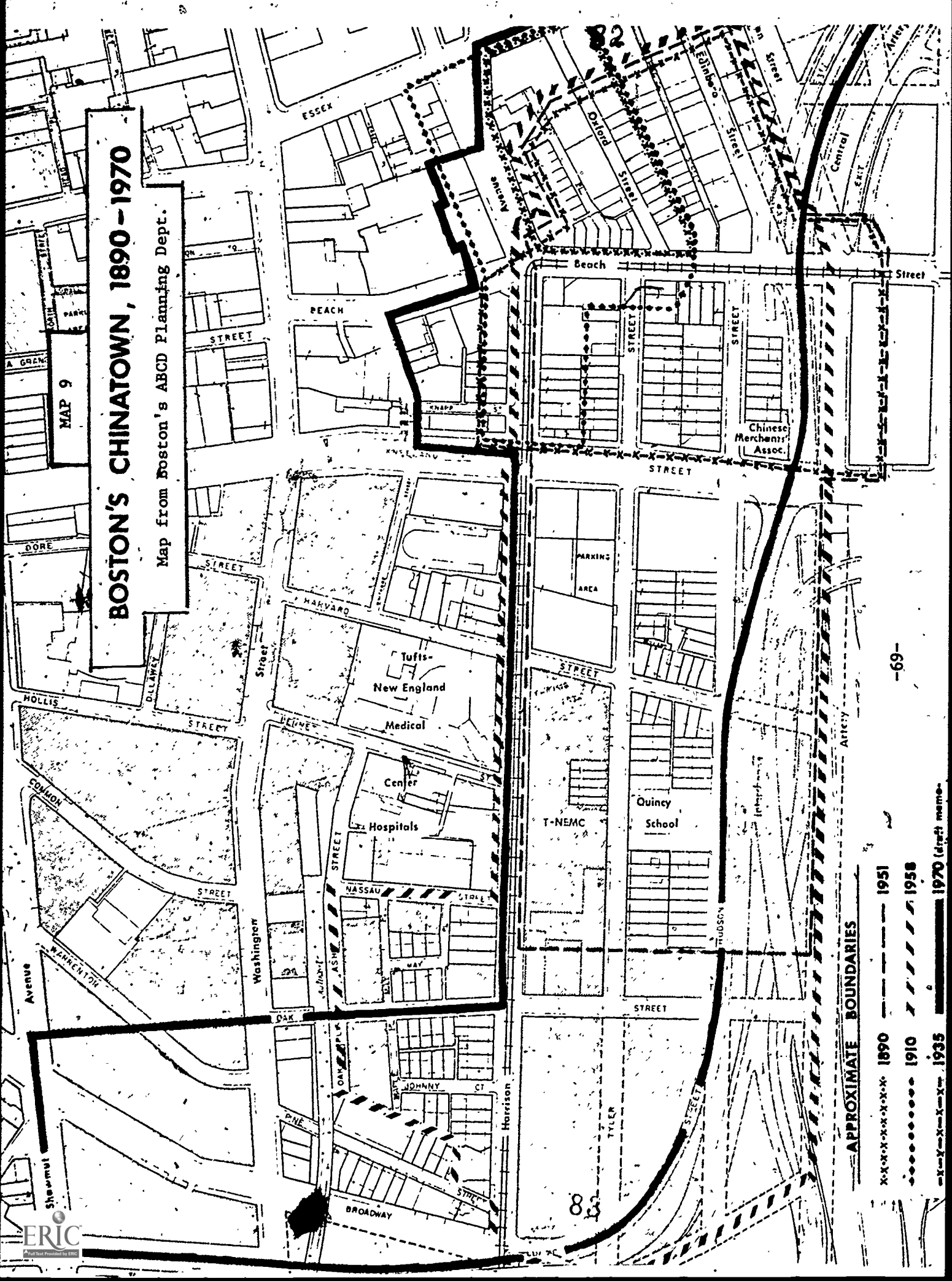
POPULATION IN CHINATOWN, OTHER PARTS OF BOSTON, AND SURROUNDING CITIES APPROXIMATELY WITHIN U.S. ROUTE 495, 1940-1970

	1940	1950	1960	1970		1940	1950	1960	1970
Chinatown	1300	1600	1800	1258	Natick			29	69
Other Parts of Boston	300	400	3600	5500	Needham			48	86
Arlington	16	10	72	222	Newton	17	36	133	414
Belmont			31	164	Norwood			16	43
Bedford				82	Nahant				14
Beverly	14	16	40	62	Pembroke				17
Bellingham				18	Peabody	10	8	22	66
Billerica				39	Quincy	27	29	61	191
Braintree			23	37	Revere		6	15	26
Brookline	38	40	292	942	Reading			18	36
Burlington				86	Randolph			13	45
Brockton	37	65	54	143	Rockland				22
Cambridge	133	266	554	1274	Salem			37	82
Chelsea	46	42	32	133	Saugus	28	50	37	37
Concord				52	Swampscott			18	22
Canton				19	Scituate				18
Dedham			5	22	Sharon				11
Everett		5	16	25	Stoughton				28
Foxborough				4	Stoneham		15		49
Franklin				28	Sudbury				27
Framingham			33	186	Somerville	21	30	51	351
Hingham				17	Tewksbury				31
Holbrook				28	Waltham	10	39	67	150
Holliston				28	Wellesley			37	98
Hudson				14	Wakefield			3	25
Lexington			48	189	Watertown			18	134
Lowell		41	37	172	Wayland				63
Lynn	63	62	116	207	Weston				54
Malden	13	19	62	132	Wilmington				11
Medford	13	15	28	150	Winchester			17	62
Marborough		2	1	41	Woburn			4	46
Melrose		12	98	98	Walpole				15
Milton				18	Westwood				27
Marshfield				20	Weymouth			11	68
Milford		1	5	31	Whitman				20
Marblehead			55	14	Winthrop			8	19
Methuen			4	32	TOTAL	2086	2788	7337	13994

Source: Action for Boston Community Development Inc., Planning and Evaluation Department "The Chinese in Boston, 1970."

BOSTON'S CHINATOWN, 1890-1970

Map from Boston's ABCD Planning Dept.



APPROXIMATE BOUNDARIES

- - - - - 1890
- . - . - . 1910
- - - - - 1951
- - - - - 1970 (draft memo)

Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which changed the entire scenario for the Chinese in this country.

Today's New York Chinatown, compared with that of 1960, has increased in size three-fold. Unlike the Chinese in San Francisco or Chicago, where there was no adjacent room for expansion, New York's Chinese have been moving into other ethnic ghettos surrounding Chinatown. Little Italy and the Jewish stronghold off Delancey Street are slowly receding, while recent Chinese immigrants are replacing the former inhabitants of earlier immigration vintage. This turnover is but another repetition of the classic pattern wherein the newest immigrant groups takes over the Lower East Side, while the former immigrant group moves up and out.

With each passing year, however, the physical environment of the area deteriorates further and the social ills of the neighborhood progress. The Chinese, now moving in to be as close as possible to Chinatown, have inherited the dregs of the Lower East Side--dilapidated buildings, the worst schools, overcrowded conditions, high slum rentals, filthy, garbage-ridden and pest-infested streets and rooms, and inadequate city services, ad nauseum.

People now ask, "Why is it that a former model community like Chinatown is experiencing gang killings, muggings, school dropouts, and health problems unknown to the community a decade ago?" The answer is simple and has been given by social scientists long ago. Whenever a large immigrant group is uprooted and set down into the environment of the Lower East Side, the result will be a compound or end-product of what we see in Chinatown today and what we saw in the ghettos of the Irish, the Jews, the Italians, and the Puerto Ricans of yesteryear. The experiment has been repeated many times previously, always with the same outcome.

Chinatown proper in New York has traditionally been bound on the north by Canal Street, on the west by Mulberry Street, and on the east and south by the Bowery and Park Row. This area takes in census tracts 29 and 27. By 1960, the surrounding tracts 8, 16, 18, and 41 also had large Chinese populations. The City Planning Commission indicated that there were 10,604 Chinese residing in Chinatown in 1960.¹¹ In 1970, the census counted 21,796 Chinese for these same six census tracts, but the boundaries of residential Chinatown have extended to cover many more census tracts. Judging

11. D.Y. Yuan, "Chinatown and Beyond: The Chinese Population in Metropolitan New York," Phylon 30 p. 59.

from the Chinese population by census tracts,¹² the boundaries of the enlarged New York Chinatown reach as far north as Houston Street, and there are already indications that Fourteenth Street will shortly be the new northern boundary. Expansion southeastward has also taken place to as far as the East River's edge. (See Map 4.)

Within this expanded area are found approximately three out of four of the Chinese living in Manhattan. In other words, instead of scattering like Boston's Chinese, New York's Chinese have tended, it seems, toward greater concentration. In the eight-block census tract 29 alone, there are about 6,000 persons of Chinese extraction, which is more than the total number of Chinese found in the entire SMSA of Philadelphia. Two census tracts, 29 and 41, contain more Chinese than the states of Illinois and Massachusetts combined. And when one considers the Chinese community in New York, one has to think of nineteen census tracts rather than the six of 1960. This is the extent to which New York's Chinatown has pushed its boundaries.

Obviously, then, some Chinatowns are fading away, and their inhabitants scattering. Some have undergone face-lifting, some have moved to different locations, and some are like a powerful magnet drawing the Chinese closer together, culturally and spatially. Each community must be viewed separately and dealt with separately within its own context. Even here two questions might be raised: Why the differences in Chinatowns in different cities? If there is a decided propensity for the Chinese to stick together, why isn't this consistently true?

Does residence in or near a Chinatown affect the occupational prospect of the Chinese? How about residence in a particular state, city, or region? These are questions which we seek to answer as we analyze our data. Wherever applicable, I have broken down my tabulations by region, state, or SMSA to see if place of residence or moving away from Chinatown has significant effect upon occupation, income, and upward mobility of the American Chinese.

12. Author undertook a special tabulation of "Minority Population by Census Tracts for Eleven SMSAs, 1970." This data was issued separately in three volumes by the Department of Asian Studies, City College New York.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. The Chinese in the United States are highly concentrated:
 - a. along three longitudinal strips on the East and West coasts and the islands of Hawaii;
 - b. in the large urban centers;
 - c. in Chinatowns.
2. Three times as many immigrants are heading toward New York City as are heading to San Francisco. New York draws more immigrants than the nine other cities with sizable Chinese population combined.
3. Hawaii's Chinese population growth rate is much lower than that of the mainland states.
4. The age pyramid of the Chinese population is beginning to resemble more an age diamond--widest in the middle and tapering off at both ends. This means few teenagers, fewer children, and even fewer infants.
5. One out of five Chinese sixteen years and over, was not in this country in 1965 and three out of five moved within the five-year period of 1965 to 1970. In effect, the Chinese population has been a highly mobile and rootless one.
6. There are significant variations in employment patterns and economic characteristics of the Chinese based upon place of residence.
7. The Chinatowns throughout the United States are undergoing major transformations. The closed, staid, and "orderly" Chinatowns of the past have been dramatically affected by the recent large influx of immigrants.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A decided shift is taking place in the pattern of demographic distribution among the Chinese. The older and better-known Chinese centers like Honolulu and San Francisco are proportionately losing people to newer settlements like New York, San Jose, and Houston. New York's influx is coming from immigration. San Jose and Houston's influx is coming from intraregional movement. The occupational problems of the migrant groups are not the same as those for the immigrants. The migrant groups may be moving because of upward economic and social mobility. The immigrant group made a trans-Pacific jump and, in the process, uprooted itself to totally alien soil. It has problems of a strange environment, a different language, different ways of doing things, loss of seniority or tenure from former occupations, and confrontation with new requirements of citizenship, licensing, residence, and whatnot. In looking at the problems of employment, it is essential to give priority to those areas with the greatest need. New York's Chinese seem to be huddling together for greater security and comfort, but in the process they may be creating other problems of overcrowding and excessive crutch-leaving upon one another. The concentration also creates a favorable climate for exploitation of cheap labor.

It is also axiomatic that high concentration creates high visibility of an identifiable minority group. Psychologically, this tends to generate fears that the majority's existence and way of life is being threatened by the minority. I would recommend that the Chinese gradually be induced or aided to disperse, but account must be taken of their desperate need for some proximity to a Chinese center.

CHAPTER IV
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Perennial Students

Case One: Jason Wu came to the United States in 1946. He was among the second batch of bright young men selected by the Chinese government immediately after the cessation of hostilities with Japan to go abroad for specialized training in the United States. His field was hydraulic engineering, and he looked forward to a promising future after the completion of his studies at the University of Illinois.

Jason already had a bachelor's degree from the Southwest Associated University in Chungking, China, before coming to the United States. By 1948, he had earned his master's degree. The political situation in China was very uncertain, and his parents had urged him to prolong his stay in the United States. He decided to go for his doctorate.

A year later, the Nationalist government had fallen, and, in 1950, the Korean War broke out. The United States immediately banned the departure of all Chinese students with technical and scientific skills. With his financial support from China cut off, Jason was caught in a bind. What was he to do? He was not sure that he could ever get a job as a hydraulic engineer in this country. Perhaps he should be more practical and learn something that he could utilize to earn a living somehow. He switched to accounting and, with the aid of Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) funds, managed to complete his masters in that field.

The Korean War dragged on. Even with his accounting degree, Jason could not find employment. His professor in engineering, realizing his plight, offered him a teaching assistantship along with the chance to complete his doctorate. Jason grasped the opportunity.

By 1955, Jason had two master's degrees and a Ph.D., but still no job. He was not permitted to leave the United States; but neither was he permitted to work because he held a student visa. The only course open to him was to find a part-time teaching position and continue his student status by doing research.

Ten years after his graduation from college, he was still studying--not by choice but by force of circumstances.

Case Two: It was the second time around for Kai-Ming Fong when he arrived in the United States in 1951. The first time was when he worked for a master's degree from Georgia Tech in 1945; he had gone back to Shanghai immediately afterwards. Within a few years, he had already become manager of Technical Services at the Shanghai airport. In 1949, Shanghai was liberated by Mao Tse-tung's troops, and Kai-Ming fled the city for Hong Kong. He considered himself highly fortunate to receive a coveted visa to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act.

During his first sojourn in the United States, he had not paid much attention to what was going on outside of campus. In spite of his education, his experience, and his know-how, Kai-Ming realized that he was a fish out of water. The task now was to survive in a foreign land. He accepted a lowly draftsman's position in an aerospace plant on Long Island and every night commuted to Brooklyn Polytech to pursue a Ph.D. degree in aeronautical engineering. His indomitable determination kept him going in spite of bone-weariness and mental fatigue. After work, it was classes; after classes, it was studying. There was no time for relaxation, no time for girls, no time for fun. By the time Kai-Ming received his doctorate, he had missed out a lot on life. He was thirty-five years old and still single.

Case Three: Dr. S. W. Lee had worked in the obstetrics and gynecology ward of the Canton General Hospital for many years before his arrival in the United States in the 1950s. His M.D. was earned from a Canadian university. But Dr. Lee could not practice medicine when he first came to this country: Reason number one: He was not a citizen. Reason number two: His M.D. was not from an American university.

Employment for Dr. Lee was a matter of dire necessity. He had a wife and two young daughters with him. To tide them over, Mrs. Lee worked as a hostess in a restaurant. Dr. Lee finally found a position as medical researcher at Mt. Sinai Hospital. The pay was insignificant and the work was elementary, considering Dr. Lee's education and former experience.

TABLE 19

SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED BY THE CHINESE IN THE U.S., BY AGE GROUP AND SEX, 1970

	16-19 Yrs.		20-24 Yrs.		25-34 Yrs.		35-44 Yrs.		45-64 Yrs.		65 Yrs.+	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	163,893	100.0	18,757	100.0	33,575	100.0	31,082	100.0	42,239	100.0	15,244	100.0
Males												
Elementary	15,744	9.6	339	1.5	844	2.5	2,013	6.5	6,587	15.6	5,795	38.0
Less than 5 yrs.	13,494	8.2	302	1.3	1,032	3.1	2,474	8.0	6,290	14.9	3,160	20.7
5-7 years	7,962	4.9	492	2.6	581	1.7	1,500	4.8	3,556	8.4	1,641	10.8
8 years												
High School	24,703	15.1	10,000	53.3	2,472	7.4	3,593	11.6	5,568	13.2	1,400	9.2
1-3 years	32,910	20.1	5,137	27.4	6,241	18.6	6,579	21.2	8,685	20.6	1,518	10.0
4 years												
College	28,125	17.2	2,707	14.4	5,324	15.9	3,836	12.3	3,358	7.9	435	2.9
1-3 years	40,955	25.0	13	0.1	3,284	14.3	17,081	50.9	8,195	19.4	1,295	8.5
4 yrs. or more												
Med. Sch. Yrs Compl.	12.6		11.5		16.1		12.9		11.5		6.7	
Percent H.S. Grads.	62.2		41.9		85.3		69.2		47.9		21.3	
Females												
Elementary	145,012	110.0	17,099	100.0	32,411	100.0	28,194	100.0	32,808	100.0	11,612	100.0
Less than 5 yrs.	22,202	15.3	194	1.1	1,682	5.2	4,238	15.0	8,907	27.1	6,665	57.4
5-7 years	12,292	8.5	236	1.4	1,788	5.5	3,258	11.6	4,677	14.3	1,617	13.9
8 years	6,294	4.3	452	2.6	982	3.0	1,349	4.8	2,336	7.1	835	7.2
High School	19,623	13.5	8,773	51.1	1,762	7.7	2,638	9.4	3,099	9.4	696	6.0
1-3 years	35,101	24.2	4,648	27.1	5,405	24.4	8,325	29.5	7,907	24.1	896	7.7
4 years												
College	25,547	17.6	2,781	16.3	10,790	41.7	5,964	18.4	2,206	6.7	385	3.3
1-3 years	23,953	16.5	15	.1	3,355	14.7	4,965	17.6	3,676	11.2	522	4.5
4 yrs. or more												
Med. Sch. Yrs Compl.	12.3		11.6		13.6		12.3		9.5		4.4	
Percent H.S. Grads.	58.3		43.5		78.1		59.3		42.0		15.5	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970).

Working at Mt. Sinai, however, entitled Dr. Lee to enroll for special courses in the medical school without tuition. So after his long trail of premed, medical school, internship and residency totalling more than ten years, Dr. Lee was back in the classroom.

Case Four: Ronald Wong (Wong is one of the most common Chinese surnames) was born in Newark, New Jersey. He loved baseball, he loved rock music, he loved the outdoors, and he loved people. His family operated a restaurant, and, after school, he helped around in the dining room, filling the soy sauce bottles and sugar bowls, drying the silverware, taking in the dirty dishes, and whenever he could, he turned on the juke box.

Patrons would come in and sit at the bar, watch the baseball games on T.V. and sip their drinks. Ronald soon became great pals with Maurice Cohen, the salesman who sold his father bottled liquor and wines. Ronald would listen to Maurice Cohen's stories of the places he went to and the commissions he earned, and Ronald decided that when he grew up he wanted to be a liquor salesman.

"What?!" shouted his father and mother when he first mentioned the idea. "Absolutely no. We have labored all our lives so that we can afford to send you to college. You are our first-born son. We want you to be educated, not like us who can barely read or write. You must go to the university to study. Be a doctor, be an engineer. But a liquor salesman! How can you possibly disappoint us so?" So Ronald went to the university and studied engineering for five years. Now he has a desk job and a nine-to-five schedule, drawing up blueprints that bore him stiff. All the while, he daydreams of being out on the road, listening to the ball games while he's driving and using his persuasive personality to sell the bar and liquor store owners five cases of bourbon when they only wanted four.

Overeducated

Cases one to four above explain in part why the Chinese are such a highly educated people. Add to that the high esteem in which scholars or men of learning are held in the Chinese culture and you can see why a full quarter of all Chinese males in the United States sixteen years and over are college graduates or postgraduates. (See Table 19.) Even 16.5 percent of the females have attained this educational level. And when you follow the column down under the 25- to 34-year age bracket--a time when most people have finished their formal education--you will find an astounding 50.9 percent of the males and 35.2 percent of the females in the college graduate or

postgraduate level. Note also that in this age bracket, 85.3 percent of the males are high school graduates and the median years of school completed is more than sixteen. In other words, half of the Chinese males 25 to 34 years old have sixteen or more years of schooling.

A more detailed breakdown from my special tabulation of the Public Use Sample Data reveals that 16 percent of Chinese males and 9 percent of the females have gone for postgraduate studies.

At this point, I must again caution against unqualified interpretation of the census data, for the numbers may be biased to a strong extent by the return of census questionnaires from the better educated. Nevertheless, in the absence of more reliable statistics, we must perforce use what we have with the understanding that the information is biased.

If the 25- to 34-year age group educational attainment is high, that of the future generations promises to be higher. In the age bracket immediately preceding, the 20- to 24-year-old group, illiteracy is minimal and the percentage of high school graduates is 85.4 for the females and 89.1 for the males. Those who are attending college or are graduates reach 68.5 percent for the males and 56.4 percent for the females.

Undereducated

Age and sex are the crucial variables. At one extreme we have an extraordinarily well-educated group. At the other end of the age scale, especially among Chinese females, we have the opposite. In the same table, we see that 38 percent of the males and a whopping 57.4 percent of the females 65 years and over have five years of schooling or less. And in Table 20, we see that the "less" means no schooling at all. In fact, 11 percent of the total Chinese population are illiterate. Thus, the educational profile, much like the employment pattern of the Chinese in the United States runs to extremes with a large proportion of highly educated people and too many illiterates in either Chinese or English.

Compare the educational level of the Chinese with that of the whites, blacks, and Japanese in Table 20. The illiteracy rate for whites is 1.6 percent; for blacks, 3.3 percent; and for the Japanese, 1.8 percent; but for the Chinese, it is 11.1 percent--seven times greater than for whites and three times greater than for blacks.

Case Five: Gim Gok, or Golden Chrysanthemum, is one of the

TABLE 20

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 25 YEARS AND OVER,
BY RACE AND PERCENT, 1970

	Chinese	Whites	Blacks	Japanese
Total 25 Years and over (100%)	227,165	109,900,000	10,375,000	353,707
No Schooling	11.1%	1.6%	3.3%	1.8%
Elementary				
1 - 4 years	5.1	3.9	11.3	2.4
5 - 7 years	10.7	8.3	18.7	6.3
8 years	5.6	13.6	10.5	8.5
High School				
1 - 3 years	9.7	16.5	24.8	12.3
4 years	21.2	35.2	21.2	39.3
College				
1 - 3 years	11.0	10.7	5.9	13.6
4 years or more	25.6	11.6	4.4	15.9
Median School Years	12.4	12.2	9.8	12.5
% High School Grads.	57.8	52.3	31.4	68.8

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Reports: PC(1)C1, PC(2)1B, PC(2)1G, (1970).

14 percent in the 45- to 64-year age bracket who has had five years of schooling or less. She is forty-six years old, in this country four years, lives in a railroad apartment in New York's Chinatown, has four children, and works as a seamstress in a garment factory. Her husband is a chef in a New Jersey restaurant.

Every day her husband commutes to New Jersey and returns to Chinatown to sleep at the ungodly hour of two in the morning. The children--all four of them--sleep in one room, and the only place where they can do their homework is the kitchen table. The kitchen also serves as living room and bathroom. The bathtub is right next to the kitchen sink.

Jim Gok would like to move to New Jersey to accommodate her husband and provide better living quarters for her children, but she is afraid. She doesn't speak English. When she ventures anywhere outside Chinatown, one of the children must accompany her. She knows that if she moves to New Jersey, she likely would not find another job. She goes for English language classes one night a week, but learning a new language without the foundation of knowing how to read and write in one's mother tongue is doubly difficult.

Who's Better Educated?

When school costs money, a selective process comes into play and some groups are favored over others. Education was not publicly supported in China, nor is there tax-supported universal education in Hong Kong and Taiwan today. Neither is school compulsory. Under these circumstances, those financially better off give priority for schooling to their sons.

If the family can afford to send both sons and daughters, the latter may be educated if the family has shed the centuries-old concept that females are spoiled for wifedom or motherhood if they acquire some book-learning. That females are not worthy of education may still be a very prevalent belief among the Chinese. This explains why approximately 15 percent of all Chinese females in the United States have less than five years of schooling and 10 percent have never entered a classroom. It is generally the foreign-born female who is the most deprived and, hence, the most handicapped. Her occupational sphere is, therefore, extremely circumscribed and limited to the most simple and menial jobs.

It is difficult for us to imagine how one can function effectively in this highly literate, technical, and complex society without possessing the means of written communication,

TABLE 21

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY THE CHINESE IN THE U.S. 25 YEARS AND OVER,
U.S. TOTAL AND FIVE SELECTED STATES, 1970

Years of School Completed	U.S.		Calif.		N.Y.		Hawaii		Illinois		Mass.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total 25 Yearst	227,165	100.0	88,307	100.1	44,993	100.0	28,310	99.9	7,337	100.0	7,084	99.9
No Schooling	25,205	11.1	11,972	13.6	7,125	15.8	1,183	4.2	543	7.4	714	10.1
Elementary 1-4 years	11,522	5.1	4,533	5.1	3,037	6.7	1,429	5.0	244	3.3	414	5.8
5-7 years	24,296	10.7	8,884	10.1	7,001	15.6	2,109	7.4	819	11.2	1,035	14.6
8 years	12,780	5.6	4,218	4.8	3,096	6.9	1,807	6.4	621	8.5	534	7.5
High School 1-3 years	22,121	9.7	8,004	9.1	4,889	10.9	3,066	10.8	767	10.5	716	10.1
4 years	48,071	21.2	19,210	21.8	7,721	17.2	10,666	37.7	1,199	16.3	1,304	18.4
College 1-3 years	24,929	11.0	12,759	14.4	3,121	6.9	2,948	10.4	663	9.0	465	6.6
4 years or more	58,241	25.6	18,727	21.2	9,003	20.0	5,102	18.0	2,481	33.8	1,902	26.8
Median School Years	12.4		12.3		10.4		12.4		12.6		12.1	
% High School Grads.	57.8		57.4		44.1		66.1		59.2		51.8	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 18.

NOTE: Based on a 20 percent sampling.

but I have known a number of women who have managed admirably, compensating with native intelligence.

My former housekeeper was such a woman. When she first came to work for us, I had to drive her to Chinatown every week on her day off and go pick her up. Because we lived eighteen miles from town, I found these trips extremely time-consuming and inconvenient to me. In spite of the fact that she had just come to the United States, I decided to show her how to take a bus and subway, transferring to the Lexington Avenue subway at Grand Central Station. Anyone familiar with the New York subway system would know that Grand Central Station is the easiest place of all to get lost, even when one is in full command of the English language and can read the signs or ask for directions. To this very day, having lived over twenty years in New York City, I still must rely upon the signs to transfer or come up to the street-level at the right exit.

The first time we transferred at Grand Central Station, I, myself, was confused; I had taken a wrong turn. So I took her back to the starting point and said, "Forget what we did before. Let's start all over again." And we did. I needed to show her only once. She went to Chinatown every week thereafter and never got lost. Ironically, I accompanied her on another occasion to Chinatown over the same route, and, once again, I was confused about which stairway to climb; she corrected me. I asked her how she could remember after having been led only once. She pointed out to me all the guideposts she used to find her way. These were ordinary things that I had never noticed in all the times I had gone over that route.

My housekeeper was an excellent cook with Chinese cuisine, but I wanted her to make some Western dishes from time to time. The first Christmas she was with us, I taught her how to make some favorite cookies for the holidays. Each time I make those cookies, I have to refer to the recipe, but I showed my housekeeper the proportions only once. For seven Christmases thereafter, she made those cookies without asking me to look up the recipe again. This woman had developed her faculties of memory and recall to compensate for her inability to read and write.

To repeat, illiteracy is generally a problem with those over forty-five, especially the women. The younger generations are highly-educated, regardless of sex.

TABLE 22

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY THE CHINESE IN THE U.S., AGE 16 AND OVER,
BY PERCENT, SEX, NATIVITY, AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1970

Highest Grade Completed	Sex		Nativity		Employment Status	
	Male	Female	U.S. Born	Foreign Born	Employed	Unemployed
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
None	6.0	10.4	1.8	12.0	6.4	10.5
Elementary						
Less than 5 years	3.0	3.9	2.4	4.1	2.6	0.0
5 - 7 years	7.9	9.2	4.3	11.1	7.9	11.8
8 years	4.8	4.5	3.8	5.2	4.0	9.2
High School						
1 - 3 years	15.9	14.3	18.2	13.2	12.8	11.8
4 years	20.8	25.4	31.6	17.5	24.0	30.3
College						
1 - 3 years	16.8	15.3	21.4	12.8	15.1	13.2
4 years	8.5	8.0	8.2	8.3	10.0	2.6
Post Graduate						
1 year	6.9	4.1	4.6	6.2	6.9	3.9
2 or more years	9.3	4.9	3.7	9.5	10.3	6.6

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

Education and Nativity

In this country, education is a birthright. In fact, in most states it is compulsory until age 16. The kind of education we get is another matter, but just using highest grade completed as a yardstick, we find very few in the lower grade level among the native-born Chinese. In fact, the Chinese in this country have generally availed themselves as much as possible of the educational opportunities open to them, even in the the days when a college education led only to a bartender's job or other menial work. The parents, in most cases, were the propelling force in goading their children on to higher educational achievement, even when they, themselves, were illiterates. The motivating factor is the high esteem accorded men of learning within the Chinese system of cultural values. In the social hierarchy in China, scholars stood at the top. That is why parents continually urge their children to study hard and reach higher levels in school. At the least, a high school education is a must, and more than a third of all native-born Chinese go on to college. A four-year college degree is the rule, while another 8 percent go on to graduate school. (See Table 22.)

The foreign-born educational profile is quite different. Twelve percent are illiterate and another 10 percent finished only the eighth grade. These figures reflect the years of school completed for the Chinese 16 years of age or older. (If they had not gone higher than eighth grade after age 16, the likelihood of their going back to school is remote.) So, whereas more than one-third of the native-born are of college level, about one-third of the foreign-born are below the eighth grade level.

At the other extreme, better than 16 percent of the foreign-born are postgraduates. Add this percentage to the 21 percent enrolled in or graduated from college and you have a U-shaped educational curve instead of the normal bell shape.

Education and Employment Status

The unemployment rate for the Chinese counted in the census is relatively low. Those who were omitted from the census are the ones likely to have unemployment difficulties, but their plight does not show up in our figures because they were not included. But what effect does education have on finding employment or holding on to a job? The logical assumption would be that the better educated have less difficulty, hence the unemployment rate would be lower. This fact is not substantiated for the Chinese.

In the last column in Table 22, we find a 10.5 percent unemploy-

ment rate for those with no education and the same percentage for those with postgraduate education. In other words, schooling may reach a point of diminishing returns. A very low 2.6 percent unemployment rate is registered for college graduates. After that, more education may create a problem of being overqualified; greater difficulty is experienced in finding a position commensurate with one's education.

I remember reading an anecdote about the Yale graduate entering the labor market in the recession year of 1971. In the first round of applications he sent to employers, he stressed the fact that he was a Yale graduate, a chemical engineer, and a summa cum laude. He received no offer of employment and the bulk of rejection letters made a point of the fact that he was overqualified for any position available at the moment.

In the second round of applications he sent out, he scaled down his qualification considerably. He merely stated that he was a college graduate with a chemical engineering major. The responses were less emphatically negative, but still there was no firm offer of employment.

By that time, the young man's funds were desperately low, and he needed work in a hurry. He picked a firm where he thought he had a chance to move up if he could get in, and he wrote once more to the personnel director merely stating: "Able bodied young man. Willing to do anything." He was hired immediately.

Overqualification is not the prime reason why Chinese postgraduates cannot find employment. The more likely reason is that they are not permitted to work or that they must maintain their student status to remain in this country. Several examples of this forced education were given at the beginning of this chapter.

Better Education, Better Job?

By correlating years of school completed with the occupations of the Chinese in the United States, I tried to obtain some inkling whether more schooling leads to better jobs. The results are tabulated in Table 23, and the figures are broken down by horizontal percentages for males and females. In other words, the total number of architects, for example, make up 100 percent. What proportion are high school graduates, what proportion are college graduates, and what proportion are postgraduates?

It is obvious that the Chinese professional, whether male or female, is extremely well educated, but it is intriguing that 3.1

TABLE 23

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY EMPLOYED CHINESE BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND SEX, BY PERCENT DISTRIBUTION FOR THE U.S., 1970

Selected Occupation & Sex	Elementary				High School				College	
	Less than 5	5-7	8	1-3	4	1-3	4	5 or more	4	5 or more
<u>Employed Males 16 Years and Over (100%)</u>	7.2	7.8	4.3	13.6	22.3	13.6	22.3	13.6	10.6	20.7
<u>Professional and Technical</u>	0.3	0.3	0	2.1	5.4	12.9	5.4	12.9	21.6	57.4
Architects	0	0	0	0	16.7	22.2	16.7	22.2	27.8	33.3
Computer Specialists	0	0	0	0	0	12.5	0	12.5	31.3	56.3
Engineers	0	1.2	0	1.2	2.3	4.7	2.3	4.7	34.9	55.8
Lawyers and Judges	0	0	0	0	0	20.0	0	20.0	20.0	60.0
Librarians, Archivists & Curators	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20.0	80.0
Mathematical Specialists	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0
Life and Physical Scientists	0	0	0	0	0	4.8	0	4.8	33.3	61.9
Physicians, Dentists, Related Pract.	3.1	0	0	0	0	6.3	0	6.3	3.1	87.5
Health Workers, Exc. Practitioners	0	0	0	20.0	20.0	0	20.0	0	60.0	0
Social Scientists	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50.0	50.0
Teachers, College and University	0	0	0	0	3.2	6.5	0	6.5	9.7	80.6
Teachers, Elem. & Second.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16.7	83.3
Technicians, Except Health	0	0	0	2.9	17.1	51.4	0	51.4	2.9	25.7
Writers, Artists and Entertainers	0	0*	0	9.5	9.5	23.8	0	23.8	28.6	28.6
Research Workers	0	0	0	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Professional Workers	0	0	0	3.4	10.3	10.3	0	10.3	10.3	65.5
<u>Managers and Administrators, Exc. Farm</u>	5.8	9.4	3.6	16.5	26.6	11.5	26.6	11.5	12.9	13.7
Salaried: Manufacturing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25.0	75.0
Trade	4.2	4.2	0	25.0	29.2	12.5	29.2	12.5	12.5	12.5
Service Industries	10.0	20.0	0	0	20.0	10.0	20.0	10.0	20.0	20.0
Other Industries	0	0	0	4.5	31.8	9.1	31.8	9.1	31.8	22.7
Self-Employed: Manufacturing	0	0	0	33.3	33.3	0	33.3	0	0	33.3
Trade	5.5	10.9	7.3	18.2	34.5	9.1	34.5	9.1	7.3	7.3
Service Industries	21.4	21.4	7.1	21.4	0	28.6	0	28.6	0	0
Other Industries	0	16.7	0	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7

(continued)

TABLE 23---continued

Selected Occupation & Sex	Elementary				High School				College	
	Less than 5	5-7	8	1-3	1-3	4	4	5 or more	4	5 or more
<u>Sales Workers</u>	2.2	0	0	17.8	20.0	22.2	20.0	17.8	20.0	17.8
Insurance Agents and Brokers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stock and Bond Salesmen	0	0	0	0	33.3	0	33.3	33.3	33.3	33.3
Sales Clerk, Retail Trade	0	0	0	25.0	25.0	25.0	18.8	6.3	18.8	6.3
Other Sales Workers	4.5	0	0	18.2	18.2	27.3	13.6	18.2	13.6	18.2
<u>Clerical and Kindred Workers</u>	1.9	5.7	1.9	8.6	40.0	28.6	8.6	4.8	8.6	4.8
Bank Tellers	0	0	0	20.0	0	20.0	60.0	0	60.0	0
Bookkeepers	0	10.0	0	0	40.0	30.0	20.0	0	20.0	0
File Clerks	0	0	0	0	0	50.0	50.0	0	50.0	0
Office Machine Operators	0	0	0	0	41.7	41.7	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3
Secretaries, Stenographers and Typists	0	0	0	0	40.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0
Other Clerical Workers	2.8	7.0	2.8	11.3	43.7	26.8	1.4	4.2	1.4	4.2
<u>Craftsmen and Kindred Workers</u>	5.9	3.5	12.9	17.7	40.0	14.1	1.2	4.7	1.2	4.7
Mechanics and Repairmen Includ. Auto	3.8	0	11.5	19.2	30.8	30.8	0	3.8	0	3.8
Printing Trade Craftsmen	14.3	28.6	0	0	57.1	0	0	0	0	0
Construction Craftsmen	11.1	0	11.1	16.7	50.0	5.6	0	5.6	0	5.6
Tailors	0	50.0	0	50.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Craftsmen	3.1	0	18.8	18.8	40.6	9.4	3.1	6.3	3.1	6.3
<u>Operatives, Except Transport</u>	15.5	14.4	7.2	23.7	35.1	3.1	0	1.0	0	1.0
Food Industry	12.5	6.3	12.5	43.8	25.0	0	0	0	0	0
Apparel	12.5	18.8	12.5	43.8	12.5	0	0	0	0	0
Laundry and Dry Cleaning Operatives	30.8	26.9	0	15.4	23.1	3.8	0	0	0	0
Other Operatives	7.7	7.7	7.7	12.8	56.4	5.1	0	2.6	0	2.6

(continued)

TABLE 23--continued

Selected Occupation & Sex	Elementary							High School			College	
	Less than 5	5-7	8	1-3	4	1-3	4	5 or more				
<u>Transport Equipment Operatives</u>	12.5	0	0	31.3	37.5	12.5	0	6.3				
<u>Laborers, Except Farm</u>	6.9	6.9	10.3	27.6	27.6	17.2	0	3.4				
<u>Freight, Stock and Material Handlers</u>	5.3	5.3	5.3	31.6	36.8	15.8	0	0				
<u>Other Laborers</u>	10.0	10.0	20.0	20.0	10.0	20.0	0	10.0				
<u>Farm Workers and Managers</u>	11.1	11.1	11.1	0	44.4	22.2	0	0				
<u>Service Workers, Except Private Household</u>	16.1	18.2	6.6	20.7	22.3	12.0	3.3	0.8				
<u>Cleaning Service</u>	7.7	15.4	0	15.4	30.8	23.1	7.7	0				
<u>Food Service</u>	16.7	19.4	7.4	21.8	21.3	10.2	2.8	0.5				
<u>Health Service</u>	0	0	0	50.0	0	0	0	50.0				
<u>Personal Service</u>	50.0	0	0	0	0	50.0	0	0				
<u>Protective Service</u>	0	0	0	0	57.1	28.6	14.3	0				
<u>Private Household Workers</u>	23.8	14.3	14.3	19.0	19.0	0	9.5	0				

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

NOTE: Based on a 1 percent sampling.

TABLE 23---Females

Selected Occupation & Sex	Elementary				High School		College	
	Less than 5	5-7	8	1-3	4	5 or more	4	5 or more
<u>Employed Females 16 Years and Over (100%)</u>	12.0	8.1	3.6	11.7	26.3	17.6	9.0	11.7
<u>Professional and Technical</u>	1.3	0	0	2.6	6.6	14.5	28.3	46.7
Architects	0	0	0	0	16.7	41.7	33.3	8.3
Computer Specialists	0	0	0	0	12.5	0	23.0	62.5
Engineers	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0	0
Librarians, Archivists & Curators	0	0	0	0	0	14.3	14.3	71.4
Mathematical Specialists	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0
Life and Physical Scientists	0	0	0	0	0	0	20.0	80.0
Physicians, Dentists, Related Pract.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0
Health Workers, Exc. Practitioners	0	0	0	9.0	0	36.4	45.4	9.1
Social Scientists	0	0	0	0	0	0	75.0	25.0
Teachers, College and University	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0
Teachers, Elem. & Second.	0	0	0	3.0	0	9.1	27.3	60.6
Technicians	0	0	0	8.3	16.7	8.3	25.0	41.7
Writers, Artists and Entertainers	28.6	0	0	0	0	0	42.9	28.6
Other Professional Workers	0	0	0	2.7	13.5	21.6	27.0	35.1
<u>Managers and Administrators, Exc. Farm</u>	6.9	3.5	13.8	17.2	24.1	20.7	6.9	6.9
Salaried: Manufacturing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	0	25.0	0	0	50.0	25.0	0	0
Service Industries	0	0	0	33.3	0	0	0	66.7
Other Industries	0	0	0	33.3	33.3	0	33.3	0
Self-Employed: Manufacturing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	8.3	0	16.7	16.7	33.3	16.7	8.3	0
Service Industries	20.0	0	20.0	20.0	0	40.0	0	0
Other Industries	0	0	0	0	0	100.0	0	0

(continued)

TABLE 23--Females continued

Selected Occupation & Sex	Elementary				High School		College	
	Less than 5	5-7	8	1-3	4	5 or more	4	5 or more
<u>Sales Workers</u>	7.5	12.5	7.5	20.0	27.5	22.5	2.5	0
Insurance Agents and Brokers	0	0	0	0	50.0	50.0	0	0
Sales Clerk, Retail Trade	6.9	17.2	10.3	24.1	13.8	24.1	3.5	0
Other Sales Workers	11.1	0	0	11.1	66.7	11.1	0	0
<u>Clerical and Kindred Workers</u>	1.6	1.6	1.3	11.8	45.0	28.2	6.3	4.2
Bank Tellers	0	0	0	10.0	40.0	30.0	20.0	0
Bookkeepers	0	0	0	0	44.4	37.0	18.5	0
File Clerks	0	0	0	0	80.0	20.0	0	0
Office Machine Operators	0	0	0	16.7	44.4	22.2	11.1	5.6
Secretaries, Stenographers and Typists	0	0	1.3	6.4	50.0	35.9	2.6	3.9
Telephone Operators	0	0	0	25.0	25.0	50.0	0	0
Other Clerical Workers	4.4	4.4	2.2	19.8	38.5	19.8	4.4	6.6
<u>Craftsmen and Kindred Workers</u>	0	0	14.3	14.3	57.1	0	0	14.3
Tailors	0	0	50.0	50.0	0	0	0	0
Other Craftsmen	0	0	0	0	80.0	0	0	20.0
<u>Operatives, Except Transport</u>	35.4	24.7	6.3	13.3	15.2	5.0	0	0
Food Industry	0	33.3	0	0	33.3	33.3	0	0
Apparel Industry	39.6	27.0	5.4	13.5	9.9	4.5	0	0
Laundry and Dry Cleaning Operatives	50.0	16.7	8.3	25.0	0	0	0	0
Other Operatives	18.7	18.7	9.4	9.4	37.5	6.3	0	0

(continued)

TABLE 23--Females continued

Selected Occupation & Sex	Elementary				High School		College	
	Less than 5	5-7	8	1-3	4	4	5 or more	
<u>Laborers, Except Farm</u>	0	20.0	0	0	60.0	0	0	
Freight, Stock and Material Handlers	0	25.0	0	0	50.0	0	0	
Other Laborers	0	0	0	0	100.0	0	0	
<u>Farm Workers and Managers</u>	50.0	0	25.0	0	0	0	25.0	
<u>Service Workers, Except Private Household</u>	18.7	7.8	4.7	15.6	26.6	6.3	0	
Cleaning Service	33.3	16.7	0	33.3	0	0	0	
Food Service	20.0	8.0	4.0	16.0	24.0	6.0	0	
Health Service	0	0	50.0	0	50.0	0	0	
Personal Service	0	0	0	0	66.7	16.7	0	
<u>Private Household Workers</u>	20.7	13.8	3.5	27.6	27.6	0	0	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Tapes (1970)

NOTE: Based on a 1 percent sampling.

percent of those listed under physicians, dentists, and related practitioners have less than five years of schooling. Perhaps these "doctors" are herbalists or masseuses who claim the power of healing.

Managers and administrators who work for a salary are highly educated. Those who are self-employed need not be. Male sales and clerical workers are inordinately overeducated. For instance, 60 percent of the Chinese male bank tellers are college graduates. This job actually requires only a high school degree. Fifty percent of Chinese males in file clerk jobs are college graduates.

Chinese females, even those with a college education, are heavily concentrated in clerical jobs. Approximately half of those with one to three years of college, one-fourth of those who graduated, and one-eighth of those who are postgraduates remain at the clerical level.¹ This averages out to approximately one-third of all Chinese females who ever attended college (and we noted previously that almost one-fourth of the Chinese females 16 years and over have had some college education). It seems that females have a very difficult time trying to rise above the clerical ranks, whether Chinese or not.

More School, Higher Pay?

The general assumption is that a higher education commands a better job, which in turn means more pay. Does the correlation follow for the Chinese? After studying Table 24, we can say that, in some respects, the principle holds true. Those Chinese in the higher income brackets are better educated, but the reverse does not follow. More education does not always result in better pay.

Of Chinese males 16 years or older, one out of five high school graduates earned more than \$10,000 in 1969, whereas two out of five college graduates earned this annual personal income. The proportion of those earning \$10,000 or more increases to half of those with a postgraduate degree. But what about the three in five college graduates and the other half of the postgraduates who fall somewhat, or even substantially, below this income level? Is this the norm or is it below par? Let us compare these percentages with those for whites and blacks.

The data reveals that 59.6 percent of white male college grads

1. U. S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

TABLE 24

PERSONAL INCOME OF \$10,000 OR MORE IN 1969, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL FOR WHITES, BLACKS, AND CHINESE, BY SEX AND PERCENT

	% with Pers. Income of \$10,000 or more	
	Male	Female
High School Graduates		
White	32.5	2.4
Black	10.4	0.9
Chinese	20.9	2.6
College Graduates		
White	59.6	10.2
Black	35.3	11.2
Chinese	38.3	9.3
Post Graduates		
White	67.1	27.7
Black	53.0	34.2
Chinese	50.9	13.3

Source: Whites and Blacks: U.S. Census Bureau, General Population Characteristics, vol. II, (1970), Table 249; Chinese: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

have a personal income of \$10,000 or more, whereas the black and Chinese male trail far behind with 35.3 percent and 38.3 percent respectively. When white males attain postgraduate level, 67.1 percent go over the \$10,000 mark, while the Chinese male falls behind the black male in earning capacity.

The disparity of income between male and female of any race is deplorable. Females with the same educational attainment never come near the earning power of their male counterparts, and the Chinese female postgraduate is at the bottom of the ladder. Her black sister seems to be doing better than either whites or Chinese.

So when it comes down to the nitty-gritty, the rewards for the Chinese are not there. They have schooling, often attained at a high personal cost--such as postponement of marriage, financial sacrifice, and the foregoing of any social life or recreation. They have cracked open the doors of professional and technical occupations, but their income is in no way commensurate with their educational achievement.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. A large proportion of the Chinese population is highly educated: one-fourth of the males and one-sixth of the females are college graduates.
2. The educational attainment for the younger age groups--those below 25 years of age--promises to be even higher.
3. At the other extreme, a large proportion of the Chinese population in the United States is illiterate. It is 11 percent, compared to 1.6 percent for whites and 3.3 percent for blacks.
4. The opposite-poles educational profile is generally found among the foreign-born Chinese. The native born are neither illiterate nor do they go beyond college graduation to the degree that their foreign-born counterparts do.
5. The high educational attainment of such a large proportion of the Chinese is due partially to the cultural tradition of respect for scholarship, but primarily to enforced classroom attendance mandated in large part by immigration considerations.
6. The highly educated male tends to gravitate toward a white-collar professional or technical job, but many are in positions beneath their qualifications.
7. One-third of the Chinese females who have ever attended college are in clerical work.
8. More school does not mean better pay for the Chinese. In fact, they form the most poorly paid group at comparable educational levels.
9. Whether illiterate or postgraduate, the Chinese female is the most disadvantaged. The occupational sphere is extremely limited and the financial remuneration is far below that of Chinese males or that of her white and black sisters.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Educationally as well as occupationally, the Chinese are a bifurcated group, so recommendations cannot be applied to the group as a whole. We have a highly educated group consisting of foreign-born immigrants and native-born Chinese-Americans. On the other hand, the large number of illiterates poses a different set of problems.

The continuation of schooling far beyond the normal range seems to be artificially propped up. The most compelling reason is to maintain student immigration status. If this condition were removed, the investment in formal schooling might be more profitably used toward other, more interesting personal pursuits. Not that the education has not stood the Chinese in good stead. It has certainly raised their occupational status, to the point that one-fourth of the Chinese are now in professional or technical work, but being in the upper occupational classes has not brought commensurate financial returns.

Schooling is fine, but more does not always mean better. My personal opinion is that this high educational level has been attained at great personal cost. I do not refer merely to the investment of time, effort, and money, but also to the postponement of marriage and children, and the absence of recreation and leisure time for the more aesthetic aspects of life.

Formal education goes far beyond the point of optimum for the Chinese. In many respects, we are driven by an inner compulsion stemming from insecurity that we have to be better in every respect than the next person. Perhaps we have to be. The census tabulations certainly support this belief. The Chinese cannot afford to have the bare minimum educational qualifications; he must have better to remain competitive.

There is a tendency everywhere to equate quantity (degrees or years of school completed) with quality. We are beginning to see a reaction against this kind of thinking, and a higher degree may lead to greater employer resistance against overqualification. Clearly the postgraduates among the Chinese have a higher unemployment rate.

Book learning may divert a person from other types of work which may be more financially or personally rewarding. The expectation is that a professionally trained person will go into the professions. Ronald Wong, in Case Four, is a prime example. More status accrues to a college graduate or engineer, but Ronald would have preferred another line of work.

As we saw in Chapter I, a disproportionate number of Chinese-Americans are recent immigrants. For these people, years must be devoted to reeducation and retraining for a new life in the United States. If they were accountants in Hong Kong, the bookkeeping system may be different from that in New York. If they were doctors in Taiwan, even experienced practitioners, they may have to undergo further schooling before they can practice in this country. Obviously, there are going to be few calls for teachers of Chinese philosophy in Chicago.

This is a more highly technical society than the one most Chinese have lived under in the Far East. Even such a routine thing such as using the telephone may be a new experience to the recent immigrant. High-speed subways may be a frightening experience for someone who has never been on one. Adjustment to a new country is a total, and overwhelming, reeducation process. Everything must be learned at once, and this learning is not restricted to preparation for a job per se. It involves such things as knowing how to use a knife and fork and to eat off a plate, instead of eating out of a bowl with chopsticks.

Holding a responsible job means more than technical or professional know-how. It means familiarity with the social amenities, playing golf with the boss on the weekends, chatting about baseball at the water cooler. My own opinion is that the Chinese need more education in the social arena than in the areas of more technical or academic knowledge. The Chinese need to know more about the American government and the political process. They need citizenship or civic knowledge so that they can become acquainted with the forces that might affect their lives. They need a broadening of their horizon, rather than more specialization in their academic field.

At the other extreme, we have a disproportionate number of older men and, especially, women who have no schooling whatsoever. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to set up the traditional structure of imparting knowledge by books, classroom, and the blackboard for these people who do not have any previous exposure to this type of education. Their learning processes have all been experienced through actual life situations.

Simpler goals and simpler expectations may be planned for these people by such organized programs as learning how to use the telephone by using one, how to ride a bus by riding one, how to find out which bus to take by taking various routes, how to utilize the services of a bank by visiting the premises and opening an account. Training sessions such as these may seem elementary to those of us long exposed to these everyday occurrences, but they are untried and oftentimes frightening experiences for new immigrants. I know many Chinese who

will not take a job outside Chinatown because they are afraid they will get lost on the bus. They will not go for a job interview because they are much too self-conscious about their speech and mannerisms. These barriers are often more difficult to surmount than attending classes and preparing oneself professionally for a position. Many Chinese are more than adequately trained in their field of work, but they are overlooked in promotions because they are inadequate in the social sphere.

In the past, the Chinese in the United States looked to China as a refuge from the hostile American society where they resided. They lived vicariously in China's past civilization and glories. They made little attempt to carve a niche for themselves in American society. Today's younger generation Chinese-Americans do not accept that accommodation. They are American citizens, and they will enjoy the privileges and shoulder the responsibilities of that status.

Each and every Chinese in the United States should learn about the history and experiences of his people so that he can be comfortable with his identity. He need not be looked upon as foreign. Because he has opted for American citizenship, this is his country as much as it is any other American's. He need not apologize for his parents' customs nor their humble origins. Their migration is, in itself, a heroic feat. This is an aspect of our education that must be reinforced.

Finally, we must reexamine our attitudes toward the female gender. The census tabulation points out the unforgivable inequities shouldered by the Chinese women. They are less favored with the opportunity for schooling, and too high a percentage are illiterate. I do not know how these past wrongs can be corrected. The harm is done. But a large proportion of Chinese females with college degrees and Ph.D.s are still working in occupations which insult their ability and intelligence. At the same time, their income trails so far behind that of their male Chinese classmates' that it is pitiful.

Women's Lib has bolstered the black females' position, but the Chinese female labors under a double disadvantage. As far as I know, those Chinese females who have gained professionally or economically have paid a high price in their personal life. They shoulder a double load of homemaker and career women. They marry later and have fewer children. Their success is viewed as a challenge to their husband's ego. Most Chinese women are still reticent about challenging the status quo. Without active involvement and support, the liberation of the Chinese female can only reap the lean pickings of the wider feminist movement.

CHAPTER V

LABOR FORCE AND OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN

Misleading Stereotypes

"What? How can those puny Chinamen build railroads? They haven't got the strength," exclaimed J.H. Strobbridge, superintendent of the work force on the Central Pacific Railroad and the man in charge of recruiting workers for the transcontinental railroad.

"They built the Great Wall, didn't they?" was the reply. Strobbridge admitted that he did not have an answer to that question, so he agreed to try the Chinese out. Eventually they formed the main labor force on the construction of the iron rails that spanned the American continent and linked the Atlantic with the Pacific.

Following the humiliating defeat of China at the hands of the British Navy in the Opium War, the imposing Celestial Empire was masked as a paper dragon and revealed in all its nakedness as a technologically backward nation. The prophets of doom began prophesying the decline and dismemberment of the Chinese Empire because this slumbering dragon had slept too long and could never catch up. Their conclusion was based upon the assessment that the Chinese were too philosophical to make good scientists or technicians. This premise also proved to be grossly erroneous. Today China is a nuclear power, and Chinese-Americans work predominantly in the fields of science and technology.

Similar fallacies come up time and again about certain people or groups being more suited to one occupation or another, merely because they have been long identified with certain types of work. It is very hard for a Chinese to shake off the stereotype that he is a laundryman, or houseboy, or waiter, and many are surprised to learn that, at one time or another, the Chinese in the United States have run the gamut of occupations.

The Range of Occupations

We know the Chinese came originally to work as gold miners, although they were small farmers, tradesmen, and fishermen back in the old country. They returned to these occupations as soon as the surface gold began to peter out. In the 1880s, 75 percent of all farm hands in California were Chinese. As fishermen, they brought up large hauls of fish, shrimp, and other seafood from the virgin waters of San Francisco Bay to feed the hordes swarming to the West.

They were the carpenters, shipbuilders, masons, and craftsmen who built the first vessels and homes in California. Their monumental feat in the construction of the transcontinental railroad is recorded history. They made the shoes and fabrics that clothed the people. There was hardly an industry during those days of the Gold Rush where they were not found in numbers until they were driven, taxed, or excluded from their jobs. And when the purge and persecution ended, the Chinese were left with nothing to do but what the white man did not want to do. These jobs were washing and ironing, cooking and serving food, and waiting on the masters and mistresses at their beck and call. These jobs came under the general heading of what the predominantly male population then labelled "women's work." Thus, occupationally, the Chinese were emasculated for almost a century. Aside from those in laundries, restaurants, and domestic service, there were but a few others who worked in small grocery stores or curio shops.

Many Americans consider the choice of occupation as a basic right. This belief is so fundamental that we give very little thought to the fact that it is not universal and that sometimes, even in this country, the choice is restricted by many factors and conditions.

Not until recent times have the Chinese had any choice of occupation. World War II triggered the change, but it was around the 1950s that the Chinese started easing into other lines of work. By the 1960s, the pace had turned into a spurt, and the Chinese made rapid strides forward. The object of this study is to find out how the Chinese have regrouped occupationally. Our first task is to find out what size group we are dealing with, and what their employment pattern is at present. Perhaps some light can be thrown on why they are in these positions. In other words, what were the causative factors? From knowledge of where we are, we will attempt to see if the pattern of Chinese employment can be expanded horizontally and vertically.

This is a large order but a necessary beginning of that first

TABLE 25

PERCENT OF CHINESE 16 YEARS AND OVER IN THE LABOR FORCE, 1970

Age and Sex	U.S.	Calif.	N.Y.	Hawaii	Ill.	Mass.
<u>Males</u>	73.2	73.5	71.1	76.1	73.4	72.3
16-19 years	37.5	41.0	26.5	37.1	33.2	35.3
20-24	58.0	60.8	53.6	76.6	53.5	59.0
25-34	86.7	88.9	88.8	92.1	84.8	82.3
35-44	95.5	95.7	96.3	96.2	95.0	94.0
45-64	87.8	87.5	86.2	88.4	87.5	92.6
65+	24.8	23.6	21.9	26.6	32.9	26.0
<u>Females</u>	49.5	51.0	49.2	54.2	50.2	53.2
16-19 years	34.5	36.6	29.4	37.1	37.8	46.3
20-24	55.7	59.0	54.1	64.7	56.7	56.9
25-34	50.3	54.6	47.6	64.1	45.5	50.5
35-44	59.1	60.9	61.2	68.3	58.9	61.3
45-64	57.4	58.0	57.6	60.1	63.2	62.5
65+	12.0	11.1	14.8	6.8	14.9	20.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)IG (1970), Table 19.

NOTE: In labor force means the employed or those looking for work.

step in the thousand-league journey, because occupation, or career, profession, job, work, or whatever one may want to call the activity, is the single most important basic aspect of our lives. It takes up the major portion of our waking hours and provides the wherewithal for our daily existence. It determines where we live and how we live. It may also circumscribe our social life. That is why a study of the occupational status of the Chinese is fundamental to the understanding of this ethnic group.

Labor Force

How large a group are we dealing with when we talk about the occupational pattern of the Chinese? The number of civilians 16 years and over who are employed or looking for work is called the labor force. Excluded are persons such as housewives, those doing volunteer work, students, retirees, those who are unable to work, and those not actively seeking paid employment.

The Chinese labor force was approximately 190,000 in 1970 against a total population of 437,000.¹ Using round numbers, of the 190,000 labor force, 120,000 were males and 70,000 were females. Approximately three-fourths of the males and one-half of the females 16 years and over were in the labor force. A comparison of labor force participation rate by whites and blacks given below is taken from the 1970 census:

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Chinese	73.2%	49.5%
White	80.6%	43.4%
Black	69.8%	47.5%

There is an appreciable difference in labor force participation rates between the three ethnic groups. The percentage (80.6 percent) of white males in the labor force is significantly higher than that for the Chinese (73.2 percent) or blacks (69.8 percent). The Chinese occupy an intermediary position between the two groups. The reason for the lower rates for Chinese males stems from the prolonged period of their education, which keeps them out of the labor market but does not mean that they are unemployed. This is obvious from Table 25,

1. The size of the labor force has increased substantially since that time because of the heavy influx of immigrants over recent years.

TABLE 26

LABOR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S.
BY STATE, TERRITORY, DISTRICTS, AND SMSAS, 1970

	Males			Females				
	Labor Force		Unempl'd %	Labor Force		Unempl'd %		
	No.	%		No.	%			
United States Total	117,924	73.2	114,433	3.0	71,786	49.5	69,129	3.7
<u>States</u>								
California	46,008	72.5	44,164	4.0	29,983	51.0	28,575	4.7
New York State	23,030	71.0	22,497	2.3	13,295	49.2	12,910	2.9
Hawaii	13,603	74.6	13,315	2.1	9,935	54.1	9,761	1.8
<u>SMSAs</u>								
Boston	3,468	72.5	3,371	2.8	2,112	54.8	2,020	4.4
Chicago	3,475	74.5	3,389	2.5	1,967	50.9	1,916	2.6
Honolulu	12,627	74.5	12,364	2.1	9,331	54.6	9,174	1.7
Los Angeles-Long Beach	11,841	77.0	11,384	3.9	7,159	51.4	6,931	3.2
New York	21,584	71.1	21,075	2.4	12,685	49.8	12,325	2.8
Sacramento	2,553	68.3	2,499	2.1	1,588	44.3	1,412	11.1
San Francisco-Oakland	23,477	71.4	22,448	4.4	16,917	54.0	16,279	3.8
San Jose	2,309	78.5	2,227	3.6	1,192	45.8	1,119	6.1
Seattle-Everett	2,069	71.5	1,990	3.8	1,216	49.6	1,132	6.9
Wash. D.C.-Md.-Va.	2,084	73.3	2,055	1.4	1,355	49.5	1,303	3.8

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)IG (1970), Tables 19, 28.

showing percent of Chinese in the labor force by age group and sex. Not until 25 to 34 years of age do the Chinese males start coming into the labor force in numbers and by the next age category, 35 to 44, they are into the labor market almost full force.

More Women Working

What is revealing about our findings is that a greater percentage of Chinese women are in the labor force compared to the blacks or whites. It has been popularly assumed that a large proportion of black women are employed outside of the home, either because of low family income or the absence of a male breadwinner, and that this situation has had a deleterious effect on the black family. Our figures show a larger percentage of Chinese women in the labor force, and the fact comes somewhat as a surprise. The impact of this development may be significant. The increasing participation of Chinese females in employment outside of the home is treated in greater length in Chapter VI.

Table 26 shows labor force and employment status of the Chinese, by sex, for the three heavily Chinese populated states and ten SMSAs. There does not seem to be any pattern in the labor force participation rates for Chinese males, the lowest being 68.3 percent, in Sacramento, California, and the highest, 78.5 percent, in San Jose, California.

There was a 10 percentage-point variation for these places, both of which are in the same state and fairly close to one another. Sacramento also registered the lowest labor force participation rate for Chinese females (44.3 percent) and had the greatest unemployment rate, 11.1 percent.

These figures are puzzling considering that Sacramento is the state capital, and government is a fairly stable and steady industry which employs a substantial proportion of clerical workers, teachers, and health workers. These are traditional female domains. I am inclined to question these figures.

Major Occupation Groups

The variety and job titles identified by the Bureau of Census runs to 494, but they can be grouped under ten major occupation categories. As listed in Table 27, these range from professional and technical to private household workers. These major occupation groups simplify the handling of our statistics, but they mask many facts that must be examined in more detail. Nonetheless, it is important to view the whole before viewing the parts.

TABLE 27

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S.,
BY SELECTED STATES, SEX, AND PERCENT, 1970

Major Occupation Group and Sex	U. S.		Calif.		N. Y.		Hawaii		Illinois		Mass.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Males Employed 16 yrs. +	114,433	100.0	44,164	100.0	22,497	100.0	13,315	100.0	3,914	100.0	3,858	100.0
Professional & Technical	33,119	28.9	11,400	25.8	4,866	21.6	2,883	21.7	1,438	36.7	1,121	29.1
Managers & Administrators	13,061	11.4	4,989	11.3	2,278	10.1	1,878	14.1	338	8.6	391	10.1
Sales Workers	5,021	4.4	2,385	5.4	946	4.2	866	6.5	134	3.4	54	1.9
Clerical Workers	10,762	9.4	5,388	12.2	1,813	8.1	1,499	11.3	274	7.0	248	6.4
Craftsmen	8,367	7.3	3,463	7.8	963	4.3	2,595	19.5	137	3.5	125	3.2
Operatives	11,998	10.5	4,943	11.2	3,367	13.0	1,229	9.2	355	9.1	313	8.1
Laborers	3,787	3.3	1,784	4.0	360	1.6	697	5.2	89	2.3	82	2.1
Farm Workers	830	0.7	481	1.1	14	0.1	146	1.1	14	0.4	6	0.2
Service Workers	27,010	23.6	9,100	20.6	7,784	34.6	1,516	11.4	1,125	28.7	1,518	39.4
Private Household Workers	478	0.4	231	0.5	106	0.5	6	0.1	10	0.3	0	0.0
Females Employed 16 yrs. +	69,129	100.0	28,575	100.0	12,910	100.0	9,761	100.0	2,228	100.0	2,255	100.0
Professional & Technical	13,402	19.4	4,332	15.2	2,004	15.5	1,860	19.1	610	27.4	409	18.1
Managers & Administrators	2,636	3.8	987	3.5	479	3.7	534	5.5	36	1.6	16	0.7
Sales Workers	3,531	5.1	1,558	5.5	430	3.3	890	9.1	55	2.5	86	3.8
Clerical Workers	21,989	31.8	10,453	36.6	3,246	25.1	3,619	37.1	626	28.1	639	28.3
Craftsmen	846	1.2	351	1.2	182	1.4	190	2.0	39	1.8	0	0.0
Operatives	15,556	22.5	6,567	23.0	5,426	42.0	778	8.0	460	20.7	843	37.4
Laborers	592	0.9	199	0.7	92	0.7	100	1.0	26	1.2	10	0.4
Farm Workers	361	0.5	250	0.9	6	0.1	54	0.6	0	0.0	7	0.3
Service Workers	8,842	12.8	3,259	11.4	769	6.0	1,650	16.9	348	15.6	213	9.5
Private Household Workers	1,374	2.0	619	2.2	276	2.1	86	0.9	28	1.3	32	1.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 22.

The striking fact that emerges from Table 27 is the heavy concentration in the professions and service work for the males. This is a twin-peak situation or a tendency toward extremes. Assuming that the ten occupational categories also reflect an ascending or descending scale of economic status associated with these occupational groups, we can say that the Chinese are both at the top and the bottom of the economic scale. For example, 28.9 percent of all Chinese males in the United States are in the professions, which is the top of the scale. Yet 23.6 percent are in service work, which is near the bottom. Again, we have a bifurcated group in economic status.

The proportions in each group vary from state to state, but the pattern holds true for these two categories, except in the state of Hawaii.² In some states, like Illinois, the extremes are even more pronounced. 36.7 percent are in the professions and 28.7 percent in service work. States like New York and Massachusetts have a much greater percentage of males in service work, but the percentage in the professions is substantial as well.

A twin-peak situation also holds for the Chinese female, but the peaks are closer together toward the middle of the economic scale. The largest numbers are found in clerical work and the second largest come under the heading operatives. These two occupation groups combined include from approximately one-half to two-thirds of all females employed.

Variation by Cities

The opposite-poles employment picture prevails even in breakdown by cities (see Table 28), but it is accentuated in some cases by an even greater concentration in either the professions or service work for the males. For example, 47.9 percent of the Chinese males in Washington, D.C., are in the professions, whereas

2. In almost every table in this report, we can see that the figures for Hawaii differ noticeably from those for the mainland states. That is because Hawaii's Chinese were unfettered by American racism until the islands became a territory of the United States in 1898. Even then, the social climate was more favorable than that found on the mainland. As a consequence, the Chinese were able to move out and up into other occupations more quickly.

TABLE 28

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S.,
BY PERCENT DISTRIBUTION FOR SELECTED SMSAS, BY SEX, 1970

Major Occupation Groups	Boston	Chicago	Honolulu	Long Beach	New York	Sacramento	Oakland	San Jose	Seattle	D.C.-Va.
Males	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Employed 16 Yrs.+	27.5	31.7	22.2	32.0	18.6	25.5	19.8	50.5	25.1	47.9
Professional, Technical	10.2	9.4	14.1	10.9	10.3	14.5	10.3	9.1	13.7	10.1
Managers	1.2	3.7	6.5	5.7	4.5	3.6	5.9	4.9	3.9	1.2
Sales Workers	6.8	7.8	11.4	10.5	8.3	13.5	14.8	7.3	9.2	6.1
Clerical Workers	2.4	4.0	20.0	6.1	4.3	5.4	9.7	6.0	7.6	3.6
Craftsmen	7.9	9.4	8.9	12.3	15.7	9.8	12.3	5.5	4.9	3.8
Operatives	2.3	2.2	5.2	3.5	1.7	6.2	3.5	2.3	2.2	2.8
Laborers, exc. farm	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.1	2.6	0.3	7.0	0.2	0.2
Farmers, Mgrs. & Laborers	41.5	31.1	11.2	18.6	36.0	19.0	22.7	7.1	33.2	23.4
Service Workers	0	0.3	0	0.3	0.5	0	0.7	0.3	0	0.9
Private Household Workers										
Females	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Employed 16 Yrs.+	15.6	22.7	18.9	20.3	14.0	13.3	10.9	32.4	18.6	34.4
Professional, Technical	0.6	1.7	5.4	3.5	3.6	3.9	3.2	2.7	2.5	4.3
Managers	3.8	2.4	9.4	5.3	3.4	3.5	5.8	5.4	5.9	4.4
Sales Workers	28.5	30.4	37.5	33.9	25.4	43.6	38.2	29.9	24.2	29.9
Clerical Workers	0	2.0	1.9	0.7	1.4	0.8	1.6	0.8	0.4	0.8
Craftsmen	39.6	23.4	8.2	25.6	43.7	14.1	26.3	7.7	29.6	5.7
Operatives	0.5	1.4	1.0	0.4	0.7	1.4	0.5	1.3	1.5	0.4
Laborers, exc. farm	0.3	0	0.5	0.1	0	1.3	0.3	12.0	0.8	0
Farmers, Mgrs. & Laborers	9.9	14.8	16.5	8.3	5.6	13.8	11.1	6.4	14.9	14.2
Service Workers	1.2	1.2	0.7	2.1	2.1	4.2	2.2	1.4	1.6	5.9
Private Household Workers										

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970).

41.5 percent of those in Boston are in service work. The lowest percentage in the professions is found in New York City (18.6 percent), and 36 percent of the males are in service work.

There is no departure in the twin-peak female pattern of employment either, except for the same concentration of either clerical workers or operatives, depending upon the city. 43.6 percent are in clerical position in Sacramento, whereas 43.7 percent are operatives in New York City. The few exceptions are found in Washington, D.C., San Jose, California, and Honolulu, where female professionals exceed the numbers in the operatives category.

Four SMSAs shown in Table 28 are within the state of California. They are Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Francisco-Oakland, and San Jose. The latter three are fairly close to one another, but the variation in the percentages of the various occupation groups is pronounced. For instance, only 10.9 percent of the females in San Francisco are in professional jobs, whereas in San Jose, 50 miles south, the percentage is 32.4. 12 percent of the females in that city are farm laborers, whereas in some places women in farming are few or almost nil.

Aside from the professions and service work, the Chinese males appear to have a healthy percentage of 10 percent to 15 percent under the managerial category. This is a deceptive figure. Closer scrutiny will reveal that these managers, more often than not, are owner-operators of small businesses such as restaurants, gift shops, or grocery stores.

Some comment is in order about the other major occupational categories and the conspicuous absence of Chinese from these types of jobs--sales work, for example. A national percentage of 4.4 percent of the males and 5.1 percent of the females are in sales work. Again, more often than not, these sales workers are employed in the Chinatown curio shops which cater to the tourists, or they are salespeople who cater to their own people, such as insurance salesman whose clients are of their own ethnic group. Sales work calls for extensive dealing with the public, and there has been reluctance on the part of both the employers and the Chinese to vanquish fears about how clients will react to a salesperson of Chinese ancestry.

Craftsmen

The crafts is one field to which the Chinese would be ideally suited. Crafts are skilled and other manual occupations. Approxi-

mately 30 million blue-collar workers are employed in this occupational category in the United States. Craftsmen transform the ideas of scientists and the plans of engineers into goods and services. They operate transportation and communication systems. They build homes and factories and machines. They are the mechanics and the repairmen, the carpenters and the bricklayers. In the crafts, one works with materials and with the hands more than with ideas or with the public.

However, crafts are heavily unionized, and entry into these occupations is extremely difficult. (This subject will be dealt with more fully in Chapter VIII.) As a result, Chinese representation in the crafts is insignificant. For example, it was but 4.3 percent in New York State in 1970. In actual numbers, it was less than a thousand Chinese males for the entire Empire State.

Laborers, Farmers and Household Workers

At one time, laborers, farmers, and household workers were the predominant occupations of the Chinese in the United States. Today, the Chinese have almost disappeared from these major occupation groups. This rapid decrease is seen in Table 29, which shows the occupational grouping of the Chinese for the four decennial censuses. Private household workers went from 6.2 percent, in 1940, to 0.8 percent, in 1970. Farmers went from 3.8 percent, in 1940, to 0.6 percent, in 1970. Laborers increased from a tiny 0.7 percent, in 1940, to 2.3 percent in 1970, and we may see a slight increase in this category in 1980 as a result of the recent influx of immigrants, but the increase will never be significant to any degree.

The most spectacular finding from Table 29 is the phenomenal increase in the professional and technical percentages from a mere 2.8 percent, in 1940, to 7.1 percent, in 1950 to 17.9 percent, in 1960, and a whopping 26.5 percent in 1970. At the same time, the work force increased five times within this thirty-year time-span.

The decrease in the managerial and sales positions can be explained again by the fact that the small owner-operated stores are dwindling rapidly, and it looks as if everyone is scrambling to get into the professional and technical fields.

How do these percentages measure against those for whites, blacks and Japanese? Table 30 gives a comparison. The Chinese are far ahead of all three other ethnic groups by percentage in the professions; they trail far behind all three groups in the crafts, and they are on even keel with the blacks in service work.

TABLE 29

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S.,
BY DECADES AND PERCENT, 1940-1970

Major Occupational Groups	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Employed	36,454	48,409	98,784	181,190
Professional Technical	2.8%	7.1%	17.9%	26.5%
Managers	20.6	19.8	12.7	8.9
Sales Workers	11.4	15.9	6.6	4.3
Clerical Workers	11.4	15.9	13.8	16.8
Craftsmen	1.2	2.9	5.2	5.4
Operators	22.6	17.1	15.0	14.8
Laborers, except farmers	0.7	1.7	1.3	2.3
Farmers	3.8	2.6	1.0	0.6
Service Workers	30.4	28.8	18.8	19.6
Private Household Workers	6.2	2.6	1.0	0.8
Not Reported	0.3	1.5	6.5	-

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Censuses (1940, 1950, 1960, 1970).

NOTE: Between 1960 and 1970, some job titles were shifted from one occupation group to another, especially in the service work category.

TABLE 30

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS
MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, BY RACE, 1970

Major Occupational Groups	Chinese	Whites	Blacks	Japanese
Professional, Technical Managers	26.5%	14.8%	8.3%	19.0%
Sales Workers	8.9	11.4	2.2	8.2
Clerical Workers	4.3	6.7	2.2	6.4
Craftsmen	16.8	18.0	13.8	20.2
Operators	5.4	13.5	9.1	11.8
Laborers, except farmers	14.8	17.0	23.6	11.7
Farmers	2.3	4.1	9.3	5.9
Service Workers	0.6	4.0	3.1	3.8
Private Household Workers	19.6	9.4	20.0	11.0
	0.8	1.3	8.3	1.8

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Subject Reports (1970).

Detailed Occupations

To get down to specifics, exactly what professions or occupations are the Chinese engaged in? The Census Bureau lists 494 occupation titles, but in Table 31 I have selected the ones in which the Chinese are to be found to a greater degree.

In studying the figures and percentages in this table, we see some decided areas of concentration. There are 8,862 engineers and another 3,631 engineering and science technicians for an approximate total of 12,500. Educators, both at college and precollege levels, run close to another 10,000. Professional health personnel add up to about 8,000. These three groups already total about 40,500 out of 48,000 professionals.

There are reasons why the Chinese are predisposed toward these three professions. Some of the reasons were mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. To recapitulate briefly, one reason is the importance attached to science and technology in Chinese educational institutions in an effort to catch up with the West. Another reason is that engineering and science are courses of study more likely to be chosen by students who have problems expressing themselves in English or who are shy about dealing with people. The more impersonal disciplines of engineering and science or math meet their needs in that respect. A third reason is that Chinese parents understand what an engineer, or teacher, or doctor is. They do not quite know what a psychologist or anthropologist is. Therefore, the parents tend to push their sons into these traditional disciplines. A fourth reason pertains to the educators or teachers. In social status, the scholar or man of learning enjoys top prestige, hence the penchant toward teaching as a career.

Entry into these professions is also somewhat easier for the Chinese in the United States. Professional competence is an important criterion in these fields, and the Chinese can handle this requirement better than the more illusive ones, such as the ability to socialize or play office politics.

If the Chinese are culturally inclined toward these professions and have succeeded very well in them, there is little reason why anyone should question their inclination, except that when there is such a heavy concentration in a limited number of professions the group is extremely vulnerable to economic or social change.

Take educators for example. Close to one-fifth of the professionals are teachers in the grade and secondary schools or professors in universities and colleges. We know from the popula-

TABLE 31

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S., 1970

Selected Occupations	Male	Female	Total	%
Total 16 Years and Over	113,929	67,261	181,190	100.0%
<u>Professional, Technical & Kindred Workers</u>	34,436	13,565	48,001	26.5%
Accountants	2,073	823	2,896	1.6%
Architects	596	44	640	0.4%
Computer Specialists	1,288	414	1,702	0.9%
Engineers	8,780	82	8,862	4.9%
Aeronautical & astronautical	510	0	510	0.3%
Chemical	531	0	531	0.3%
Civil	2,222	40	2,262	1.2%
Electrical & electronic	2,588	22	2,610	1.4%
Industrial	148	0	148	0.1%
Mechanical	892	20	912	0.5%
Lawyers & Judges	327	45	372	0.2%
Librarians, Archivists & Curators	234	561	795	0.4%
Mathematical Specialists	122	154	276	0.2%
Life and Physical Scientists	2,244	582	2,826	1.6%
Biological	382	126	508	0.3%
Chemists	1,353	417	1,770	1.0%
Physicists and astronomers	278	19	297	0.2%
Personnel and Labor Relations Workers	340	83	423	0.2%
Physicians, Dentists & Related Practitioners	3,344	586	3,930	2.2%
Dentists	423	0	423	0.2%
Pharmacists	591	156	747	0.4%
Physicians, medical & osteopathic	2,200	408	2,608	1.4%
Registered Nurses, Dieticians & Therapists	156	1,413	1,569	0.9%
Health Technologists & Technicians	373	1,073	1,446	0.8%
Religious Workers	196	27	223	0.1%
Social Scientists	285	94	379	0.2%
Social and Recreation Workers	372	461	833	0.5%
Teachers, College & University	4,059	1,005	5,064	2.8%
Biology	99	57	156	0.1%
Chemistry	244	74	318	0.2%
Physics	389	0	389	0.2%
Engineering	545	0	545	0.3%
Mathematics	318	88	406	0.2%
Health specialties	181	121	302	0.2%
Psychology	54	24	78	0.0%
Economics	103	21	124	0.1%
History	116	40	156	0.1%
English	96	79	175	0.1%
Foreign Language	150	104	254	0.1%
Teachers, Except College & University	1,209	3,332	4,541	2.5%
Elementary School	198	1,866	2,064	1.1%
Pre-kindergarten & kindergarten	0	379	379	0.2%
Secondary School	807	675	1,482	0.8%

(continued)

TABLE 31--continued

Selected Occupations	Male	Female	Total	%
<u>Clerical and Kindred Workers</u>	9,768	20,736	30,504	16.8%
Bank Tellers	117	600	717	0.4%
Bookkeepers	731	2,166	2,897	1.6%
Cashiers	1,354	2,485	3,839	2.1%
Counter Clerks, Except Food	267	253	520	0.3%
Estimators & Investigators N.E.C.	182	257	439	0.2%
Expeditors & Production Controllers	240	83	323	0.2%
File Clerks	521	552	1,073	0.6%
Library Attendants & Assistants	252	510	762	0.4%
Mail Carriers, Post Office	517	32	549	0.3%
Office Machine Operators	649	1,605	2,254	1.2%
Postal Clerks	706	302	1,008	0.6%
Receptionists	22	410	432	0.2%
Secretaries	153	2,924	3,077	1.7%
Shipping & Receiving Clerks	482	66	548	0.3%
Statistical Clerks	207	450	657	0.4%
Stenographers	21	247	268	0.1%
Stock Clerks & Storekeepers	613	294	907	0.5%
Telephone Operators	69	327	396	0.2%
Ticket, Station & Express Agents	130	164	294	0.2%
Typists	206	2,958	3,164	1.7%
<u>Craftsmen and Kindred Workers</u>	8,789	1,060	9,849	5.4%
Bakers	278	85	363	0.2%
Construction Craftsmen	1,748	19	1,767	1.0%
Carpenters	569	19	588	0.3%
Electricians	580	0	580	0.3%
Plumbers & Pipe Fitters	255	0	255	0.1%
Mechanics & Repairmen	2,463	143	2,606	1.4%
Aircraft	370	46	416	0.2%
Automobile mechanics	718	21	739	0.4%
Radio & television	508	17	525	0.3%
Metal Craftsmen Except Mechanics	566	26	592	0.3%
Machinists	215	8	223	0.1%
Printing Craftsmen	464	116	580	0.3%
Tailors	333	106	439	0.2%
Telephone Installers & Repairmen	231	0	231	0.1%
<u>Operatives Except Transport</u>	9,914	15,025	24,939	13.8%
Assemblers	269	332	601	0.3%
Checkers, Examiners & Inspectors; Manufacturing	284	138	422	0.2%
Clothing Ironers & Pressers	1,408	686	2,094	1.2%
Cutting Operatives N.E.C.	123	120	243	0.1%
Dressmakers & Seamstresses, Except Factory	17	222	239	0.1%
Garage Workers & Gas Station Attendants	734	0	734	0.4%
Laundry & Dry Cleaning Operatives N.E.C.	1,921	860	2,781	1.5%
Meat Cutters & Butchers, Exc. Manufacturing	1,572	81	1,653	0.9%
Metalworking Operatives, Exc. Precision Machines	280	104	384	0.2%

TABLE 31--continued

Selected Occupations	Male	Female	Total	%
Engineering and Science Technicians	3,189	442	3,631	2.0%
Chemical	244	64	308	0.2%
Draftsmen	1,457	170	1,627	0.9%
Electrical & electronic engineering	839	0	839	0.5%
Writers, Artists and Entertainers	2,020	651	2,671	1.5%
Designers	467	257	724	0.4%
Editors & reporters	190	125	315	0.2%
Painters & sculptors	407	68	475	0.3%
Photographers	282	20	302	0.2%
Public relations men & publicity writers	108	66	174	0.1%
Writers, artists & entertainers n.e.c.	293	75	368	0.2%
Research Workers Not Specified	1,961	766	2,727	1.5%
<u>Managers and Administrators Except Farm</u>	13,189	2,868	16,057	8.9%
Bank Officers and Financial Managers	375	239	614	0.3%
Buyers, Wholesale & Retail Trade	303	200	503	0.3%
Managers and Superintendants, Building	200	119	319	0.2%
Officials and Administrators, Public Admstrn. N.E.C.	397	66	463	0.3%
Federal public administration & postal service	336	45	381	0.2%
Restaurant, Cafeteria & Bar Managers	3,207	546	3,753	2.1%
Sales Managers & Dept. Heads, Retail Trade	352	0	352	0.2%
Managers & Administrators N.E.C. Salaried	3,328	596	3,924	2.2%
Construction	181	0	181	0.1%
Durable goods, manufacturing	228	0	228	0.1%
Non-durable goods inc. not spec. manuf.	391	79	470	0.3%
Transportation	267	66	333	0.2%
Wholesale trade	333	0	333	0.2%
Retail trade	1,051	293	1,344	0.7%
General merchandise stores	116	52	168	0.1%
Food stores	571	132	703	0.4%
Finance, insurance & real estate	200	0	200	0.1%
Business & repair services	180	36	216	0.1%
Personnel services	320	20	340	0.2%
Managers & Administrators N.E.C. Self-Employed	4,020	847	4,867	2.7%
Wholesale trade	277	28	305	0.2%
Retail trade	2,161	434	2,595	1.4%
Food stores	1,805	317	2,122	1.2%
Personnel services	1,203	324	1,527	0.8%
<u>Sales Workers</u>	4,690	3,180	7,870	4.3%
Insurance Agents, Brokers & Underwriters	504	98	602	0.3%
Real Estate Agents & Brokers	236	34	270	0.1%
Stock & Bond Salesmen	306	20	326	0.2%
Salesmen & Sales-Clerk N.E.C.	3,107	2,812	5,919	3.3%
Sales representatives, wholesale trade	569	72	641	0.4%
Sales clerks, retail trade	2,066	2,458	4,524	2.5%
General merchandise stores	275	1,102	1,377	0.8%
Food stores	1,047	450	1,497	0.8%
Apparel & accessories stores	744	176	920	0.5%

TABLE 31--continued

<u>Selected Occupations</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Packers & Wrappers, Except Meat & Produce	256	583	839	0.5%
Sewers & Stitchers	185	9,801	9,986	5.5%
<u>Transport Equipment Operatives</u>	1,824	32	1,856	1.0%
Deliverymen & Routemen	484	13	497	0.3%
Truck Drivers	389	19	408	0.2%
<u>Laborers, Except Farm</u>	3,597	650	4,247	2.3%
Freight & Material Handlers	152	66	218	0.1%
Stock Handlers	1,417	305	1,722	1.0%
<u>Farmers & Farm Managers</u>	421	78	499	0.3%
<u>Farm Laborers & Farm Foremen</u>	260	217	477	0.3%
<u>Service Workers, Except Private Household</u>	26,724	8,742	35,466	19.6%
Cleaning Service Workers	1,545	445	1,990	1.1%
Food Service Workers	22,302	5,567	27,869	15.4%
Bartenders	764	43	807	0.4%
Busboys	1,390	94	1,484	0.8%
Cooks, exc. private household	11,433	1,350	12,783	7.1%
Dishwashers	1,127	442	1,569	0.9%
Food counter & fountain workers	119	220	339	0.2%
Waiters	6,211	2,532	8,743	4.8%
Food service workers, n.e.c. exc. priv. househld.	1,258	886	2,144	1.2%
Health Service Workers	340	764	1,104	0.6%
Personal Service Workers	625	990	1,615	0.9%
Hairdressers & cosmetologists	27	431	458	0.3%
Protective Service Workers	377	62	439	0.2%
<u>Private Household Workers</u>	317	1,108	1,425	0.8%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)7A (1970).

tion census that the younger age groups are shrinking and that the birth rate is already below replacement level. School enrollment and even college enrollment has dropped drastically, so that the need for educators will correspondingly shrink. When we have all our eggs in a few baskets, we may run the risk of high unemployment affecting a large number of the Chinese.

The preponderance of engineers among the Chinese has given rise to self-stereotyping by the present college generation, and engineers are put down as one of a common breed. The girls simply cannot get excited about dating an engineer. They have already typed him as a studious, introverted, quiet, dull person. And some engineers see themselves in the same light. Yet the choice of engineering as a major persists. Out of curiosity, I tallied the majors of the Chinese students in one of my classes. Of 51 students, 14 were engineering majors, 11 were in the sciences, 8 were not sure, and the remaining 18 were spread out over the other disciplines.

The prospects for health workers are brighter, and this is the occupational field with growth potential. More people are needed for the increased demands for better health care. And this field is more diversified as well.

Explode the Myth

According to the 1970 census, a myth concerning the Chinese--that there are few in the creative careers--must be exploded. Not that the numbers are spectacular, but 2,600 is significant. Chinese in the creative professions work as designers, painters or sculptors, photographers, writers, and editors. The editors most likely work in the ethnic press.

In a study of Chinese newspapers conducted for his master's degree at the School of Journalism at Columbia University, Andy McCue found that there were many editors but no reporter on any of the newspapers. These editors earned pitiful salaries like \$200 a month. They had very respectable titles, but little else.

Service Work

As the term implies, workers in this occupation group provide a service such as food preparation, cleaning and maintenance, health care, personal care or protective service. Ten million Americans are in these occupations, and about 35,000 Chinese fall under this heading. Service work has traditionally been the most important occupation group for the Chinese in this

country because it includes those jobs which fall within the heading of restaurants and laundries.

In some cities, like Boston, New York, and Seattle, service work is still the leading occupation group for the Chinese. And it is the male, much more so than the female, who is in service work. For the Chinese in particular, service work today is almost synonymous with such restaurant jobs as cook, waiter, bartender, dishwasher, etc. (See Table 31.)

From 1950 to 1960, service work among the Chinese declined significantly from 28.8 percent to 18.8 percent of the total Chinese employed. The 1970 census registers a slight increase to 19.6 percent. My own projection is that this category will increase in importance in 1980 because of the huge influx of immigrants who will be going into these occupations.

I would say that the percentage and numbers in restaurant work is even greater than the 19.6 percent figure. A later table (Table 89), showing employment breakdown by industry, reveals that approximately 30,000 out of a working labor force of 180,000, or one out of every six Chinese persons employed, are connected with eating or drinking places.

Actually, the 3,753 who classified themselves as managers of restaurants, cafeterias, and bars, may also be classified as restaurant workers because, by and large, the managers are self-employed owners who invariably double as cooks, headwaiters, or bartenders. Other persons, such as cashiers and bookkeepers, generally listed under the clerical category also come under the province of restaurant work.

Thus we see that this one line of work employs 23,000 persons and far exceeds any other type of employment for the Chinese.

The Disappearing Laundryman

The Chinese laundryman is headed for extinction. Listed under clothing, ironers and pressers, and laundry and dry cleaning operatives are 4,800 for the entire United States. (See Table 31.) Others may be in laundries as truck drivers or "managers," but this line of work for the Chinese is definitely passé. Not too many years ago, more Chinese were in laundries than in any other line of work.³ Today, the laundry business has been edged out

3. Betty Lee Sung, The Story of the Chinese in America (New York: Colliers, 1971), Ch. 11.

almost entirely by home washers and dryers, permanent press fabrics, and the disdain by the Chinese themselves for laundry work. Unfortunately, the image of the Chinese laundryman persists in the public mind because it is constantly reinforced by the press and media. Today's laundries are run primarily by older immigrants. In the 1950s and early 1960s, laundries were popular with newly arrived immigrants because laundry work did not require much capital or skill. Today, one can't give away a laundry--even one with mangles and presses. There are no takers.

Retail food stores--even supermarkets--are also losing ground with the Chinese. Less than 1 percent of the Chinese remain in this line of work. At one time, it ranked just behind laundries and restaurants as the most important occupation. Of the three, only restaurant work remains in the forefront, and it is outstripping all other types of work by the number of people engaged in it.

Garment Industry

The newly arrived female immigrant today goes into the garment factory. About 10,000 are employed as operatives, meaning predominantly sewing machine operators. The Chinese have now supplanted the Jewish and Italian operators in the garment industry.

In New York City, 43.7 percent of all employed Chinese females are operatives. New York City happens to be the capital of the clothing industry in the United States, but garment factories utilizing Chinese female labor are also found dotting the borders of Chinatowns throughout the country. In Boston, the percentage is 39.6 percent; in Chicago, 23.4 percent; in San Francisco-Oakland, 26.3 percent; in Seattle, 29.6 percent. These high percentages give us some idea of the importance of the garment industry in the employment picture of the Chinese female.

Clerical Work

Native-born Chinese females or the better educated ones are found in such clerical jobs as bookkeeper, cashier, secretary, office machine operator, typist, and file clerk. The concentration of Chinese females in the clerical category is even more pronounced than that in the operatives category. 31.8 percent or close to 22,000 out of a labor force of 70,000, are in this occupation group alone. In California and Hawaii, the percentage is even greater, running from 36 percent to 37 percent. If we look at the educational attainment of the Chinese female (see Table 23), it is immediately obvious that she is grossly underemployed.

Construction

Seven out of ten craft jobs held by the Chinese are in California or Hawaii. Yet, even in these areas, the Chinese are woefully underrepresented in the building trade crafts: carpentry, masonry, electrical work, and plumbing. Altogether, only 1 percent of the Chinese labor force is found in the construction craft jobs, and the small percentage does not mean that they do not seek this type of work.

This fact was highlighted when the Chinese Cultural Center was being built in San Francisco's Chinatown in 1970. The building houses a 572-room Holiday Inn Hotel, and the Cultural Center occupies one floor. An organization called Chinese for Affirmative Action, formed to ferret out inequities and discrimination against Asians in employment, charged that only 3 of the 220 workers on the payroll of the construction firm were Chinese. The CAA further stated that, "A recent survey of 57 building trade locals in San Francisco by the Federal Equal Employment Commission showed that less than one percent of the 53,000 construction workers in San Francisco are Chinese while the Chinese population comprise 10 percent of the population."⁴

On the other side of the continent, Chinese in the construction crafts are even scarcer. In 1969, according to the same government report, there were exactly six males of Oriental extraction in the construction crafts in New York.

One Saturday morning, June 1, 1974, Asian pickets marched and chanted outside the Confucius Plaza site in New York's Chinatown to protest the absence of Chinese construction workers on a 42-million housing and school project financed in part by government aid. The grievance was that out of a seventy-one-person work force, only four were of Chinese extraction. One was an engineer, two were laborers, and one an office worker; not one Chinese held a craft job. The protesters felt that this was one of the first major projects to rise in New York's Chinatown, and that, if anywhere, a Chinatown project should have a fair representation of Chinese construction workers.⁵

4. "Chinatown Employment Under the Gun," East/West (July 15, 1970).

5. "Asians Picket Building Site, Charge Bias," New York Times (June 1, 1974).

Age and Employment

Ordinarily, advancing years bring commensurate advancement in occupation. With the Chinese, it is those in the 25 to 34 age bracket who are occupying the upper strata jobs, whereas those in the upper age brackets are concentrated toward the lower end of the occupational scale.

For Chinese males 45 years or over, service work leads all the other categories, and we have already discussed the nature of these jobs. These are the older immigrants who came here before World War II and perhaps recent immigrants who have difficulty with the language. The likelihood of these men shifting their occupational field is rather remote.

That there are 17 percent 45 years and over who call themselves managers, looks favorable, but is somewhat deceiving. Time has enabled these men to accumulate some capital, and no doubt many have invested it into a small business of their own--a restaurant or gift shop, perhaps. A good third of the managers are of this type. The professions are still strong with those in the 45- to 64-year age bracket.

The number of women working is greater in the 45- to 64-year age bracket than for any other group. By 45 years of age, a woman's children are grown or in their teens, and she is not tied down to domestic or maternal duties. Of the 18,000 Chinese women working, one-third are in operative jobs. These are flexible, fairly easy to come by, and do not need much skill. No knowledge of the English language is necessary, and the jobs are located on the fringes of Chinatown. The co-workers are people like themselves, and garment factories fulfill a social function as well as an employment one.

Now let us swing to the other end and consider the teenage group of 16- to 19-year-olds. Actually their situation is different from the regular workers because those in this age group are still enrolled in school. Whatever jobs they hold are part-time, after-school, or weekend jobs. The type of jobs they hold is not too consequential. These will not be their chosen careers or occupations. Teenagers take jobs for spending-money or to supplement their educational expenses. They take what they can get for short periods of time. It would be ideal if these young people could utilize this period in their lives to experiment and sample the real world of work, but teenagers take what they can get when teenage jobs are hard to come by.

There are roughly 35,000 Chinese young people in this age

TABLE 32

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS OF CHINESE IN THE U.S., BY SEX, AGE GROUPS, AND PERCENT, 1970

Occupation Group	Total		16-19 Yrs.		20-24 Yrs.		25-34 Yrs.		35-44 Yrs.		45-64 Yrs.		65+	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Males	114,433	100.0	6,434	100.0	11,526	100.0	28,058	100.0	28,962	100.0	35,869	100.0	3,584	100.0
Prof. Tech.	33,119	28.9	364	5.7	2,610	22.6	13,679	48.8	9,505	32.8	6,531	18.2	430	12.0
Managers Admin.	13,061	11.4	42	0.7	428	3.7	2,110	7.5	3,687	12.7	6,161	17.2	633	17.7
Sales Workers	5,021	4.4	473	7.4	554	4.8	965	3.4	1,072	3.7	1,636	4.6	321	9.0
Clerical Workers	10,762	9.4	1,346	20.9	2,189	19.0	2,213	7.9	2,054	7.1	2,692	7.5	268	7.5
Craftsmen	8,367	7.3	228	3.5	842	7.3	1,872	6.7	2,276	7.9	2,984	8.3	165	4.6
Operatives	11,998	10.5	989	15.4	1,319	11.4	1,926	6.9	2,709	9.4	4,625	12.9	430	12.0
Laborers	3,787	3.3	948	14.7	603	5.2	515	1.8	633	2.2	964	2.7	124	3.5
Farmers & F. Mgrs.	478	0.4	10	0.2	25	0.2	57	0.2	115	0.4	224	0.6	47	1.3
Farm Laborers	352	0.3	76	1.2	29	0.3	38	0.1	62	0.2	123	0.3	24	0.7
Service Workers	27,010	23.6	1,941	30.2	2,922	25.4	4,652	16.6	6,776	23.4	9,659	26.9	1,060	29.6
Private Household	478	0.4	17	0.3	5	0.0	31	0.1	73	0.3	270	0.8	82	2.3
Females	69,129	100.0	5,578	100.0	12,205	100.0	15,714	100.0	16,124	100.0	18,218	100.0	1,290	100.0
Prof. Tech.	13,402	19.4	192	3.4	2,243	18.4	5,855	37.3	2,270	17.1	2,225	12.2	137	10.6
Managers Admin.	2,636	3.8	46	0.8	169	1.4	412	2.6	785	4.9	1,165	6.4	59	4.6
Sales Workers	3,531	5.1	877	15.7	680	5.6	408	2.6	620	3.8	879	4.8	67	5.2
Clerical Workers	21,989	31.8	2,912	52.2	6,126	50.2	4,837	30.8	4,280	26.5	3,719	20.4	115	8.9
Craftsmen	846	1.2	20	0.4	78	0.6	142	0.9	214	1.3	330	1.8	62	4.8
Operatives	15,556	22.5	371	6.7	1,018	8.3	2,374	15.1	5,105	31.7	6,209	34.1	479	37.1
Laborers	592	0.9	72	1.3	75	0.6	79	0.5	98	0.6	243	1.3	25	1.9
Farmers & F. Mgrs.	114	0.2	0	0.0	19	0.2	6	0.0	26	0.2	59	0.3	4	0.3
Farm Laborers	247	0.4	37	0.7	20	0.2	33	0.2	36	0.2	106	0.6	15	1.2
Service Workers	8,842	12.8	974	17.5	1,630	13.4	1,370	8.7	1,910	11.8	2,708	14.9	250	19.4
Private Household	1,374	2.0	77	1.4	147	1.2	198	1.3	300	1.9	575	3.2	77	6.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 22.

group. They make up 8 percent of the total Chinese population. One-third of them hold some type of job. This is a smaller percentage than white teenagers of the same age bracket, but it is a higher percentage than that of the blacks.

The most outstanding fact that comes to light when the occupational pattern is broken down by age group is the high percentage in the professions for the 25- to 44-year age group for both males and females. These age groups consist of men and women who have completed their formal education and have made a choice of careers. Almost half of the males in the 25- to 34-year age group are in professional and technical work, and another 7 percent are in the managerial classification. About two out of every five Chinese women are similarly situated in these two top occupational categories. If these figures are any indication of the potential of the Chinese, the future looks optimistic. Meanwhile, for the present, some real problems exist.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. Stereotypes have boxed the Chinese in the public mind. The view is that they are suitable for only certain types of work. The truth is that during their hundred and thirty odd years of history in this country, they have run the gamut of the major occupation groups, concentrating in large numbers in one area or another, depending upon the social or political attitude toward them at the time.

2. In 1970, the Chinese-American labor force numbered approximately 190,000. Three-fourths of the males and one-half of the females 16 years and over are in the labor market.

3. The male labor force participation rate is considerably lower than the national average. The female rate is somewhat higher.

4. The labor force participation rate fluctuates widely from city to city.

5. The occupational pattern for Chinese males by major group breakdown tends toward extremes--a concentration in the professional category and another concentration in the service work group. For females, the twin-peak concentrations are the clerical and operatives categories.

6. The middle-class occupations of sales workers and craftsmen are conspicuously few among the Chinese. Clerical work is prevalent with native-born females and the better-educated foreign-born females.

7. Categories from which the Chinese are almost totally absent are farmer, unskilled laborer, and private household worker. Yet, at one time, these were the predominant occupations of the Chinese.

8. The most spectacular increase has been in the professional and technical field, rising from 2.8 percent, in 1940, to 26.5 percent, in 1970. For the males, the percentage is even greater, 28.9 percent, and for males in the 25- to 34-year-old group the percentage is 48.8.

9. Of the professional careers, engineers and educators lead the field, followed by personnel in health work.

10. The restaurant business is the single most important source of employment for the Chinese. 30,000 are engaged in this

field alone.

11. Ten thousand Chinese females, usually foreign-born immigrants, are employed as operatives, predominantly in the garment industry.

12. Laundries and food stores are fading out as traditional Chinese enterprises.

13. An age breakdown of occupations held by the Chinese reveals that the older generations generally hold lower echelon jobs, but there is a record-breaking penetration of the professional and technical levels by the younger generations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A Chinese labor force of 190,000 for the entire United States is a veritable "drop in the bucket." To those who feel threatened by an imaginary flood of Asians: May your minds be set at ease. The occupational pattern of the Chinese is simply too polarized and too concentrated in a few occupations. There must be a more balanced distribution throughout the occupational spectrum. There is no reason why Chinese cannot be managers or administrators, carpenters or bricklayers, sales personnel or brokers. Just because they are not in positions like these now is no reason why they cannot be. Once a breakthrough is accomplished, others generally follow. However, many presently entrenched in these occupational groups are putting up strong resistance to admitting Chinese in their ranks. The Chinese cannot fight this battle alone. Retent legislation and directives, such as EEOC, Contract Compliance, and Affirmative Action, have given the Chinese good leverage. Such actions show that government can legislate change.

As professionals, too many Chinese are in the fields of engineering and teaching. All-the-eggs-in-two-baskets situation makes the Chinese highly vulnerable to any shift in the economy or labor market. Take teaching, for example. Demographers have already pointed out the declining birthrate and the continual decrease in the lower age brackets. Teachers are already in oversupply, and future demand is steadily decreasing. Chinese educators would do well to consider preparing for another profession.

One out of every six persons in the labor force is in restaurant work. Chinese food is popular and some of the dishes have become veritable American institutions. Still, the same recommendation applies: Disperse into other lines of work. The rising cost of food or a business setback could cut down on restaurant patronage and a disproportionate number of Chinese would be affected.

The same could be said for the heavy concentration of Chinese females in clerical and operative jobs. The problem in the clerical area is due more to sexism than to racism, for the same situation hold true for non-Chinese females. A suggested alternative field for dispersion would be the field of health, a rapidly growing industry.

When two out of every five Chinese females employed in New York are likely to be found in the garment industry we can imagine how narrow is the range of occupations and how limited the options for the Chinese female. One of my research assistants,

Ellen Lau, interviewed a number of women in the garment factories, and some of the answers they give (and most likely in this order of importance) to why they work there are listed below:

1. Ease of getting a job
2. Don't have to ride the bus or subway to get to work
3. Flexible schedule
4. Don't speak English
5. Can learn job proficiently in about a week
6. Social and informal atmosphere in factory.

There are about 230 garment factories scattered around the fringe of New York's Chinatown. Some have only ten or twelve sewing machines; others operate on a larger scale. A good number of these factories are owned by Chinese contractors who bid for job lots on Seventh Avenue, and the competition is very keen. The operators work on a piece-rate basis. The New York garment workers are unionized and there are union regulations governing hours and wages, but the competition is so great that both the boss and workers wink at the clock and the payscale and operate as competitively as possible.

Such a high concentration of the females in one type of work alone is a most unhealthy situation. I would recommend that studies be undertaken immediately to examine the difficulties these females operated under and to either introduce these women to other industries or bring the industries to the vicinity of Chinatown. The better solution would be to help these women go a short distance beyond the Chinatown borders, but this is easier said than done. Most of these women are so deathly afraid of venturing out that they would prefer to accept lower wages and horrible working conditions than to venture forth. This fear is not confined to the Chinese female; it is the same for the male. Restaurants in the suburbs that need cooks, or bartenders, or waiters must send a car to Chinatown daily to pick up their help. Otherwise they could not find employees.

Since this is, at present, an accepted practice for the males, it can be employed in a modified form for the females. Any plant or enterprise wishing to use Chinese female workers can arrange for scheduled transportation from Chinatown with a station wagon picking them up in the morning and taking them back in the evening. I dare say that over a period of time, after the workers have gotten used to the idea of going beyond Chinatown, some of their fears will be dispelled and they can be weaned to public transportation.

Since fear of the outside world is such an inhibiting factor

in the choice of occupation, I would also recommend that employees be hired in a small group at a time. In numbers, they will find courage, one bolstering the other. The firm may also hire a bilingual person to act as guide and leader during the initiation period. The leader would explain their duties, show them the layout, introduce them to their co-workers, tell them their benefits, take them down to the lunchroom, etc., and stay with them until they feel more comfortable. This is more than what the usual firm will do for its newly hired employees, but I believe that the firm will be more than rewarded for its efforts.

Another solution would be to try to bring light industry to the vicinity of Chinatown. I am not going to recommend setting up another agency to undertake this job. There are many already in existence. The knot in the situation is the lack of awareness that the Asian communities have employment problems. This point was clearly brought out by Mr. Arnold Witte, vice-president of the New York Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and Mr. George Allen Fowlkes, first deputy commissioner of the Department of Commerce and Industry, Board of Economic Development Administration of the City of New York, at public hearings conducted by the Civil Rights Commission. Both these gentlemen said essentially, "With reference to increasing Asian American employment and upgrading in our member firms, we frankly have not been aware of the existence of any problem in this area."⁶

Brought out in the testimony by a parade of representatives from agencies like the two mentioned above and others from government and private concerns alike are the facilities that can be utilized to help the Chinatown communities diversify into other lines of work. Let me list a number of these catalytic organizations or agencies. Every state has parallel agencies, but in the New York State Department of Commerce alone, there are:

1. New York Job Development Authority--makes long-term second mortgage loans for construction of new or expanded production facilities.
2. Job Incentive Program--approves state tax credits for firms constructing new plants or expanding facilities and providing job opportunities in low-income areas and operating approved training programs.

6. United States Commission on Civil Right, Public Hearing, New York, July 12, 1974, unpublished transcript.

3. Industrial Location Service--specialist in helping firms, large and small, to find the right location for their plants, in strict confidence and at no cost.

4. New York Business Development Corporation--a quasi-public corporation which may lend financial assistance to industry in New York State when requirements are beyond the limitation of conventional lending institutions.

5. Small Business Administration--loans money to business for equity or long range financing.

6. International Commerce--promotional efforts to develop foreign trade sales opportunities.

Private organizations such as the Executive Volunteer Corps, where retired executives offer the benefit of their experience and expertise, and commercial banks are other tracks which can help the Chinese community expand its employment horizons and increase its economic potential.

CHAPTER VI
WORKING WOMEN

Shirley Temple Black, the darling child-star of the 1950s, has earned millions in a career and manner that few can hold a candle to. Yet, as I sat down to write this chapter, I recalled reading in the Sunday Parade magazine of July 14, 1974 that this distinguished lady had just been appointed to the Board of Directors of Walt Disney Productions. She is the first female ever elected to the board. When asked why she was chosen, one Disney spokesman remarked, "Window dressing."

I could not help but wonder how Mrs. Black, who undoubtedly has more instinct and know-how about juvenile entertainment in her little pinkie than most of her male co-directors on the board have in their heads, would react to that statement. If it happened to Shirley Temple Black, can you imagine what the rest of us women experience continually?

Shadows, Chattels, or Adjuncts

Even in the year 1975, women are not thought of seriously in terms of occupation or career. They work twelve to sixteen hours a day, perpetuating the human race, clothing and feeding their families, keeping the wheels of daily life running smoothly, and providing their males with the support and backup to enable them to carry on in their careers. "Women's work" runs the gamut and is never done. That is why it is not even looked upon as an occupation, nor given its proper due. Imagine what would happen if all housewives went on strike. The world would come to a stop and there would be absolute chaos.

For centuries, women were considered shadows, chattels, or adjuncts to their menfolk. In China, Confucius subordinated females at childhood to their fathers, at maturity to their husbands,

and at old age to their sons. Even after a mother had nurtured and raised her son to manhood, she was still considered his inferior. Confucian tenets governed Chinese civilization for more than 2,000 years. It is only within the last few decades that women everywhere have begun to assert themselves. In asserting themselves, they are saying, "We can do what you do. We want to do what you do. We want to be paid what you are paid. We are no longer content to live in your shadows relegated permanently to supportive roles or lowly tasks that you consider beneath male dignity to perform."

Double Burden

The drawback to these assertions is that, although women are now competing in the labor market outside the home and, in every instance, have proven themselves competent to any task performed by men, they are still saddled with the work of their former status. They have gained in one respect without being relieved of their duties in the other, thus giving them a double role and double burden.

Let us compare the daily routine of a working mother with whom I am very familiar to that of her husband. The mother works more from economic necessity than from choice. She took a job six weeks after the birth of her fourth child, because the husband's earnings simply could not cover the family expenses.

Every morning, the mother begins her day with preparing breakfast and bag lunches for the children who go to school, she dresses the younger ones and takes them to a neighbor who looks after them during the day. She straightens the house a little before leaving and makes sure that all the windows are closed and all the doors are locked before running for the bus. In contrast, the husband wakes up at the latest possible moment, shaves, washes, and sits down to his breakfast. After he eats, he picks up his briefcase and drives to work in the city.

Every evening the process is reversed with the mother rushing home to pick up the children, she washes and bathes them, cooks the dinner and cleans up afterwards. Seldom does the husband offer to help his wife, and when asked to do so, the reply invariably is, "The house and children are women's work." This husband is an extreme male chauvinist but to what extent do husbands share the housework of washing, cleaning, ironing, shopping, cooking, and tending to the needs of the children? At best, the burden remains heavier on the women.

TABLE 33

CHINESE POPULATION IN THE U.S., BY SEX AND SEX RATIO, TOTAL AND BY STATES, 1970

States	Sex Ratio-Males:		States	Sex Ratio-Males:	
	Males	Females		100 Females	100 Females
U.S. Total	228,565	206,497		110.8	
Alabama	347	279	Missouri	124.4	1,256
Alaska	144	84	Montana	171.4	121
Arizona	2,025	1,853	Nebraska	109.3	216
Arkansas	374	369	Nevada	101.4	420
California	87,835	82,296	New Hampshire	106.3	205
Colorado	807	682	New Jersey	118.3	4,331
Connecticut	1,173	1,036	New Mexico	113.2	217
Delaware	296	263	New York	112.5	37,459
District of Columbia	1,405	1,177	North Carolina	119.4	544
Florida	1,660	1,473	North Dakota	112.7	77
Georgia	892	692	Ohio	128.9	2,490
Hawaii	26,097	25,942	Oklahoma	100.6	451
Idaho	279	219	Oregon	127.4	451
Indiana	1,174	941	Pennsylvania	124.8	2,230
Illinois	7,767	6,707	Rhode Island	115.8	3,264
Iowa	560	433	South Carolina	129.3	511
Kansas	703	530	South Dakota	132.6	234
Kentucky	307	251	Tennessee	122.3	77
Louisiana	752	588	Texas	127.9	879
Maine	113	93	Utah	121.5	4,072
Maryland	3,363	3,157	Vermont	106.5	745
Massachusetts	7,529	6,483	Virginia	116.1	92
Michigan	3,474	2,933	Washington	118.4	1,331
Minnesota	1,355	1,067	West Virginia	127.0	4,400
Mississippi	766	675	Wisconsin	113.5	181
			Wyoming		1,216
					132

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, General Population Characteristics (1970).

Womanpower Planning

In manpower planning for the masculine sector, one considers such factors as education, occupation, industry, income, economic conditions, labor force size, etc. All of these factors apply equally to the feminine sector, but there are other dimensions as well. The female was endowed by nature to bear children and nurture them. She cannot forsake this role, nor does she want to. Most women today will still assign first priority to being wife and mother. She is the central figure in any family. When we talk about womanpower, we must look also at marital status, family characteristics, birth and fertility rates, and the husband's attitude or position. Women's employment decisions are predicated primarily upon the family's welfare.

For example, I have given up a number of jobs when my employers relocated out of town, and I have refused positions outside of New York City. If I were a man, my first consideration would be whether I wanted to stay with the job. If so, my family would move with me. For many years, I worked three or four days a week, what you might call parttime, because of the demands of my family. Yet, in essence, working four days a week is tantamount to full time, except for the pay and the benefits. You simply complete in four days what ordinarily would be stretched out over five. No employer hires an extra person to cover that one day's work, and the parttime employee gets paid by the hour or day without holidays and other fringe benefits. Yet a woman will opt for parttime if it gives her that little bit of extra time to devote to her family.

The type of profession or occupation that a woman accepts is weighed heavily by family considerations. For many years, I chose to work as a librarian in the local public library because it was close to home, my children could go and study there after school, and I could run home quickly in any eventuality. Even if I did not consider these factors, employers would consider them for me. I remember one particular instance, a wonderful position that I applied for. The employment agency interviewer was especially impressed with my background. The job was for a university institute and called for someone who spoke a Far Eastern language. The duties were to arrange the itinerary of Far Eastern scholars invited to the university for lectures or symposiums and to see that these distinguished visitors were received hospitably.

At the university, the personnel office interviewed me and sent me on to the director of the institute. The director was favorably impressed by my background and qualifications and was about to offer me the job when he asked, "By the way, are you married?" An affirmative answer was followed by the next question,

"Do you have children?" The third question was, "How many?" My answer to that question cut me out irrevocably. I received a very fatherly admonition: "to stay home and take care of my children, who needed me."

This is not an isolated incident, neither in my own case nor in that of my fellow sister workers everywhere. We are bound by nature, by tradition, by our families, by employers, and by society in general when we seek employment outside of the home. We are not free agents. Women have only begun to figure in the U.S. labor force since World War II. In 1940, only 27.4 percent of the total U.S. female population was employed outside the home. By 1950, the percentage had increased to 31; by 1960, to 37; and by 1970, to 43.¹ Among Chinese females 14 years and over, those in the labor force in 1960 were 44 percent and, in 1970, when the age bracket was upped to 16 years and over, the percentage was 50.

Female Labor Force

In other words, the proportion of Chinese females gainfully employed is higher than the national average, and this does not take into account unpaid family workers in the family-type restaurants, groceries, and laundries who do not classify themselves as "employed." Suffice it to say that the Chinese female has always been an important member of the rice-winning team in the family.

Anyway, the figures for the Chinese cannot be used as a basis for comparison with the national average. The presence of Chinese women on the American scene is a recent phenomenon. Around the turn of the century, there were about fifteen males to every Chinese female. The ratio improved by 1940 to 3:1². Today the sex ratio is 111 males to every 100 females, a substantial improvement, but still out of proportion.

In the 1970 census we have, for the first time, meaningful employment figures for Chinese females. (See Table 34.) Close to one-half of those 16 years and over are in the labor force--(either working or looking for work). The unemployment rate is very low--only 3.7 percent. Obtaining employment does not seem

1. U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract (1971), Table 331.
2. Betty Lee Sung, The Story of the Chinese in America (New York: Collier Books, 1971), pp. 117, 320.

to be a difficulty with Chinese females; the problem is more what type of job and at what pay. Recent immigrants, fresh off the plane, can walk into one of the small garment factories scattered throughout Chinatown or its peripheral area and start working the next day. They work by the piece, and their hours are fairly flexible. Piece work at low rates is always available.

TABLE 34

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE CHINESE 16 YEARS AND OVER IN THE U.S.
AND FIVE SELECTED STATES, BY SEX, 1970

	Percent Male			Percent Female		
	In Labor Force*	Em- ployed	Unem- ployed	In Labor Force*	Em- ployed	Unem- ployed
United States	73.2	97.0	3.0	49.5	96.3	3.7
California	73.5	96.0	4.0	51.0	95.3	4.7
New York	71.1	97.7	2.3	49.2	97.1	2.9
Hawaii	76.1	97.9	2.1	54.2	98.2	1.8
Illinois	73.4	97.3	2.7	50.2	97.5	2.5
Massachusetts	72.3	97.4	2.6	53.2	96.0	4.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, PC(2)1G (1970) Table 19.

NOTE: Based on a 20 percent sampling.

*Employed or looking for work--not in labor force refers to students, retired persons, housewives or inmates of institutions.

A comparison of labor force status with whites, blacks, and Japanese shows that a larger percentage of Oriental women (50 percent) work outside the home than do black (48 percent) or white women (41 percent). Black and white women also have higher unemployment rates, 7.7 and 4.8 percent respectively, compared to 3.7, for Chinese, and 3.0 percent, for Japanese women.

One naturally assumes that fewer married women living with their husbands work. That is not so. There's a slight edge for American women, in general, that their husbands will support them, but the odds are narrowing. In 1940, 15 percent of married women living with their husbands held outside jobs. In 1970, the rate was 41 percent.³

3. U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract (1971), Table 331.

For Chinese women living with their husbands, almost half of these women work (See Table 35), and the percentage increases as their length of stay in the United States grows. In a state like Hawaii, where the Chinese population is more acculturated, significantly more women work when they are married, live with their husbands, and have children under six years of age. What is happening in Hawaii could be indicative of what will eventually happen to Chinese females in New York.

Working Mothers

One-third of Chinese mothers who are living with their husbands and have children under six hold jobs outside of the home. Young children, therefore, have not kept these mothers from employment. The percentage of black mothers in the same category is much higher (43.7), and of white mothers it is much lower (25.0). Keep in mind that the figures are for women who are living with their husbands, and so, presumably, have some other means of support.

When the youngest child marches off to school, the mothers march off to work. The overall figures for mothers in the United States shows a fantastic leap in the labor force at this juncture in their lives. The percentage goes from 30 percent of those with children under 6 to 49 percent of those with children from 6 to 17 years old. This last percentage exceeds even those women married and living with husbands, who have no children.⁴ One could interpret these figures to mean that mothers may have to work to support the family adequately.

This then raises questions about marriage and children and the increasing tendency of women to enter the labor force. Is there--should there be--some recognition of sex differences in occupation, industry, hours worked, income, etc.? How can women deal with their desire for marriage and a family, and a career as well? Men have always had all three, but with a helpmeet to take care of the domestic side. A career woman has to juggle all three--all the while building up a huge guilt complex that she is neglecting her husband and children. Men have no such hangups.

The wisdom of "Me-tooism" or chasing after male-established standards and goals is questionable. Women are not men and to try to go after everything that men do is silly at times. For example, the first woman who passed the New York City examination

⁴4. U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract (1971), Table 332.

TABLE 35

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF CHINESE FEMALES WITH HUSBANDS PRESENT AND CHILDREN UNDER 6,
FOR THE U.S. AND FIVE SELECTED STATES, 1970

	U.S.	Calif.	N.Y.	Hawaii	Illinois	Mass.
Females 16 Years and Over	145,012	58,782	27,014	18,349	4,556	4,427
No. in Labor Force	71,786	29,983	13,295	9,935	2,285	2,350
Percent in Labor Force	49.5	51.0	49.2	54.1	50.2	53.1
No. Employed	69,129	28,575	12,910	9,761	2,228	2,255
Percent Employed	96.2	95.3	97.1	98.1	97.5	96.0
Wives Empl'd--husb. present	40,051	15,967	7,854	5,815	1,269	1,345
Percent all Wives--husb. pr.	46.9	47.6	47.5	53.6	45.6	52.2
With Children Under 6	9,110	3,654	1,490	1,349	297	324
% h/w Fam. w. Child. Under 6	32.6	35.2	27.8	46.8	29.1	32.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Tables 18, 19, 23.

for a maintenance job had to lift and carry a 120-pound sack for a certain distance. This is not equality. There are biological differences that must be recognized, and the maternal role is to be taken into account.

Women must strive for marriage, family, and career on a more equitable basis. Since her child-bearing role cannot be shared, she can be compensated by part-time work, by day-care centers, by more flexible hours, and, more important, by changed male attitudes toward domestic responsibilities. The unfortunate part of it is that women have either shouldered the extra burden or compromised their roles as wives and mothers.

Late Marriages

Marrying later is one answer that Chinese females have come up with. In Table 36 we see that 68.6 percent are still single in the age bracket of 20 to 24 years. By comparison, only 36 percent of the American females have not yet tied the knot. An astonishingly large proportion of Chinese women maintain their single status until they reach 30 to 34 years of age. Then the percentage of those married shoots up to the 90s. Eventually as many as 96 percent do get married, which means that Chinese do not eschew marriage; they just postpone it.

Size of Families

In the olden days in China, large families were a source of pride and a symbol of status. The Chinese met their social, economic, and religious needs through the family. In an agricultural economy, many hands were needed to till the land. Social security was provided through the communal and collective efforts of a broad-based family. The larger the family, the more members it had to cope with the contingencies of life.

Even man's longing for immortality, and his yearning for knowledge of the infinite was woven into the framework of the family institution through practice of ancestor worship. The living were thus linked with the dead into infinity. The worst sin that a man could commit was to die without progeny and sever the family line. This led to the intense desire of the Chinese people for sons and more sons, not only to insure the family continuity, but to give a wider base to the

TABLE 36

CHINESE WOMEN IN THE U.S.: 15 YEARS AND OVER, SINGLE OR EVER MARRIED, 1970

Age Groups	Single		Ever Married	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
15 - 19 years	20,107	96.6	714	3.6
20 - 24 years	15,949	68.6	7,289	31.4
25 - 29 years	3,435	20.8	13,053	79.2
30 - 34 years	1,392	8.6	14,877	91.4
35 - 39 years	921	6.6	13,086	93.4
40 - 44 years	534	3.7	14,096	96.3
45 - 49 years	469	4.3	10,411	95.7
50 - 54 years	361	4.2	8,275	95.8
55 - 64 years	574	4.3	12,808	95.7
65 years and over	608	5.2	10,995	94.8

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)3A (1970).

TABLE 37

CHINESE FAMILIES WITH OWN CHILDREN UNDER 18 BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN,
FOR THE U.S. AND FIVE SELECTED STATES, 1970

Own Children Under 18	U.S.		Calif.		N.Y.		Hawaii		Illinois		Mass.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All Families	94,931	99.9	37,437	100.0	18,546	100.0	12,304	99.9	2,920	99.9	2,920	99.9
None	35,069	36.9	13,941	37.2	7,034	37.9	4,961	40.3	979	33.5	943	32.3
1	18,899	19.9	7,191	19.2	3,698	19.9	2,263	18.4	602	20.6	699	23.9
2	19,454	20.5	7,736	20.7	3,844	20.7	2,169	17.6	699	23.9	542	18.6
3	12,377	13.0	5,020	13.4	2,405	13.0	1,503	12.2	375	12.8	375	12.8
4	5,825	6.1	2,225	5.9	1,095	5.9	854	6.9	183	6.3	213	7.3
5	2,422	2.6	965	2.6	399	2.2	387	3.1	45	1.5	132	4.5
6 or More	885	0.9	359	1.0	71	0.4	167	1.4	37	1.3	16	0.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 23.

TABLE 38

FERTILITY OF CHINESE WOMEN IN THE CHILDBEARING AGES, 1970

Children Ever Born to Women Ever Married	U.S.		Calif.		N.Y.		Hawaii		Ill.		Mass.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-24 Years Old	8,099		2,897		1,612		895		294		280	
Children per 1,000 Women Ever Married	786		762		922		806		731		946	
25-34 Years Old	27,692		9,953		5,146		2,499		1,102		963	
Children per 1,000 Women Ever Married	1,778		1,815		1,833		2,351		1,652		1,746	
35-44 Years Old	26,711		11,499		5,106		3,165		856		671	
Children per 1,000 Women Ever Married	3,005		2,966		2,955		3,206		3,114		3,250	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 18

TABLE 39.

PERCENT OF WOMEN EVER MARRIED BY CHILDREN EVER BORN
OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S., 1970

Age Group & Race	Children Ever Born						
	0	1	2	3	4	5&6	7+
<u>15-19 Yrs.</u>							
Chinese	55.3	35.9	7.1	1.7	0	0	0
Japanese	52.1	39.1	7.1	0	0.5	1.1	0
White	53.6	37.0	7.2	1.2	0.3	0.2	0
Black	32.6	42.5	17.8	4.9	1.3	0.6	0
<u>20-24 Yrs.</u>							
Chinese	45.9	33.9	14.4	4.2	1.5	0	0.8
Japanese	46.1	38.3	12.2	2.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
White	37.0	34.0	20.0	5.0	1.0	0.25	0.5
Black	20.6	32.8	24.4	12.7	5.6	3.1	0.6
<u>25-29 Yrs.</u>							
Chinese	32.3	29.5	23.9	10.5	3.4	1.1	0.2
Japanese	29.1	32.4	25.9	8.6	2.7	0.8	0.2
White	16.0	21.0	32.0	18.0	7.0	3.0	0.4
Black	12.6	20.2	22.8	17.5	11.9	11.4	3.4
<u>30-34 Yrs.</u>							
Chinese	11.3	18.4	31.7	21.9	10.6	5.0	0.7
Japanese	15.8	18.7	35.5	19.4	7.0	3.0	0.3
White	8.0	11.0	27.0	25.0	15.0	9.0	2.0
Black	9.5	16.6	17.9	16.5	13.5	18.0	10.8
<u>35-39 Yrs.</u>							
Chinese	8.0	10.7	25.0	25.7	16.1	12.5	1.7
Japanese	15.8	14.9	27.5	22.3	11.2	6.4	1.6
White	6.0	9.0	23.0	24.0	17.0	13.0	4.0
Black	9.8	12.4	15.1	14.4	12.7	18.2	17.1
<u>40-44 Yrs.</u>							
Chinese	7.6	8.3	20.9	23.8	20.0	15.3	3.8
Japanese	16.6	14.2	26.4	22.6	12.2	6.8	1.0
White	8.1	11.0	24.0	22.0	15.0	12.0	5.0
Black	13.1	14.1	14.6	13.0	10.7	15.6	18.6

(continued)

TABLE 39--continued

Women Ever Married	Children Ever Born						
	0	1	2	3	4	5&6	7+
<u>45-49 Yrs.</u>							
Chinese	10.5	11.3	20.6	19.5	18.2	16.2	3.5
Japanese	13.2	12.5	26.8	23.7	13.6	8.6	1.3
White	9.8	13.0	26.0	21.0	12.0	10.0	4.0
Black	18.0	16.1	14.9	12.1	9.3	13.0	16.3
<u>50-54 Yrs.</u>							
Chinese	9.2	14.8	21.3	18.2	17.1	13.7	5.4
Japanese	11.0	14.0	25.0	22.7	15.0	9.6	2.3
White	12.9	16.0	27.0	19.0	10.0	8.0	4.0
Black	23.1	18.2	14.7	10.7	8.0	11.0	14.1
<u>55-64 Yrs.</u>							
Chinese	9.7	16.2	22.5	17.2	14.3	14.0	5.8
Japanese	12.3	12.9	21.0	18.3	13.6	14.4	7.2
White	17.9	19.0	25.0	15.0	8.0	7.0	4.0
Black	27.1	19.2	14.0	10.0	7.2	9.3	13.0
<u>65 Yrs.+</u>							
Chinese	8.0	14.0	18.6	16.8	11.3	16.9	14.0
Japanese	9.2	9.9	14.3	13.8	13.3	21.1	18.1
White	17.6	17.0	21.0	15.0	9.0	10.0	8.0
Black	25.6	17.4	13.5	9.9	7.8	10.1	15.3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)3A (1970).

collective system.⁵

It was not uncommon to come across Chinese men and women who had sixteen or even twenty-four brothers and sisters. The siblings did not always have the same mother because concubinage was an accepted practice in China, but seven or eight offspring of one mother were not unusual at all. Smaller families were the exception, and the barren woman was much pitied. A woman was naught in China until she had given her husband a son, and, once a son was produced, her position in the family was fixed. She could never be cast out.

One would expect some vestige of this cultural heritage and desire for large families to carry over into the Chinese-American family. No one was more surprised than I when I looked at the number of children under 18 in Chinese families. The tabulations are shown in Table 37. More than a third of the 95,000 families had no children; one or two offspring was the norm; and a sharp drop registered after the third child.

Table 38 shows the fertility rate of Chinese women of child-bearing age. The figures confirm that Chinese women are averaging between two and three children. It is puzzling, in view of the fact that Westernization is usually accompanied by a lower fertility rate that the fertility rate of Chinese women in Hawaii is higher than that of the mainland states, especially in the more productive 25- to 34-year age bracket. Hawaii has a more balanced Chinese population and is farther ahead in assimilation.

Postponing Children

A comparison (see Table 39) with whites, blacks, and Japanese women shows that Chinese women are having far fewer children than their sisters of other races. The Chinese are not only postponing marriage, they are postponing children. At age 20 to 24, 45.9 percent of married Chinese women have no children at all. At age 25 to 29, almost one-third are still childless, whereas the same percentage of white females already have two children. By the time a woman reaches 30 years of age, her childbearing span has already been halved, and the prospects that she will give birth to more than two or three children is quite remote. It seems that the Chinese and Japanese families are the most limited of all.

5. Sung, Story of the Chinese in America, p. 153.

Do foreign-born Chinese women tend to have more children than the native-born? It does not look that way on Table 40. The percentages for native-born and foreign-born are almost parallel. Nativity is not the decisive factor; time and the circumstances are greater determinants.

The younger generation Chinese female is limiting her family severely. Only the older women have larger families. For example, of those in the 45 to 49 age bracket, about 16 percent have five or six children. Fourteen percent of those 65 years or over have seven or more children. The difference is a span of only about fifteen to thirty-five years. Within this short period of historical time, we are witnessing a social change of far-reaching consequence. One of the pillars of Chinese culture has been toppled.

Why Fewer Children

The answer to why Chinese females are marrying later and limiting their families may be indicated in the prolonged years of schooling. They wait for graduation before getting married or having children. Table 41 shows fertility of Chinese women by level of education, and reveals an inverse correlation between education and the number of children born. In other words, the less schooling, the more children. No college graduate or post-graduate has seven or eight children. One-fourth of the females at this educational level have no children at all, and three out of four have no more than two children. The decision may lie with the Chinese males who think along the same lines. If the male decides that he cannot get married or have children until he graduates, his marital partner may have to go along. As we saw in Chapter IV, he, too, is prolonging his education well beyond the normal range. In the cycle of events, the ultimate culprit may be the immigration restrictions placed upon work for students. How can a student think about establishing a family if he has no way to support that family? In the final analysis, the Chinese population in the United States may again be structured by legal, rather than cultural, controls.

The total Chinese female labor force in 1970 was about 72,000 persons. Of this number, about 30,000 are in California, 13,000 in New York, and 10,000 in Hawaii. In other words, they are highly concentrated. Again, the reader is cautioned that these figures are now different. The heavy immigration of recent years must be taken into account, especially since New York is getting the major share of the new immigrants.

Occupations of the Chinese females are extremely limited.

TABLE 40

CHILDREN EVER BORN TO CHINESE WOMEN
EVER MARRIED, 15 YEARS AND OVER, BY NATIVITY, 1970

Children Ever Born	Women Ever Married			
	Native-Born		Foreign-Born	
	No.	%	No.	%
0	7,600	18.6	11,800	16.4
1	5,700	14.0	12,600	17.5
2	9,800	24.0	16,500	23.0
3	7,300	17.9	11,400	15.9
4	4,800	11.8	9,400	13.1
5	2,100	5.1	5,200	7.2
6	1,500	3.7	2,600	3.6
7	1,200	2.9	1,400	1.9
8 or More	800	2.0	900	1.3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Public Use Sample Data, Special Tabulation (1970).

NOTE: Based on a 1 percent sampling.

TABLE 41

FERTILITY OF CHINESE WOMEN EVER MARRIED, 15 YEARS AND OVER,
BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND PERCENT, 1970

Number of Children Ever Born	No Schooling		Elementary (1-8)		High School (9-12)		College & Post-Grad.		Horizontal Total 100%
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
0	1,200	7.9	2,500	10.0	7,800	19.2	7,900	24.8	19,400
1	1,600	10.6	3,300	13.2	6,500	16.0	6,900	21.6	18,300
2	3,500	23.2	4,700	18.8	10,300	25.4	7,800	24.5	26,300
3	3,200	21.2	3,900	15.6	6,600	16.3	5,000	15.7	18,700
4	1,900	12.6	4,700	18.8	5,200	12.8	2,400	7.5	14,200
5	1,200	7.9	3,200	12.8	1,800	4.4	1,100	3.4	7,300
6	1,000	6.6	1,000	4.0	1,300	3.2	800	2.5	4,100
7	900	6.0	1,100	4.4	600	1.5	0	0.0	2,600
8+	600	4.0	600	2.4	500	1.2	0	0.0	1,700
Vertical Total 100%	15,100		25,000		40,600		31,900		112,600

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

NOTE: Based on a 1 percent sampling.

Over 30,000 of the 72,000 are in the following seven occupations, in order of importance: (They may be represented in other fields but not in large numbers.)

TABLE 42A

SEVEN RANKING OCCUPATIONS OF CHINESE WOMEN

<u>Specific Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>
Seamstresses	10,023
Food Service Workers	5,567
Teachers to 12th Grade	3,332
Typists	2,954
Secretaries	2,924
Sales Clerks	2,812
Cashiers	2,485
TOTAL	30,097

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)7A (1970).

By broad occupational group, the breakdown may be regrouped as follows:

TABLE 42B

NUMBER OF WORKERS IN FOUR MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF CHINESE WOMEN, 1970

<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>No.</u>
Clerical	20,736
Operatives	15,025
Service Workers	8,742
Sales Workers	3,180
TOTAL	47,683

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)7A (1970).

The pattern seems to be that foreign-born or poorly educated women go into the garment factories and food service work, whereas the native-born and educated go into clerical and sales work. In

TABLE 43

SIZE OF CHINESE FAMILIES IN THE U.S., TOTAL AND FIVE SELECTED STATES, 1970

	U.S.		Calif.		N.Y.		Hawaii		Illinois		Mass.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Number of Families	94,931	100.0	37,437	100.0	18,546	100.0	12,304	100.0	2,920	100.0	2,920	100.0
<u>Size of Families</u>												
2 persons	23,389	24.6	9,074	24.2	4,667	25.2	2,739	22.3	682	23.4	658	22.5
3 persons	17,873	18.8	6,888	18.4	3,480	18.8	2,367	19.2	501	17.1	521	17.8
4 persons	19,802	20.9	7,758	20.7	3,776	20.4	2,545	20.7	669	22.9	608	20.8
5 persons	15,445	16.3	6,394	17.1	3,034	16.3	2,047	16.6	444	15.2	420	14.4
6 persons	9,802	10.3	3,871	10.3	1,962	10.6	1,341	11.0	333	11.4	424	14.5
7 persons	6,083	6.4	2,371	6.3	1,348	7.3	803	6.5	213	7.3	242	8.3
8 persons	1,485	1.6	692	1.8	188	1.0	249	2.0	31	1.1	25	0.9
9 persons	591	0.6	209	0.6	62	0.3	139	1.1	19	0.7	19	0.6
10 or more persons	461	0.5	180	0.5	29	0.2	74	0.6	28	1.0	3	0.1
Total Persons in Families	380,393		150,938		73,651		50,689		11,977		12,050	
Average per Family	4.01		4.03		3.97		4.12		4.10		4.13	

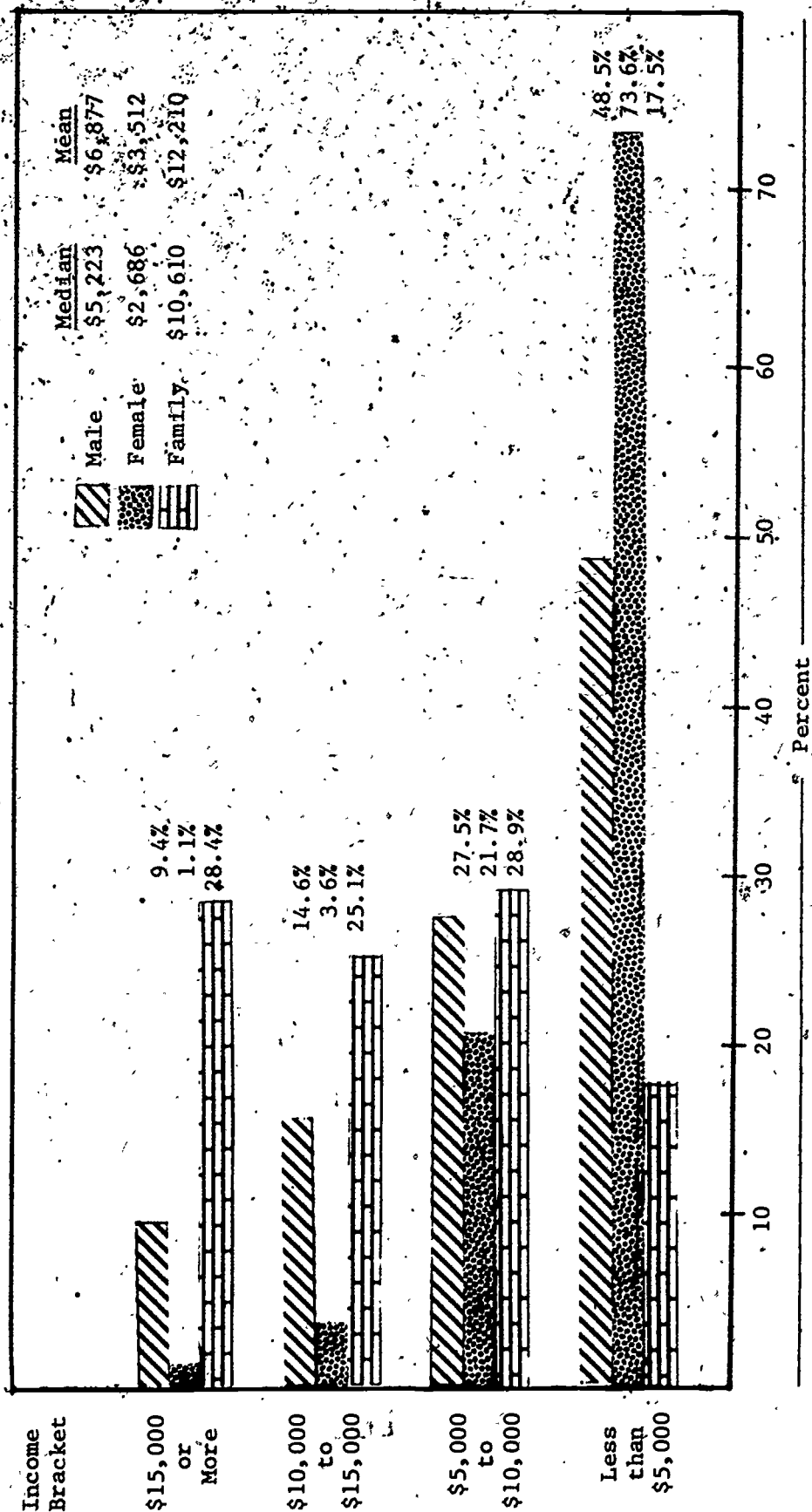
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)IG (1970), Table 23.

NOTE: Based on a 20 percent sampling.



CHART D

COMPARISON AMONG PERSONAL INCOMES OF CHINESE MALES, CHINESE FEMALES, AND FAMILY INCOME, 1969



Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970).



the professions and technical occupation group, Chinese females gravitate toward teaching and health service work. The narrow range of jobs for Chinese females is very apparent.

Income

This topic has been dealt with and will be dealt with throughout this study, but it cannot be overemphasized that females earn about half the pay of the males. Chart D shows that almost three out of four females have a personal income of less than \$5,000 per year and that their median income was \$2,686, compared to \$5,223 for Chinese males, which is already low. A closer scrutiny of work and pay follows in Chapter IX.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. Women of all races are entering the labor force at an increasing rate. A larger proportion of Chinese females are employed than either black or white females.

2. The unemployment rate for Chinese females, at 3.7 percent, is comparatively low. The type of work they perform--piece work at low rates--is always available.

3. Matrimony does not take a woman out of the labor market. Half of the Chinese wives living with their husbands are employed.

4. One-third of Chinese mothers with children under six are employed.

5. Chinese females are postponing marriage until their late twenties or early thirties.

6. Even though large families are a deeply rooted cultural tradition of the Chinese, the size of families among the Chinese in the United States has shrunk to an average of four persons.

7. Births have fallen off to a crude birth rate of less than 1.5. (Replacement rate is 2.1.) Chinese females are having their first child at a much older age, and they are having fewer children than any other racial group identified by the census.

8. The low birth rate prevails among both foreign-born and native-born Chinese females.

9. The older Chinese females had more children. The younger ones are having fewer.

10. The better-educated female has a much lower fertility rate.

11. Chinese female employees are highly concentrated in a limited number of occupations. The better-educated ones are in the professional and clerical fields--predominantly the latter. The recent immigrants and less educated ones are in garment factories and food service.

12. About three out of four Chinese females earned less than \$5,000 in 1969.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Viva la difference! Equality of the sexes in employment must take into account the inherent role of child-bearing responsibilities of the female. If this factor is ignored, any gains wrested from the male sector outside the home will merely add on to a woman's total working hours and duties. Her gains would be offset by a heavier load. Society, too, must question whether the gender which carries generations to come should be so physically spent and deprived of time that she cannot devote herself to her biological role.

What are the effects on children deprived of maternal care at various stages in their upbringing? Sociologists have debated the issue extensively, but their approach is generally to see if there is any cause-and-effect relationship between working mothers and problem children. Some argue that it is the quality of time spent with the children; others argue that children need a full-time mother. No one has come up with solutions to accommodate working mothers so that they can better handle both job and home.

Paid vacations and medical insurance are now standard benefits of most jobs. Employers recognize the necessity for employees to have rest and recreation if they are to perform well. These extras do not detract; they add to productivity.

My recommendations would be that employers recognize that female employees are split between job and home duties. I doubt if anyone would suggest that women go back into the home and kitchen. That females will become an increasingly important part of the labor force is an irreversible trend. Nor do I believe that male workers would like an all-male working world at all. I am sure they enjoy the presence of the other sex. It now behooves labor planners and negotiators to consider the special situation of female workers.

In a trip to the People's Republic of China in 1973, I visited a textile factory near Peking. The mill had a child-care center on the premises where the mothers left their children when they worked. Time off to feed their babies was given the nursing mothers. At meal times or breaks, the mothers could go over and see their children. A communal kitchen served meals at reasonable prices when the mothers did not wish to cook at home. Most workers went home for an evening meal prepared in their own quarters, but the communal kitchen was a convenience in case the mother was too tired that day. The fact that home meals are still prepared by the women in China did not escape my eyes.

The fact that in the United States, over 10,000 Chinese women

in a labor force of 72,000 are in one occupation alone--garment workers--is disquieting. The apparel industry is facing stiff competition from imports--ironically, from the Far East where they are made by even cheaper Asian labor. The garment worker is in a highly vulnerable position. Effort must be made to diversify the extremely limited field of occupations of the less-educated, non-English-speaking, recent female immigrants. They can and should be taught other skills and introduced to other lines of work. Some planning should be undertaken to ease into diversification before the problem comes to a head. This planning requires research into the situation, an understanding of the cultural background, and a knowledge of the immigrants' problems. This research or study should be initiated as soon as possible.

The scope of the study would be simplified by the fact that the Chinese garment workers are highly concentrated in New York City and San Francisco. Studies undertaken in either of these two cities would apply to other places as well. New York should be the site to study since it is the clothing capital of the nation. More information is needed about the industry, its importance in the economy of the city, the educational level and qualifications of the garment workers, their family status and domestic responsibilities, their knowledge of English, and their willingness to venture beyond a certain radius of Chinatown.

The concentration of highly educated Chinese females in clerical jobs is another target that calls for dispersion. As we saw in Chapter IV, about one-third of the Chinese females 16 years and over have been to college or are college graduates. These ladies achieve white-collar status, but little else. 20,736--again, out of a work force of 72,000--are in the clerical positions of bookkeepers, secretaries, typists, file clerks, etc. They are qualified for better jobs, but are victims of sexism, more than racism. It appears that the Chinese female worker is an all-around loser.

CHAPTER VII

CHINESE IN GOVERNMENT WORK

A mandarin was a public official during the time when emperors or empresses sat on the imperial throne in Peking. He held one of nine ranks entitled to wear a button in his cap as a symbol of office. To attain officialdom was the highest aspiration of every man in imperial China. No other position held as much status, prestige, power, or opportunity for wealth.

Outside of royalty and nobility, an official position was attained through civil service examinations. For thirteen centuries, China selected the men to run her government on the basis of scholarship and merit. Every effort was made to render the tests as fair and impartial as possible. Many historians maintain that the continuity of China's political identity stems from the social mobility that the examination system engendered: In other words, the lowly could aspire to high office through diligent study. The system provided an upward channel for ambitious men without political upheaval.

Apex of the Occupational Scale

To illustrate what official status meant to China, Professor Ping Ti Ho tells a story from Chinese literature about an abused and indigent scholar, Fan, who finally passed his provincial examination and attained the rank of Chu-Jen.

. . . This second degree, which entitled Fan to an eventual office, was charismatic in more than one way; it completely transformed his economic and social status overnight. A local retired country magistrate . . . immediately called and offered Fan a large house and some ready cash. Soon the smaller men of the locality offered Fan either a part of their land, shares of their stores or themselves as

domestic servants--all in hopes of gaining his favor and protection.¹

Officials had wide discretionary latitude in governing their domains. It was most important to curry their favor. Professor Ho concludes that "money in Ming-Ch'ing China was not in itself an ultimate source of power. It had to be translated into official status to make its power fully felt."²

For centuries, therefore, the Chinese regarded government service as the apex of the occupational scale. High social status attached to government service, and this cultural value was transferred from the old country to the new. This explains the high percentage (19, or almost one out of every five Chinese employed in the United States) who work for either the federal, state or local governments. And it is all the more remarkable when one considers that the Chinese population consists predominantly of foreign-born aliens who are excluded from government service by the citizenship requirement.

TABLE 44

CHINESE EMPLOYED AS GOVERNMENT WORKERS AS PERCENT OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE FOR FIVE SELECTED STATES, 1970

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Pct. of Civ. Labor Force</u>
U.S. Total	34,500	19%
Male	19,700	18
Female	13,900	19
California	14,000	18
New York	3,100	9
Hawaii	6,500	30
Illinois	1,300	19
Massachusetts	300	6

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

Note: Based on a 1 percent sampling.

1. Ping-Ti Ho, "Social Mobility in China since the Fourteenth Century," in Traditional China, James T.C. Liu and Wei-ming Tu, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 65.

2. Ibid., p. 66.

Table 44 gives the number of Chinese employed in government service by selected states. In Hawaii, with 96 percent of her Chinese population citizens, 30 percent are in government service. Fourteen thousand Chinese, or 18 percent, work for the government in California. In New York and Massachusetts, the percentages are rather insignificant. In these states, the foreign-born proportion is higher and the history of the Chinese is more recent.

Age Variable

The mature (age 30 plus) second- or third-generation American-born Chinese is more likely to have aimed for a career in government. Twenty or thirty years ago, he stood little chance of getting a position other than menial work in private industry outside his community. Since civil service is based primarily on a merit system, his chances in government were better. Looking at Table 45 below, it is very apparent that Chinese-Americans in the upper age groups are more into government service.

TABLE 45

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT WORKERS,
BY AGE GROUP, 1970

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Total 16 Years +	34,705	100
16-19 years	1,744	5
20-24 years	5,299	15
25-34 years	10,271	30
35-44 years	8,337	24
45-64 years	8,671	25
65 years +	383	1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 21.

Level of Government

Government is one of the fastest growing industries in the United States. In 1940, federal government jobs stood at about 1 million. By 1950, it was 2 million. By 1970, it was close to 3 million. The number of state and local government jobs are

TABLE 46

CHINESE GOVERNMENT WORKERS IN FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, BY NUMBER AND PERCENT AT EACH LEVEL, 1970

	Federal		State		Local	
	Number	% of Govt. Wkrs.	Number	% of Govt. Wkrs.	Number	% of Govt. Wkrs.
U. S. Total	11,700	34%	13,400	39%	9,400	27%
Male	8,400	43	8,200	42	4,000	20
Female	3,300	24	5,200	37	5,400	39
California	5,200	37	3,500	25	5,300	38
New York	800	26	800	26	1,500	48
Hawaii	2,900	45	2,600	40	1,000	15
Illinois	200	15	900	69	200	15
Massachusetts	*	*	200	67	100	33

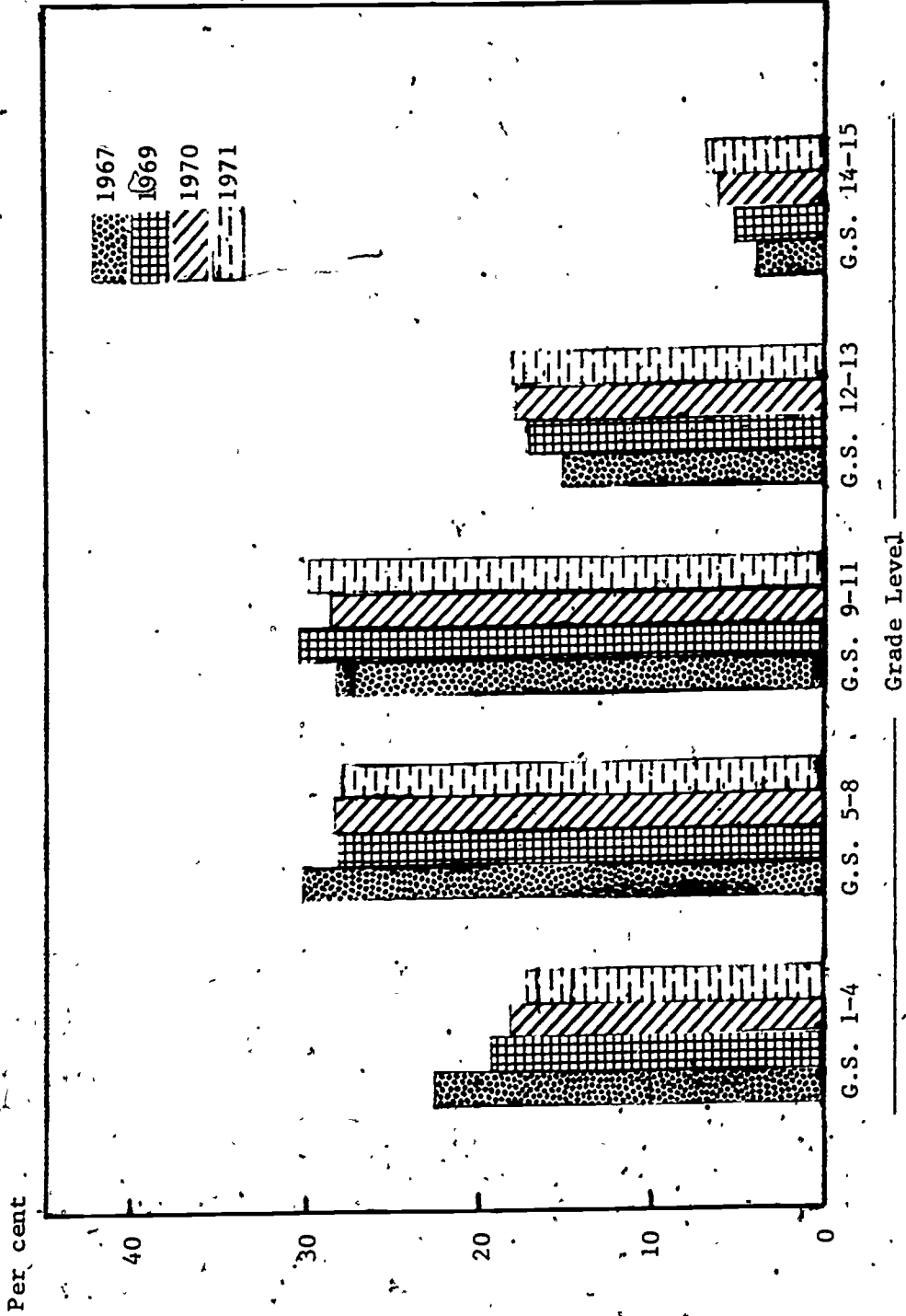
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

NOTE: Based on a 1 percent sampling.

*None reported in census.

CHART E

ORIENTAL EMPLOYEES IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT GENERAL SERVICE PAY SYSTEM, 1967-1971



Source: U. S. Civil Service Commission, Study of Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government SM70-67B-71B (1967, 1969, 1970, 1971).



four times the number of federal jobs.³

Table 46 shows that state governments hire more Chinese than does either the federal or local, although the federal government does not trail too far behind. In the federal government, roughly one-third of the Chinese males employed are professionals and technicians, one-third are in clerical work and one-fifth are in the crafts. The federal government is the one place where Chinese have managed to penetrate into the craft occupations. Chinese females in federal government service are overwhelmingly concentrated in clerical jobs.

In state governments, the Chinese have fared better. Eighty percent of the males and 60 percent of the females are in the professional-technical category. Thirty percent of the distaff workers are concentrated in clerical work.

In local government, the Chinese female has outdone herself. Two-thirds are in the professions, whereas only one-half of the males are in this category. What does this translate into? It is simply that this large percentage of Chinese females in the professions represent school teachers and librarians.⁴ Education is a function of local government.

Federal Government Jobs and Pay

A series of recent publications put out by the Civil Service Commission, Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government, gives a breakdown of workers employed by broad ethnic groups. This data should be highly accurate because it is taken from payroll information. The Chinese figures, however, are submerged under the more general heading, "Oriental," so we must look at them in this context. Asian groups generally share the same occupational experiences, but each group has problems unique to itself. In the absence of a more detailed breakdown, the Oriental subcategory must suffice.

The bar graph (Chart E) shows the gradual change in grade rank for four years since 1967. No data was available for 1968. The viewer can perceive a gradual decrease in the lower grade levels and just as gradual an increase in the GS 14-15 levels. The GS 16-18 levels were too minute to show up in the bar graph.

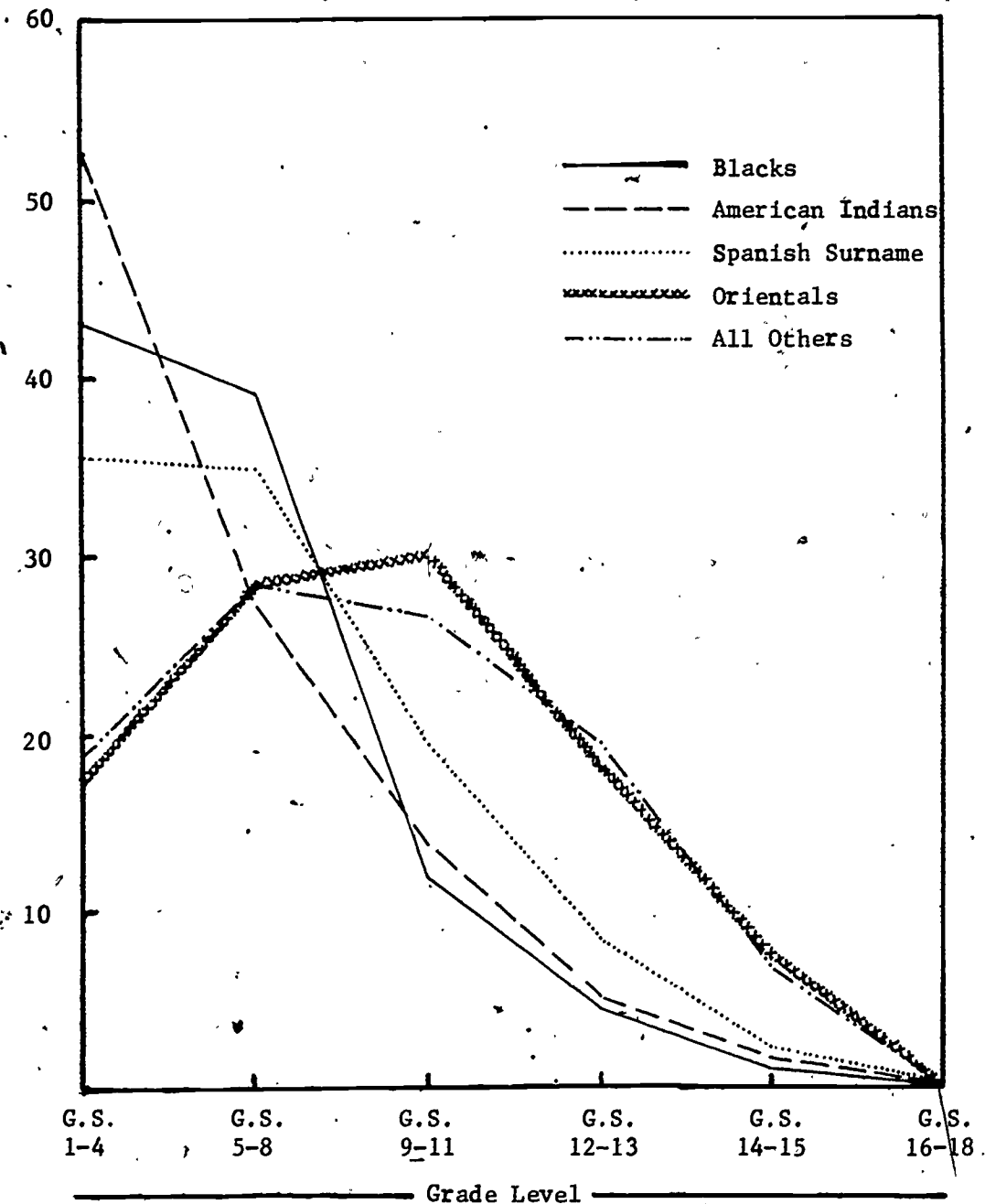
3. U.S. Department of Labor, Occupational Outlook Handbook (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 841.

4. U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

CHART F

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
IN GENERAL SERVICE PAY SYSTEM, 1971

Per cent



Source: U. S. Civil Service Commission, Study of Minority Group Employment in Federal Government, (1971).

TABLE 47

ORIENTALS EMPLOYED IN AGENCIES OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT,
GENERAL SERVICE PAY SYSTEM, 1967-1971

Agency	1967	1969	1970	1971
Total All Agencies	20,393	21,432	21,405	20,889
State Department	208	203	184	178
Treasury	501	504	596	687
Defense Total	11,791	12,126	11,386	10,268
Office of Secretary of Defense	278	390	131	132
Army	3,436	3,602	3,430	3,403
Navy	6,027	5,842	5,677	4,847
Air Force	1,987	2,043	1,905	1,651
Supply	—	249	243	235
Justice	88	132	154	171
Post Office	3,766	3,962	4,250	3,964
Interior	463	462	414	411
Agriculture	395	437	442	464
Commerce	214	272	306	287
Labor	42	49	49	65
Health, Education, Welfare	684	677	792	879
Housing/Urban Development	82	104	105	135
Transportation	365	398	405	660
Atomic Energy	12	21	30	35
Federal Reserve System	2	3	4	4
Management and Budget	1	3	2	5
Canal Zone	7	6	6	8
Civil Aeronautics	1	2	2	2
Civil Service Commission	33	29	38	45
Equal Employment Commission	1	2	7	10
Federal Communication Commission	5	5	5	8
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	7	8	14	13
Federal Home Loan	7	8	7	7
Federal Power Commission	13	12	13	16
Federal Trade Commission	6	6	7	5
General Accounting	11	16	20	20
General Service Administration	404	389	380	378
Government Printing	7	10	12	13
United States Information Agency	136	155	145	147
Interstate Commerce Commission	2	6	5	7
National Aeronautics & Space Administration	179	202	193	184
National Labor Relations Board	16	15	18	23
National Science Foundation	1	7	7	5
Office of Economic Opportunity	15	15	23	23
Panama Canal Company	4	10	11	11
Railroad Retirement Board	6	4	6	5
Securities and Exchange Commission	3	5	4	5
Selective Service Commission	21	26	34	34
Small Business Administration	28	16	23	82
Smithsonian Institution	12	10	9	12
United States Soldiers Home	1	2	3	0
Tennessee Valley Authority	16	23	30	28
Veterans Administration	837	1,089	1,262	1,581
Federal Courts	0	1	2	4

Source: U. S. Civil Service Commission Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government (1967-71).

By and large, Oriental workers in the federal government are clustered around the entry levels of GS 5, 9 and 11. A comparison with other ethnic groups is illustrated in the line graph, Chart F. As a group, Orientals seem to have come off fairly well.

In Agencies Employed

Of the 20,889 Orientals employed in the federal government in 1971, 11,700 are Chinese.⁵ Since no data is available on the Chinese alone, we will use the Oriental figures as a guideline. Table 47 was set up to show the agencies in which Orientals are found. The largest number are found in the Department of Defense, which includes the Army, Navy, Air Force, Supply, and the Office of the Secretary. One-half the Orientals employed in the federal government work in the Department of Defense. At the time of this writing, I was unable to find out what type or work these people engage in, but an agency such as the Corps of Engineers is a likely place to utilize the services of engineers and technicians. The auditing divisions and the medical services in the armed forces are also areas in which Orientals are likely to be found.⁶

Oriental employees in the Veterans Administration have increased the most. The functions of this agency are primarily medical, educational, and insurance-oriented. Again, these are traditional fields for the Oriental professional.

Outside the ranking system of General Service (GS) jobs, the federal government has a different system of ranking for wage system (WS) workers and postal workers. One might say the GS jobs are white-collar occupations, whereas the WS jobs are blue-collar, paid at the prevailing local hourly rates for similar work. Table 49 shows that the number of Orientals are dwindling in WS jobs, but that their income has increased more rapidly than all other ethnic groups.

5. Ibid.

6. By way of comparison, the Department of Defense has always taken up a disproportionate share of the federal civilian payroll. Out of 2.9 million, 41 percent work for the Department of Defense.

TABLE 48

ETHNIC COMPARISON OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAGE SYSTEMS
EMPLOYEES, BY PERCENT, 1967-1970

Wage Systems	Blacks		Sp. Surname		Amer. Indian		Orientals		All Others	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1967 Total	121,829	100.0	32,024	100.0	5,725	100.0	6,928	100.0	430,141	100.0
Up Thru \$5,499	55,742	45.7	9,593	29.9	2,344	40.9	1,066	15.4	68,927	16.0
\$ 5,500-\$ 6,999	47,432	38.9	14,869	46.4	2,367	41.3	2,526	36.5	161,341	37.5
\$ 7,000-\$ 7,999	15,396	12.6	5,862	18.3	708	12.4	2,232	32.2	122,918	28.6
\$ 8,000-\$ 8,999	2,300	1.9	1,239	3.9	157	2.7	516	7.4	38,209	8.9
\$ 9,000-\$ 9,999	789	.6	330	1.0	83	1.4	423	6.1	25,372	5.9
\$10,000-\$13,999	166	.1	124	.4	62	1.1	160	2.3	12,543	2.9
\$14,000-\$17,999	4	*	5	*	4	*	5	*	741	.2
\$18,000 & Over	0	*	2	*	0	*	0	*	90	*
1969 Total	112,093	100.0	31,807	100.0	5,395	100.0	6,449	100.0	404,626	100.0
Up Thru \$5,499	21,945	19.6	3,867	12.1	462	8.6	529	8.2	21,475	5.3
\$ 5,500-\$ 6,999	49,366	44.0	9,889	31.1	1,919	35.6	1,556	24.1	88,604	21.9
\$ 7,000-\$ 7,999	22,281	19.9	9,667	30.4	1,398	25.9	1,406	21.8	106,047	26.2
\$ 8,000-\$ 8,999	11,888	10.6	5,709	17.9	898	16.6	1,444	22.4	93,642	23.1
\$ 9,000-\$ 9,999	4,191	3.7	1,747	5.5	304	5.6	795	12.3	43,961	10.9
\$10,000-\$13,999	2,289	2.0	881	2.8	356	6.6	690	10.7	47,322	11.7
\$14,000-\$17,999	117	.1	39	.1	57	1.0	24	.4	2,804	.7
\$18,000 & Over	16	.0	8	.0	1	.0	5	.1	771	.2
1970 Total	106,619	100.0	30,003	100.0	5,509	100.0	6,155	100.0	372,656	100.0
Up Thru \$5,499	1,366	10.7	1,115	3.7	250	4.5	193	3.1	8,377	2.2
\$ 5,500-\$ 6,999	9,345	36.9	5,779	19.3	1,421	25.8	1,098	17.8	47,365	12.7
\$ 7,000-\$ 7,999	24,587	23.1	7,616	25.4	1,307	23.7	1,107	18.0	63,207	17.0
\$ 8,000-\$ 8,999	17,364	16.3	8,463	28.2	1,079	1.9	1,103	17.9	93,956	25.2
\$ 9,000-\$ 9,999	9,896	9.3	5,178	17.2	871	15.8	1,606	26.1	82,511	22.1
\$10,000-\$13,999	3,933	3.7	1,786	5.9	530	9.6	978	15.9	70,608	18.9
\$14,000-\$17,999	119	.1	60	.2	45	.1	64	1.0	5,707	1.5
\$18,000 & Over	9	*	6	*	6	*	6	0.1	925	.2

Source: U.S. Civil Service Commission Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government, (1967, 1969, 1970).

*Less than .1 percent.

TABLE 49

**ETHNIC COMPARISON OF U.S. POSTAL SYSTEM EMPLOYEES,
BY PERCENT, 1967-1971**

PFS Rank	Blacks		Sp. Surname		Amer. Indian		Orientals		All Others	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1967 Total	132,011	100.0	14,776	100.0	1,057	100.0	3,758	100.0	546,744	100.0
PFS 1-4	123,632	93.7	13,626	92.2	917	86.8	3,337	88.8	459,648	84.1
5-8	7,805	5.9	1,034	7.0	124	11.7	374	10.0	68,409	12.5
9-11	467	.3	87	.6	13	1.2	39	1.0	14,379	2.6
12-15	97	*	27	.2	3	.3	7	.2	3,916	.7
16-18	7	*	2	*	0	*	1	*	359	*
19-20	3	*	0	*	0	*	0	*	83	*
1969 Total	136,322	100.0	17,494	100.0	1,182	100.0	3,947	100.0	541,359	100.0
PFS 1-4	124,173	91.1	15,847	90.1	992	83.9	3,312	84.0	451,330	83.4
5-8	11,343	8.3	1,485	8.5	165	14.0	575	14.6	70,743	13.1
9-11	623	.5	127	.7	22	1.9	44	1.1	14,543	2.7
12-15	170	.1	33	.2	3	.2	15	.4	4,288	.8
16-18	11	*	2	*	0	*	1	*	418	*
19-20	2	*	0	*	0	*	0	*	37	*
1970 Total	138,753	100.0	19,045	100.0	1,271	100.0	4,232	100.0	550,678	100.0
PFS 1-4	124,549	89.8	17,124	89.9	1,056	83.1	3,485	82.3	457,754	83.1
5-8	13,176	9.5	1,730	9.1	185	14.6	662	15.6	72,844	13.2
9-11	771	.5	150	.8	27	2.1	66	1.6	15,014	2.7
12-15	241	.2	37	.2	3	.2	18	.4	4,514	.8
16-18	14	*	4	*	0	*	1	*	515	.1
19-20	2	*	0	*	0	*	0	*	37	*
1971 Total	130,350	100.0	18,175	100.0	1,224	100.0	3,952	100.0	542,108	100.0
PFS 1-4	30,444	23.3	3,108	17.1	197	16.1	473	12.0	57,711	10.6
5-8	98,004	75.2	14,532	80.0	878	71.7	3,341	84.5	417,140	76.9
9-11	1,190	.9	266	1.5	51	4.2	91	2.3	23,280	4.3
12-15	410	.3	60	.3	8	.6	25	.6	5,841	1.1
16-18	46	*	8	*	3	.2	3	*	775	.1
19-20	2	*	1	*	1	*	1	*	81	*
21	6	*	0	*	0	*	0	*	36	*
4th Class	99	*	103	.6	36	2.9	4	*	6,476	1.2
Rural Carriers	149	.1	97	.5	50	4.1	14	.3	30,768	5.7

Source: U.S. Civil Service Commission Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government (1967, 1969, 1970, 1971).

*Less than .1 percent

TABLE 50

SAN FRANCISCO GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES OF ORIENTAL EXTRACTION,
BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP AND SEX, AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1971

Major Occupation Group	Total		Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	693	100.0	459	100.0	234	100.0
Officials and Managers	14	2.0	12	2.6	2	0.9
Professional	326	47.0	207	45.1	119	50.9
Technical	87	12.6	82	17.9	5	2.1
Official and Clerical	140	20.2	37	8.1	103	44.0
Craftspersons	35	5.1	35	7.6	0	0.0
Operatives	36	5.2	36	7.8	0	0.0
Laborers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Uniformed Protect. Serv.	9	1.3	9	2.0	0	0.0
Service Workers	42	6.1	37	8.1	5	2.1
Agric. and Horti. Wkrs.	4	0.6	4	0.9	0	0.0

Source: Commission on Human Rights, San Francisco, Racial and Ethnic Employment Pattern Survey, City and County of San Francisco Employees (December 31, 1971).

The Postman Cometh

Of approximately 730,000^a post office jobs in the nation, 3,000-4,000 are held by Orientals. Orientals include the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and other nationalities like Vietnamese. I would venture a guess that most of the postal employees under the heading Orientals are Japanese than Chinese. Even lumped together, there were but 3,947 Orientals in the Postal System in 1969. The figure rose to 4,232 in 1970, but declined the year following to 3,952.

In 1967, 89 percent of the Oriental postal workers were in the lower PFS 1-4 ranks. By 1971, most had moved out of these ranks, but only into the next two higher ranks; PFS 5 to 9. They were conspicuously absent from the higher ranks extending upward to PFS 21. (See Table 49.)

The obvious conclusion that can be drawn from these figures is that the vast employment network of the U.S. Postal System is a highly segregated bloodline of the federal government.

San Francisco County and City Government

The charm of this gateway city to the Pacific Ocean has always been its Chinatown with its large Chinese-American population. Out of a population of approximately 700,000, over 8 percent are Chinese, and 2 percent Japanese. To administer the affairs of government, San Francisco employs a work force of more than 20,000. Of this number on the regular payroll in December 1971, only 693 were Orientals.

At the state and local government levels, Orientals are primarily in professional and technical jobs; clerical jobs follow slightly behind. Their numbers in administrative and managerial positions are insignificant, as is their presence in all the other major occupational categories. Table 50 gives a detailed breakdown.

Pay for Oriental males from the San Francisco government in 1971 clustered around the \$880- to \$1,250-per-month brackets. Females were more evenly distributed in the pay scale, although 50 percent held professional positions. Table 51 is more explicit.

New York City

Let us span the continent and go to the second largest center

TABLE 51

INCOME OF ORIENTALS IN SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY
AND CITY GOVERNMENT SERVICE, 1971

Monthly Income	Male		Female	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
\$301 - \$400	1	0.2	4	1.1
\$401 - \$500	70	11.7	47	12.6
\$501 - \$600	43	7.2	48	12.8
\$601 - \$700	34	5.7	48	12.8
\$701 - \$800	33	5.5	61	16.3
\$801 - \$1,000	140	23.4	75	20.1
\$1,001 - \$1,250	150	25.1	63	16.8
\$1,251 - \$1,500	80	13.4	21	5.6
\$1,501 and up	47	7.9	7	1.9
Total*	598	100.0	374	100.0

*Includes temporary employees

Source: Human Rights Commission of San Francisco, Racial and Ethnic
Employment Pattern Survey, City and County of San Francisco Employees
(December 31, 1971).

TABLE 52

NUMBER OF CHINESE IN NEW YORK CITY GOVERNMENT AGENCIES, 1971

N.Y.C. Government Agencies	Total City Employees	Chinese Employees		
		Total	Males	Females
Administration, Office of	114	0	0	0
Art Commission	2	0	0	0
Borough President Offices	201	2	2	0
Budget, Bureau of the	279	2	0	2
City Clerk	54	0	0	0
City Planning, Dept. of	368	4	3	1
City Sheriff	109	0	0	0
Collective Bargaining Office of	25	0	0	0
Comptroller, Office of the	1,176	5	3	2
Consumer Affairs, Department of	335	0	0	0
Correction, Department of	3,681	4	3	1
County Clerk -- Queens	51	0	0	0
District Attorney Office	662	2	1	1
Economic Development Admin.	508	2	2	0
Education, Board of	88,641	231	62	169
Environmental Protection Administration	19,411	21	19	2
Estimate, Board of Bureau of Franchises	19	1	1	0
Estimate, Board of Bureau of the Secretary	24	0	0	0
Finance Administration	2,043	5	2	3
Fire, Department of	14,873	0	0	0
Health and Hospitals Corporation	40,646	286	137	149
Health Services Administration	6,374	43	26	17
Housing and Development Admin.	4,863	23	19	4
Housing Authority	11,312	15	9	6
Human Resources Admin.	25,503	93	65	28
Human Rights, Commission on	54	0	0	0
Investigation, Department of	83	0	0	0
Jamaica Planning and Development, Office of	13	0	0	0
Law, Department of	698	3	0	3
Lower Manhattan Development, Office of	12	0	0	0
Mayor, Office of the	201	0	0	0
Midtown Planning and Development, Office of	22	2	2	0
Model Cities Administration	442	3	2	1
Municipal Services Administration	3,917	16	13	3
Parks Recreation and Cultural Affairs Admin.	4,895	3	3	0
Personnel, Department of	406	0	0	0
Police, Department of	35,310	15	8	7
Public Administrators	45	0	0	0
Public Events, Department of	18	0	0	0
Standards and Appeals, Board of	34	0	0	0
Staten Island Development, Office of	6	0	0	0
Surrogate's Court -- Richmond County	18	0	0	0
Tax Commission	22	0	0	0
Teacher's Retirement Board	110	1	0	1
Transportation Administration	255	14	10	4
Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority	5,429	1	1	0
Veteran's Affairs, Division of	26	0	0	0
Water Supply, Board of	591	20	20	0
Total Number in City Government	279,881	817	413	404

Source: Commission on Human Rights, New York City, The Employment of Minorities, Women and the Handicapped in City Government: Report of a 1971 Survey.

of Chinese population on the East coast--New York City. The population of the five boroughs of the metropolitan area is put at 7.8 million, and, according to the 1970 census, there are 70,182 Chinese. This is not even 1 percent of the population in this sea of humanity. Nevertheless, the Chinese are a highly concentrated, visible group that forms a viable community because of this consolidation.

The New York City government employed a work force of 273,881 in 1971. Of this number 817 were Chinese. Two-thirds of this number were in education or health services. The rest were scattered in lonely isolation throughout the fifty-odd agencies of the municipal government. Table 52 shows the distribution. Even in the Board of Education and the Health and Hospitals Corporation, where they were strongest in numbers, they were weak in comparison to the total personnel in those two agencies.

Three important services of the municipal government are sanitation, fire protection, and police protection. Sanitation, listed under the Environmental Protection Administration, employed 19,411 persons, of which 21 were Chinese. The Police Department payroll was 35,310, of which 15 were Chinese. The Fire Department employed 14,873, and there was not a single Chinese to be found in the entire lot.

The absence of Asians in these three municipal agencies is a common pattern in all metropolitan areas in the United States. In an intensive affirmative action investigation by the California Fair Employment Practices Commission, it was found that Asians were woefully underrepresented in or completely absent from the Police and Fire Departments of Los Angeles, Oakland, Santa Clara and Bakersfield.⁷

Of those Chinese who do work for the city government, three out of four are professionals and another 8 percent are paraprofessionals. Knowing that the Chinese are found predominantly in the Board of Education or the Health and Hospitals Administration, we can surmise that they are either teachers or medical care personnel. (See Table 53.)

Table 54 shows the salary level of Chinese employed in the New York City government. Since three-fourths of the jobs held by Chinese are in the professional ranks, it is not surprising

7. Vicki Seid, "Police, Fire Departments Lack Asians, Says FEPC," East/West (Augu

TABLE 53

**NEW YORK CITY GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES OF CHINESE EXTRACTION,
BY SEX AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, 1971**

Occupational Classification	Total		Male		Female	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Officials and Administrators	20	2.4	11	2.7	9	2.2
Professionals	614	75.1	328	79.4	286	70.8
Technical Workers	11	1.3	9	2.2	2	0.5
Inspectors and Investigators	9	1.1	1	0.2	8	2.0
Protective Service Workers	7	0.9	7	1.7	0	0.0
Paraprofessionals	68	8.4	12	2.9	56	13.9
Clerical Workers	29	3.6	7	1.7	22	5.5
Craftsmen	4	0.5	4	1.0	0	0.0
Operatives	3	0.4	3	0.7	0	0.0
Service Workers	48	5.9	27	6.5	21	5.2
Laborers	4	0.5	4	1.0	0	0.0
Total	817	100.1	413	100.0	404	100.1

Source: Commission on Human Rights, New York City, *The Employment of Minorities, Women and the Handicapped in City Government: Report of a 1971 Survey.*

TABLE 54

**SALARY LEVEL OF NEW YORK CITY GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
OF CHINESE EXTRACTION, BY SEX, 1971**

Salary Level	Total		Male		Female	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Under \$5,200	21	2.5	6	1.5	15	3.7
\$5,200-7,299	112	13.7	41	9.9	71	17.6
7,300-10,499	55	6.8	25	6.1	30	7.4
10,500-12,999	366	44.8	138	33.4	228	56.4
13,000-17,999	228	27.9	185	44.8	43	10.6
18,000-24,999	12	1.4	11	2.7	1	0.3
25,000+	3	0.3	2	0.5	1	0.3
Unknown	20	2.4	5	1.2	15	3.7
Total	817	99.8	413	100.1	404	100.0

Source: Commission on Human Rights, New York City, *The Employment of Minorities, Women and the Handicapped in City Government: Report of a 1971 Survey.*

to find that three-fourths of them earned salaries in the \$10,500-\$17,999 range. These salaries are below those for comparable positions in private industry or professional service. From personal knowledge, I feel that a disproportionate number of Chinese doctors work in the city hospitals, mainly because they have not met the residence or citizenship requirements to practice.

Decline in Government Service

There is a slight indication that government service may be losing its aura for Chinese Americans. At one time, it was the best channel for them to move out of their few traditional and restricted lines of work in the service category and into the professional, technical, and clerical ranks. Today, private industry is more amenable to hiring Chinese, and the challenge and opportunities offered by private industry must be weighed against the cultural status and security of civil service. Besides, the mandarin U.S.-style in no way approaches the mandarin of imperial China. The former is but a cog in the vast bureaucracy of public administration; the latter wielded influence and power, and his position was more akin to that of an American elected official.

Not all jobs in government are obtained through competitive civil service examinations. There are noncompetitive positions--usually at the higher levels--which are filled on the basis of a person's experience, skills, and background. Then there are the appointed positions made on the basis of political considerations, as well as qualifications, and, finally, there are the elected officials.

The Chinese have managed very well to gain entry into the competitive positions, carrying out the routine functions of government responsibly and efficiently. But the ranks of jobs filled by election, appointment, or personal considerations are very thin for the Chinese indeed.

In testimony presented before the California Fair Employment Practices Commission in San Francisco in 1970, the story of Francis Ching was brought out.

In September 1969, a civil service examination was given for the post of directorship (of the Los Angeles

County Department of Arboreta and Botanic Gardens). Francis Ching, who worked his way up through the ranks since 1956, and had an M.S. from Michigan State University, was placed number one on the list. But the 25-man Board of Governors decided to pick Dr. John Beard of Australia, the only other person who passed the test.

Los Angeles County Supervisor Frank Borelli objected to giving the job to a man who held no American citizenship and stuck by Francis Ching. Other supervisors agreed; the Board of Governors decided in light of this situation to hold a second examination. The Board of Governors' President further specified that in the second examination, questions be included that related to "the public relations and social aspects of the candidates."

Again, Francis Ching, who had been superintendent at the department since 1967, topped the list. Instead of awarding the post to him, however, the governors chose to re-interview the top three scorers on the test. Francis Ching and two other finalist were asked to give a 15-minute speech before the governors at a luncheon on April 2 of this year. The luncheon was followed by a cocktail party. The governors then decided who was "best" for the job. It was clear then the governors cared more for social status and prestige than for qualifications. Most of all, they did not want Francis Ching. After the luncheon, they chose the man who came out second in the exam.

However, under the leadership of Supervisor Borelli, the Board of Supervisors unanimously voted to override the recommendation of the Board of Governors of the Botanic Department. Francis Ching thus became the second Asian-American and the first Chinese to head a major department in county government.⁶

Another example cited in the Commission testimony was the case of Mrs. Ming H.N. Moy, who had worked for fifteen years in

6. "Chinese in San Francisco, 1970, Employment Problems of the Community as Presented in Testimony Before the California Fair Employment Practices Commission" (Transcript).

the budget department at McCallan Air Force Base. She held the rank of GS-11, but for nine years had received no promotion. Mrs. Moy held a B.A. degree from George Washington University and an M.A. degree in economics from Duke University. In her personal files were many letters of commendation. After repeatedly being ignored for promotion, Mrs. Moy filed a complaint. The official reason given for not promoting her was that she could not communicate with other because of her Oriental accent. However, according to her attorney, "Mrs. Moy speaks precisely and her grammar is impeccable." Besides, her job in the budget department dealt more with books and numbers than with the public. The issue of speech was completely irrelevant.

To sum up, the Chinese found in government service a wedge to break out of their ghetto occupations. They are primarily in the professional and technical jobs, performing the highly skilled tasks in the daily operations of governmental functions, but, when it comes to promotions into the supervisory or managerial ranks, they are skipped over on the pretext that they are deficient in English or socially not presentable.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. Almost one out of five Chinese persons employed work in government service. They are found primarily in the states of Hawaii and California. This percentage is unusually high considering that, until very recent times, government employment required American citizenship and the Chinese population in the United States is heavily foreign-born and alien.

2. The reason lies in the status attached to government service and the lower racial bars of the civil service system.

3. In state and local governments, the Chinese are predominantly professionals and technicians. Translated into specific occupations, this means that they are teachers, engineers, and medical personnel.

4. In grade level and earnings, the Chinese may be classified as in the middle or upper-middle echelons.

5. The Chinese have come off better than other ethnic minorities in government service, but very few have managed to penetrate the upper grades.

6. Large areas of government employment, such as the Postal System, the Sanitation, Fire, and Police Departments, have very few, if any, Orientals on their payroll.

7. Civil service examinations consist of a written portion and an oral portion. The exclusion of Chinese from government service can conveniently be carried out in the more subjective oral portion of the examination. This is frequently the case.

RECOMMENDATIONS

When 19 percent, or one out of every five Chinese persons employed, are in government, we can see how important government employment has been in the lives of the Chinese in the United States. For decades, government service has been the primary hope of native-born Chinese American and the channel by which they climbed out the service and operatives occupations to which they were restricted. Through competitive examinations or proof of competence, such as the licensing of teachers, nurses, librarians, or accountants, the Chinese were able to prove that they were competent to perform the duties required.

Government service has expanded occupational opportunities for the Chinese people and it has given them upward mobility into the middle ranks. Having proven themselves, the Chinese are ready to move forward. The problem today is not getting in but going up. Promotion criteria must be reviewed to remove some of the myths and stereotypes about the Chinese. There is too much presumption that whites will not take orders from a Chinese, that a Chinese might not be able to handle himself in the social milieu, that the Chinese speak only pidgin English, or have a heavy accent. I am forever amused by people who come up to compliment me on how well I speak English without an accent.

The issue of whether government employees must be citizens of the United States was resolved at the state and local level by guidelines issued by the Civil Right Commission late in 1969. The guidelines state that the citizenship requirement discriminates against persons on account of national origin and, therefore, is in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. The U.S. Civil Service Commission has taken exception to this interpretation and has not removed the citizenship ban. This question was discussed in detail in Chapter II. My recommendation is that the federal government as an employer should itself comply with its own guidelines handed down for the state and local governments, except in positions involving national security and defense.

The bulk of the Chinese employed in government are in jobs filled by competitive examinations. The higher level jobs are either filled on a noncompetitive basis, by appointment, or by election. These are the managerial, administrative, or policy-making jobs. The reason why I did not cover this area is that there are so few in the upper echelons. The appointive and elective jobs require involvement in the political processes, and the Chinese have been reluctant to participate. It behooves the Chinese to realize that the United States is a democracy where the people are expected to be informed and involved; and to take

an active part in the political processes of government. If they expect to have a voice in the determination of affairs that affect their lives and their interests, they must take a more active political role.

CHAPTER VIII

UNIONS A MAJOR HURDLE

The strongest bastion against entry into the skilled crafts--particularly the building and construction industry--are the unions. Peculiar to this line of work is the fact that hiring is done, not by contractors, but through the unions, and union cards are hard to come by.

The craft unions, as opposed to industrial unions, are strong exclusionists, and it is their intention to keep their numbers low, their wages high, and their influence in the trades absolute. If one were to look at the structure of the unions and their hiring practices, one would realize how entrenched their position is, for they can determine the size and composition of the work force, the hiring and the firing, the qualifications for entry into the crafts, when and under what circumstances their numbers can work, and, to a large extent, the benefits and wages.

You Can't Be a Plumber Just Because You Want To Be

If you want to be a secretary, you go to school and learn typing, shorthand, and general office practices. When you have finished your studies, you can apply to any firm that wishes to hire a secretary. You have no idea how many other persons are taking a secretarial course, nor do the schools limit the number of students they take in. Those who take the courses and who eventually become secretaries are governed by many factors, chief among them the forces of supply and demand.

In the building and construction trades, however, the union determines how many apprentices are to be admitted into the crafts. To be admitted, a prospective apprentice must be sponsored by two members. This sponsorship has given rise to nepotism and a situation where a craft may be dominated by persons with close family ties.

The union leadership may decide that at any given time there shall be no more than 10,000 plumbers for a metropolitan area, and that no more than 75 apprentices will be accepted for the calendar year to replace the ones who retire, die, or move away. Consequently, even if 100 fathers had 100 sons waiting to step into the trade, 25 would have to wait until a slot opened up. That literally left no opening to any outsiders.

The age qualifications are another major screening process to keep the ranks of the crafts thin. Table 55 gives the qualifications for apprentices for the major unions in the New York area. The age cut-off is in the late teens to mid-twenties. If a young man has not made a choice to become a plumber by age 24, he will already be over-age and disqualified.

With very few exceptions, most unions require that the apprentice be a citizen of the United States or that he has filed for naturalization papers. In other instances, he must also have lived in the state for as long as three years. These qualifications are immaterial to the performance of the job and, to a large degree, screen out immigrant groups like the Chinese.

The length of the apprenticeship is a further deterrent. The period generally runs from three to five years, during which time the wages are only about one-half the journeyman's rates. For example, the apprentice plumber starts off with \$5.49 per hour compared to \$8.25 for a journeyman, and the apprentice must serve five years before attaining journeyman's status.

Still, the status gets him nowhere until he is a member of the union, because the unions control the hiring halls and job referrals. A booklet published by the New York City Commission on Human Rights called "Bias in the Building Industry" flatly stated that:

The contractors continue to shirk their responsibility to include minority group workers in their work force. . . . Their LEGAL responsibility is set forth in a recent National Labor Relations Board ruling, confirmed by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, which re-affirmed four basic legal doctrines:

1. Hiring is a management responsibility that cannot be delegated to unions.
2. Union membership cannot be imposed as a condition of initial employment because this

TABLE 55

APPRENTICESHIP IN NEW YORK AREA: QUALIFICATION, TRAINING PERIOD, AND WAGES, 1974

	QUALIFICATIONS				Period of Apprenticeship	Starting Wage		Journeyman's Wage	
	Physical Exam	Age	Education	Residence		Test	Citizenship	ing Wage	men's Wage
Auto Mechanic	Yes	18-26	-	-	Yes	-	4 yrs	\$3.35/hr.	\$5.15/hr.
Baker	Yes	18+	-	-	Yes	-	3 yrs	\$75./wk.	\$178./wk.
Bricklayer	Yes	17-21	9th gr.	3 yrs.	Yes	-	4 yrs	\$4.60/hr.	\$9.20/hr.
Carpet & Linoleum Layer	Yes	17-27	9th gr.	-	Yes	Yes	4 yrs	4.60/hr.	8.40/hr.
Bldg. Construct. Carpenter	Yes	17-27	9th gr.	-	Yes	Yes	4 yrs	5.65/hr.	9.15/hr.
Shop & Mill Carpenter	Yes	17-27	9th gr.	-	Yes	Yes	4 yrs	5.31/hr.	9.17/hr.
Cement Mason	Yes	18-21	8th gr.	1 yr.	-	-	3 yrs	4.93/hr.	9.85/hr.
Electrician	Yes	19-22	H.S.	2 yrs.	Yes	Yes	4 yrs	3.05/hr.	8.75/hr.
Iron Worker Ornamental	Yes	18-30	10th gr.	3 yrs.	Yes	Yes	3 yrs	5.86/hr.	8.40/hr.
Iron Worker (Rigger & Machine)	Yes	18-28	10th gr.	-	Yes	-	3 yrs	4.50/hr.	7.30/hr.
Iron Worker Structural	Yes	18-28	10th gr.	-	Yes	Yes	3 yrs	5.25/hr.	8.50/hr.
Metal Lather	Yes	18-25	10th gr.	1 yr.	Yes	Yes	3 yrs	3.85/hr.	8.75/hr.
Millwright	Yes	17-27	9th gr.	-	Yes	Yes	4 yrs	4.60/hr.	8.40/hr.
Painter, Decorator, Paper Hanger	Yes	18-25	10th gr.	-	Yes	-	3 yrs	4.41/hr.	7.35/hr.
Plasterer	Yes	18-21	9th gr.	1 yr.	-	-	3 yrs	\$162./wk.	\$299./wk.
Plumber (Local 1)	Yes	17-21	H.S.	3 yrs.	Yes	-	5 yrs	5.49/hr.	8.25/hr.
Plumber (Local 2)	Yes	18-24	H.S.	3 yrs.	Yes	Yes	5 yrs	2.85/hr.	7.02/hr.
Painter, Caulker & Cleaner	Yes	18+	7th gr.	-	-	-	3 yrs	2.50/hr.	5.60/hr.
Sheet Metal Worker	Yes	18-25	H.S.	-	Yes	-	4 yrs	5.58/hr.	11.52/hr.
Sheet Metal Worker (signs)	Yes	18-22	H.S.	-	Yes	Yes	5 yrs	2.90/hr.	5.80/hr.
Steamfitter	Yes	18-24	H.S.	1 yr.	Yes	Yes	5 yrs	3.42/hr.	8.65/hr.
Stone Rigger	Yes	18-28	10th gr.	1 yr.	Yes	Yes	3 yrs	4.75/hr.	8.75/hr.
Structured Steel & Bridge Painter	Yes	18-26	H.S.	-	-	-	2 yrs	4.53/hr.	9.47/hr.

Source: Apprenticeship Information Center, New York State Employment Service.

creates a closed shop in violation of federal labor law.

3. Labor contract clauses on hiring cannot be so rigged as to create or perpetuate an illegal closed shop. . . .

4. The satisfactory completion of union tests or other requirements cannot be made a condition of employment.

More than ten years after this ruling, the labor needs of the contractors are still met by asking the union to send out X number of men. The booklet goes on to say that "it is beyond credulity that a union official or business agent will seek out any non-union men. . . . If there is a shortage of men the contractors will pay overtime rates to union men or accept referrals from out-of-town locals."

Management Surrendered Right to Hire

When confronted by the complete surrender of their right to hire, the contractors protested that, if any nonunion men were on the job, the union men would walk off. The contractors take further refuge behind the skirts of the unions. The contractors assert that they do not discriminate because of the color of a man's skin; that they will accept a nonwhite if the union sends him; but if the union is lily-white or practices discrimination it is not their responsibility.

Before the reader comes to the erroneous conclusion that this chapter is a condemnation of labor unions, let me hasten to say that it is not the concept of the labor movement that is questioned, but its exclusionist policy against nonwhites that is deplored. Table 56, Racial Composition of Ten Construction Unions in San Francisco in 1970, reveals how few there are in that West coast city. In the New York region, we have figures compiled by the EEOC for 1972. For 317 locals with a total membership of 175,934, there are 229 Asian Americans. (See Table 57.) A closer look at the nonwhite union membership will reveal that a good portion of the work force is in the laborer category.

Government Steps In

Since the contractors are reluctant to cooperate in opening the doors of employment in the crafts to minorities, the various

levels of government have passed laws and issued executive orders and decrees to try to open up a wedge. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been on the law books for a decade, and Title VII of the Act declares racial discrimination in private employment unlawful. Until 1972, however, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission set up under the Act to implement the law found its effectiveness seriously hampered by its inability to enforce any violation of the law.

At the federal level, Presidential Executive Order 11246 set up the Office of Contract Compliance. This order imposes on the contractor in all federal contracts and federally assisted construction contracts the obligation to take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed and employees treated equitably without regard to their race, creed, or national origin. Affirmative action mandates positive effort on the part of the employer or contractor to recruit nonwhites and to see that they are given equal opportunity for advancement. To enforce compliance, the government has the right to cancel the contract or prohibit the contractor from bidding on any future contract. The executive order was eventually further strengthened by requiring that the employer show that he had met definite goals in hiring minority workers in his work force before he was permitted to bid on government-assisted contracts.

It was further recognized that the pattern of discrimination and exclusion began at the apprenticeship level. In 1967, the U.S. Department of Labor announced that various trade union locals would be denied federal certification unless they reconsidered their refusal to admit nonwhites to their apprenticeship programs.

Without these government measures, it is doubtful whether the unions or contractors would have opened up their ranks to nonwhites at all, and, even with these measures, there is serious doubt whether they have made much of an impact. Professor Benjamin W. Wolkinson, in his exhaustive study published under the title Blacks, Unions, and the EEOC,¹ concludes that remediation has been insignificant. Of the seventy-five cases of complaints brought before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission mentioned in his study, agreements were executed in only eighteen. Of these, the compliance in many instances was perfunctory and did not get at the root of systematic exclusion of minorities from the unions.

1. (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath, 1973), p. 99.

Hometown Plans

In some instances, the industry and local unions themselves offered to upgrade their commitment to bringing minority workers into the trades when they realized that the social climate could, no longer accept their exclusionist position. At the same time, governmental pressures were making it a bit uncomfortable for them; when the tight money market is reducing private construction to a minimum, public construction looms larger and may be the only type of work available. Consequently, a number of so-called hometown plans came into being to facilitate the employment and training of minority individuals into fully qualified union craftsmen. One of the better-known plans was the New York Plan, set up in 1970 in an agreement between the Board of Urban Affairs (representing the industry and the unions), the State of New York, and the City of New York. The plan was to be funded on a fifty-fifty basis between the state and the city, minus any federal funding.

The New York Plan committed itself to a training program for 1,000 minority trainees who, either because of age, education, or other reasons, did not qualify for the union apprenticeship program. In the first three years of the plan's existence, the Board of Urban Affairs, which administers the training program, claimed that it had placed 940 trainees: 666 were currently active, 340 were upgraded, and 43 had graduated into journeymen status and attained union membership.

From its inception, the New York Plan was suspect. The city delayed endorsement and pulled out of the plan completely in January 1973. The plan's only financial support came from the State Department of Labor. One of the criticisms leveled against the New York Plan was that it was not moving minorities into the unions fast enough. As graduates of the trainee programs, minorities were still jobless until they could be affiliated with a union; apprentices had an advantage over the trainees for union membership. Another criticism was that not all of the craft unions, and especially the higher-paying ones, were signatories to the New York Plan.

Although the Board of Urban Affairs claimed that minority membership in some of the crafts ranged from 4 percent to 40 percent, an organization called Fight Back challenged these figures and said that "if there is any construction site in the city where there is 40 percent minority participation, then where have they got them? Where in the hell are they?"

In January 1973, the City of New York withdrew from the plan and imposed mandatory goals for minority hiring comparable to the proportion of the population in which they are found in the city.

The federal government instituted its mandatory goals in December 1974. Several suits now in the courts are seeking to resolve the question whether the industry and unions, which have been traditionally exclusionist in their employment practices, can be expected to police themselves.

The New York Plan claims to be one of the better hometown plans. If so, not much can be said about the others: the Buffalo Plan, the New Chicago Plan, the Pittsburgh Plan, and the Seattle Plan.

Few Chinese in Construction Crafts

Where do the Chinese fit into this picture? Hardly at all, and that is precisely the point we want to make. If we turn back to Table 30, showing Major Occupational Groups of the Chinese by Percent, we see that in 1970 the percentage of Chinese engaged in the crafts was 5.4 percent. However, if we look at Table 31 showing selected occupations of the Chinese in more detail, we find a total of only 1,767, or 1 percent of the Chinese labor force, in the construction crafts in 1970. Of this number the state of Hawaii alone claimed a large proportion—one out of every five persons in the labor force in that state was in the crafts. That leaves but a scattered few for the entire mainland United States.

The scant numbers are quite evident by the figures given in Table 56, showing racial composition of ten construction unions in San Francisco and Table 57, showing somewhat comparable data for the New York region.²

There is a total of 365 Orientals in the ten construction unions in San Francisco. 270 of these are in one union alone. Only 20 are in the plumbers union in a city where Orientals make up about 10 percent of the population.

2. Note that in some of our tables the term Oriental is employed and in others Asian-Americans is used. These terms are not synonymous, nor do they give us any breakdown for the Chinese. In the absence of other data, the figures are given as indicators. The term Oriental generally means the Far Eastern peoples such as the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. Asian-Americans take in the Filipinos and Indians, as well as the Vietnamese, Indonesians, Malaysians, etc.

TABLE 56

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF TEN CONSTRUCTION UNIONS IN SAN FRANCISCO, 1970

Unions	Total	Whites	Blacks	Spanish Surnames	Oriental	Indians
Carpet Linoleum and Tile Layers Union Local 1238	430	323	12	86	4	5
Electrical Workers Union Local 6	1,204	1,061	35	875	31	2
Elevator Constructors Union Local 8	600	547	16	28	3	6
Glaziers Union Local 718	305	341	1	4	1	3
Iron Workers Union Local 377	1,162	934	1	96	9	12
Fathers Union Local 65	184	24	5	40	15	0
Operating Engineers Union Local 3	32,000	31,175	72	454	270	29
Plumbers Union Local 28	2,748	2,583	19	121	20	5
Sheet Metal Workers Union Local 104	960	895	8	42	12	3
Tile Setters Union Local 19	299	284	2	10	0	3

Source: East/West, (Dec. 23, 1970) (Taken from HUD tabulation).

TABLE 57

UNION MEMBERSHIP IN THE BUILDING TRADES,
BY MINORITY GROUPS IN NEW YORK REGION, 1972

Unions in Building Trade	Total (100%)		Black		Sp. Surnamed		Asian-Amer.		Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All Bldg. Trades (317 locals)	175,934	12.4	21,839	12.4	8,925	5.1	229	0.1	1,186	0.7
<u>Mechanical trades</u>	59,016	5.8	3,399	5.8	3,674	6.2	18	0.0*	815	1.4
Electrical Workers	30,639	7.4	2,264	7.4	2,787	9.1	3	0.0*	53	0.2
Iron Workers	11,387	7.9	902	7.9	751	6.6	11	0.1	719	6.3
Plumbers and Pipefitters	11,339	0.8	87	0.8	49	0.4	3	0.0*	14	0.1
Sheetmetal Workers	2,534	1.0	26	1.0	13	0.5	0	0.0	7	0.3
Other Mechanical trades	3,117 ^d	3.8	120	3.8	74	2.4	1	0.0*	22	0.7
Trowel and Misc. trades	65,554	7.2	4,691	7.2	2,062	3.1	107	0.2	113	0.2
Asbestos Workers	499	1.0	5	1.0	2	0.4	0	0.0	2	0.4
Bricklayers	6,151	5.1	314	5.1	58	0.8	1	0.0*	9	0.1
Carpenters	40,658	7.4	3,002	7.4	1,509	3.7	104	0.3	46	0.1
Operating Engineers	13,135	5.7	748	5.7	304	2.3	2	0.0*	55	0.4
Plaster and Cement Workers	4,211	13.8	582	13.8	190	4.5	0	0.0	1	0.0*
Other Trowel & Misc. trades	900	4.4	40	4.4	7	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
<u>Laborers, Painters, Roofers</u>	51,364	26.8	13,749	26.8	3,189	6.2	104	0.2	258	0.5
Laborers	43,305	29.9	12,944	29.9	2,565	5.9	97	0.2	234	0.5
Painters and allied trades	6,497	9.3	604	9.3	611	9.4	7	0.1	6	0.1
Roofers	1,562	12.9	201	12.9	13	0.8	0	0.0	18	1.2

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, News Release (July 14, 1974).

*Less than .1 percent

For the New York region, we have later figures for 1972, encompassing union membership in the building trades for 317 locals. For a much larger area and under a broader definition, "Asian-American," there is a total of 229 persons, or one-tenth of 1 percent, who are in the construction crafts. There are three plumbers of Asian descent in New York.

Ready and Willing

It is quite evident that these figures say something, and that they say it loud and clear. Asian-Americans are definitely not in the construction crafts. Is it because they choose not to go into this line of work or have they been effectively excluded? The question was answered for me by David Wong, director of the Recruitment and Training Program in Westchester, New York, watchdog for the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

In my interview with him, he said,

Last week, I had an opening to refer a plasterer. I put one ad in the Chinese newspaper and made a spot announcement over the local FM station that broadcasts once a week on Saturdays. Thirty Chinese applicants came to me for that job.

My territory is Westchester, but whenever I have a little time, I come down to Chinatown to volunteer my services. I've been with the Recruitment and Training Program for about five years and I have personally placed 44 Asian Americans in the various trades. When the DeMatteis Construction Firm was awarded the Confucius Plaza contract³ two years ago, I mentioned to the Board of Urban Affairs and Mr. DeMatteis that they should give some consideration to putting Asian Americans into a project that is going up in our own community. I sent about twenty people up to the State Employment Office to register for trainee positions, but not one of those people were called. After the protest demonstration, suddenly everyone looked bewildered and said, "Look, we did not know any Asian Americans were interested."

Now we come to question about qualifications and knowledge of the English language. I have found out

3. See p. 122 for reference to this case.

since last year that the fifteen Chinese who took the sheet metal test and steamfitters' test scored the highest of all the minorities. They came in first in math, first in spatial relations, and even first in English. So far, none has gone to work yet.

If somebody tells me that they don't know where to find qualified Asian-Americans for construction work, I can supply them with 135 names to select from now. We have skilled carpenters, bricklayers, electricians, and tilemen from the old country with many years of experience. They just need some training in the building codes and methods used in this country.

Chinese Not a Minority

Minorities have a hard enough time battling the fortress of the trade unions, but in this fight, where all the ethnic minorities are in the same boat, the Chinese or Asians are left out in the cold. The anomaly is that the minorities could not penetrate the construction industry without government pressure in the form of Affirmative Action or Contract Compliance, yet, when machinery was set up to aid minorities, the Asians were not recognized as minorities.

According to James McNamara of the Federal Office of Contract Compliance, in testimony before the Civil Rights Hearings for Asian-Americans,

Oriental simply have not been recognized by the government agencies, by the unions, or by the contractors as a group that are considered minorities and a group that is considered disadvantaged . . . the New York State Commission on Human Rights . . . does not consider Orientals to be entitled to that kind of special treatment known as a dispensation from the State laws against discrimination. . . . On the federal level, we have had some recent experiences with the U.S. Attorney's Office in the Southern District. . . . The problem is, again, they do not recognize Orientals in the definition of minorities, at least in the two cases that our office had some involvement in.

As a consequence of this ruling, Asians are outside of affirmative action, outside of contract compliance, outside of the equal employment opportunity umbrella. They have to compete disadvantageously not only with whites, but also with other nonwhite

minorities who are given government backing through these special programs.

This writer was present at the Civil Rights Committee Hearings when Mr. McNamara's testimony was taken. The chairman, Franklin Williams, sat bolt upright, and he called for clarification from counsel. "Is it legislative or executive responsibility to define the groups that are included within the general heading 'minority'?" he asked. "It is judicial," he was told. In the two instances mentioned, it was a judge's ruling, but further questioning uncovered the fact that interpretation of an executive order is an executive function, and in this instance, it was the responsibility of the solicitor of the Department of Labor.

When the ball bounced back into the lap of the Office of Contract Compliance, the spokesman said Asian-Americans were always considered within the definition of a minority. Still puzzled, Chairman Williams said, "The Federal attorneys and judges must have based their interpretation upon some law or executive order," and he called for a copy of the court order.

Minority Within a Minority

Even in instances where the Asian has been recognized as a minority coming under the umbrella of affirmative action and contract compliance, he faces competition with other minority groups scrambling for the limited number of slots. Again, the DeMatteis case in the construction of Confucius Plaza in New York's Chinatown is an excellent example.

Before the awarding of any public-monies contracts in New York, contractors must demonstrate that they are in compliance with minority hiring goals. When the Chinese community leaders asked for reassurances on this score at the signing of the contract, they were told by the attorneys, "Don't worry, the government will make sure of that." When the work got underway, the Chinese discovered that only four people out of a work force of seventy-one were Chinese; one was the architect, two were laborers and a third, an office worker. When queried about a \$42 million construction project going up in Chinatown with no provision by the contractor to utilize Chinese craftsmen, the contractor replied, "We are in compliance. Our percentage of minority employees exceeds the recommended goals."

A spokesman for the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity maintained that the law and executive orders did not specify proportionate representation among the minorities. "We cannot break

minorities up into categories, so many blacks, so many Puerto Ricans, so many Asian-Americans, etc. When a contractor shows us that his work force is 40 percent black and Puerto Rican, he has shown us he is in compliance."

True, the letter of the law was fulfilled, but there was absolutely no sensitivity to the feelings or position of the Chinese craftsmen, who realize that, if they are excluded from their line of work right on their own front steps by the the contractors, the unions, and other minorities, they stand little chance when they have to compete elsewhere.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. Occupations like the building and construction crafts are controlled by the unions. The control is almost absolute because the unions determine the size and composition of the work force, the hiring and the firing, the qualifications for entry into the crafts, when and under what circumstances their members can work, and to a large extent the benefits and the wages. This control has been very effective in keeping minority groups out of the industry.

2. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act has not proven too effective in righting these wrongs because the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission could only conciliate complaints and did not have enforcement powers until 1972.

3. Federal Contract Compliance was also impotent until it was strengthened by the stipulation of preaward compliance by unions and contractors.

4. Hometown plans, whereby the industry and unions offered to police themselves, have not been too successful and are being terminated in favor of mandatory goals.

5. If the blacks and numerically larger nonwhite minorities have had a tough time breaking into the industry, the Chinese are having a worse time of it. In fact, they are conspicuously absent from the craft occupations.

6. Rationalizations that the Chinese do not want to go into the crafts or that they are unqualified are simply not true. They are willing, able, and eager to enter the construction crafts if they can batter down the exclusionist walls of the industry and unions.

7. In instances where minorities are being helped to scale the barriers put up by the unions and construction industry by such government programs as Affirmative Action, Equal Employment Opportunity, and Contract Compliance, the Chinese are considered outside the purview of these aids because they are not considered a minority. There is no clear-cut interpretation and determination.

8. Even where they are recognized as a minority, the Chinese are edged out by the more vocal, activist, and numerically stronger minorities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It was only a decade ago (in the 1960s) that many unions struck from their constitutions clauses that read like the following: "No person shall become a member of the BLE (Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers) unless he is a white man"; or "An applicant for membership must be white born, of good moral character, sober and industrious:"

To open up an area of employment where the labor unions are so firmly entrenched and where their traditional and espoused policy against the colored races are so deeply imbedded is not going to be an easy task. Using as an example the building and construction industry, where Asian-Americans have had some experience in trying to penetrate the union barriers, we realize that the results have not been too significant, even though EEOC, Federal Contract Compliance, and the Hometown Plans had applied some leverage to the effort.

If we look back at Tables 56 and 57 in this chapter, showing either minority representation or Asian-American membership in the building and construction unions, we will see that the situation has improved but a wee bit. According to Professor Benjamin Wolkinson, who conducted a thorough study of the black experience in unions, labor union cases litigated by the EEOC exceed those of all employment discrimination cases by four and a half times.⁴

From this observer's viewpoint, it seems that there are two erroneous approaches in the efforts of government, contractors, and everyone involved to increase minority representation in the building and construction industry:

1. Using old methods to fit new conditions; in other words, trying to push minorities into union-established channels for training, apprenticeship, union membership, and job referrals. The results have not been encouraging. It is simply futile and unrealistic to think that the "haves" in terms of union membership are going to voluntarily relinquish their privileges and prerogatives without strong resistance.

2. Concentrating too much on the trainee aspect without providing for employment opportunities at the end of the training period. The trainee period is a long one. It is also a parallel one to the apprenticeship programs. If the trainees are subordinated to the apprentices in job preference, trainees will be dis-

4. Wolkinson, Op. cit., p. 132.

couraged from entering or completing their training. If the trainees see no hope at the end of their period of training, ~~the training programs serve no useful purpose.~~

The bottleneck and stopper are the union hiring halls, where the membership holds the keys to job referrals. If the hiring halls continue to resist integration or dole out a few token slots to minorities, this is where the logjam is; this is where the government must direct its efforts to increase the flow.

Since management or the contractors have long relinquished their right of hiring to the unions, they may just as well relinquish it to a third party who will try earnestly to open up the industry to workers without regard to skin color.

Bypass the Union

My recommendation is to bypass the union's exclusionist apprenticeship program and bypass the union hiring halls in job referrals and placement. Here is how the scheme would work: Since contractors must pledge to aim toward a goal of minority representation in their work force prior to contract award, they could just as well allocate these job slots to an outfit like the Recruitment and Training Program now under contract to the Office of Contract Compliance. This program is run by a private outfit that has had an outstanding record of providing supportive services to enable minorities to seek and hold jobs in the construction industry. RTP could be entrusted also with the actual placement in jobs of minority workers who have finished training, those already qualified by virtue of holding diplomas from vocational schools, by virtue of being licensed, or by virtue of long years of experience in the trade. The essential criteria are to prove that the worker is qualified.

The RTP as it is presently set up merely warms up the minority applicants in anticipation of getting into the game. It seeks out and prepares applicants to take the exams given by the unions; it helps the applicant obtain necessary papers and documents such as birth certificates, high school diplomas, and citizenship papers; it helps minority members register at the state employment office. But the criteria and procedures are still union-established and union-controlled. As a result, large number of the beneficiaries of RTP efforts are still sitting on the bench in the dugout, waiting to be called.

After recruiting and ascertaining that the applicants are qualified, the RTP should be empowered to place the minority workers

into slots set aside for them. Its task would be no different from that of the union hiring halls, except that they would be motivated toward getting minority representation into an industry that has traditionally been lily-white.

For the Chinese, who are neither here nor there--not part of the majority, but not adjudged a minority by some political jurisdictions--there must be some recognition that all minorities are not alike, although all minorities are disadvantaged by racial discrimination. There is special need in the Chinese communities at present because of the unprecedented increase in the Chinese-American population within the last few years. Part of the reason for this sudden spurt is the removal of highly discriminatory immigration legislation directed specifically against the Chinese.

The Chinese experience is different from that of other ethnic groups. Many immigrants were skilled craftsmen before they came to the United States. They are looking for jobs in their line of work. They are hard-working and reliable. In other words, they are qualified, willing, and able. They should not be denied the chance to break into the trade.

From a number of people in Chinatown working in the manpower area, I solicited suggestions on how to facilitate the entry of Chinese-Americans into the crafts. The opinion seems to be that the Chinese are unfamiliar with how to go about getting into the industry and that they need a little more "handholding" at this point.

The Chinese are somewhat conditioned by their cultural background to be reticent and noncompetitive. In China, humility is considered a virtue. In this country, such character traits are viewed as weaknesses and are decided drawbacks if today's contemporaries are to be in the vanguard for penetrating the union strongholds. Consequently, I would recommend that branch Recruitment and Training Programs be established in the Chinatowns of New York and San Francisco to serve the Asian populations of the East and West Coasts. Proposals for such Chinatown-based programs have been submitted to the Department of Labor for three consecutive years and were turned down each time. As mentioned previously, handholding is vitally necessary for the initial thrust. I am sure that once the Chinese gain entry into the crafts they will be able to hold their own by their performance. Their record will be their own best advertisement.

Maintain Standards

Minority workers must never permit themselves to lower the

standards of job performance. To do so would be self-defeating. No one should be able to point a finger at the minority craftsmen and call them inferior or not up to par. I would not want my apartment house or office building to go up with shoddy workmanship. I would not like to pay extra for inefficiency in the construction of public works through heavier taxes. Nor should any employer be compelled to accept unproductive workers.

Minority workers must be judged by their performance. They should be given no dispensation for poor skills or bad work habits. I am not recommending that minority workers be hired merely because they are black or of Spanish origin or Asian or Chinese. What I am saying here is that there are qualified minority workers who cannot enter the crafts because of racial discrimination. This is clearly evident when Chinese applicants scored highest in math, highest in spatial relations, and even highest in English, but were never called. This evidence is reinforced when a metropolis like New York City, with a population of close to 10 million, counted only 229 Asian craftsmen in its union locals in 1972.

CHAPTER IX

INCOME

The concept of income is not the same with all people. In the modern business world, there are standardized bookkeeping and accounting procedures which tend to give some measure of uniformity, but a dollars-and-cents figure does not always mean the same.

I remember my father's very simple bookkeeping method. He operated a hand laundry, doing all the washing and ironing himself. We had a monstrous cash register on which he rang up all receipts. From the cash register, he paid all bills in cash. Our home was above the laundry, so whenever we needed money for groceries, clothing, or household needs, my father took money from the register. At the end of the week, he counted what was left in the cash register drawer, minus a fixed sum that he had put into the register for change at the beginning. This amount, to him, was his weekly income, and he put the amount down in a little spiral notebook.

What a savings he effected in keeping records! His earnings were what he had left at the end of the week.

Eat You, Sleep You

My father employed a helper in the laundry. This person slept in our house and ate at our table. He was paid a net sum at the end of the week. That was his income. In China, most businesses or firms hired workers on this basis. Room and board were provided by the employer gratis. Wages were cash payments in addition to room and board. This is what foreign firms in Chinese cities came to know as "Eat you, sleep you." When they negotiate to hire local help, food and lodging are expected as part of the job, but are not part of the wages.

When the Chinese work for their own countrymen in the United

States, the same conditions apply. If a chef in a Chinese restaurant is hired at \$600 a month, he expects \$600 net in his pay envelope. Income taxes, Social Security deductions, medical insurance have all been taken care of by the employer. Employers generally have living quarters for their help should the help choose to live there. These quarters are like dorms with beds, but they are a place to sleep. Meals are served in the business establishment.

When workers, enticed by the prospect of higher wages venture outside the Chinese fold, they are often very much surprised that food and lodging must come out of their own pockets. They may not realize how expensive these two items are and how burdensome it is to find a place to live and to prepare one's own meals.

Even when room and board are not part of the deal, income taxes and Social Security taxes are. In questioning over twenty employees who work in the restaurants and grocery stores in Chinatown, I found that everyone's taxes and Social Security deductions were assumed by the employer. Chinese employees think in terms of the dollars and cents in their pay envelopes. Employers take into account the fact that they are responsible for all the extra items that increase the cost of hiring help. Therefore, wage and salary, when working for one's own countryman, is not comparable to the amount when working for a non-Chinese employer. And these are considerations to take into account when interpreting income figures for the Chinese.

Don't Take Income Figures at Their Face Value

Income is one of the least reliable characteristics reported by the U.S. census, yet it is considered one of the best measures of economic well-being because it is closely related to educational attainment, occupation, standard of living, and other characteristics. According to the Census Bureau, the rate of nonresponse to the question on income ran about 10.6 percent in 1960 and is now considerably higher.¹ People often regard this question as an invasion of privacy. Even when it is answered, the reporting of income cannot be too accurate for many reasons. People generally do not consult their records when they answer the questions on income. They give approximations based on memory, and it is easy to forget minor or irregular sources of income. If they get a promotion and raise in salary, they may have forgotten that their

1. U.S. Department of Commerce, The Methods and Materials of Demography, vol. I (1971), p. 365.

pay for the first part of the year was less.

Some show-offs like to bolster their egos by thinking of themselves as \$20,000- or \$50,000-a-year individuals. Others underreport because they underreported on their income tax returns. Some workers receive payment in kind, not cash. A farm family may be much better off than a city family with the same cash receipts. Wage levels may be lower in certain regions with a corresponding lower cost of living. Income may be the best measure of economic well-being, but dollars and cents are not. Income figures must, therefore, be interpreted with these factors in mind.

Nor is income just wages or salary or proceeds from self-employment. If one is fortunate enough to have a rich aunt or grand-parents, one may not have to exert any effort at all to have a substantial income. If one spends freely, and another puts his savings in a bank to earn interest, the latter will have a side income. A former neighbor of ours earned very little as a subway token seller, but he lived with his mother-in-law, who had bought her home at a total price of \$4,000. The home was paid off and the taxes were minimal. A similar home today would cost \$30,000 with a higher assessment base for real estate taxes. Consequently, he had a decided financial advantage over our family, even though we earned more.

For many Chinese, these side benefits are few, if any. We Chinese were not permitted to put down roots in the United States, because we were not permitted to enter the country except under severe limitations. We were not permitted to buy real estate in many Western states at preinflation prices because of the Alien Land Acts. Recent immigrants left behind most of their worldly possessions to start life anew in this country. Every single item they need must be purchased now at current inflated prices. In other words, more of the income of Chinese families must be spent for the basic things that others who have lived longer in the United States may have already accumulated. This means that the Chinese are at a disadvantage in the use of their income. Income, therefore, is relative not only to time and place and in comparison to others, but also according to circumstances, conditions, and history.

Family Income

With these factors in mind, we can now look at the income figures presented by the 1970 census pertaining to the Chinese. Most economists or demographers consider the family as an economic unit and pool the income of all the family members.

TABLE 58.

FAMILY INCOME OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S., TOTAL AND FIVE SELECTED STATES, 1969

Family Income	U. S.		Calif.		N. Y.		Hawaii		Illinois		Mass.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All Families	94,931	100.0	37,437	100.0	18,546	100.0	12,304	100.0	2,920	100.0	2,920	100.0
Less than \$1,000	2,378	2.5	857	2.3	535	2.9	175	1.4	88	3.0	86	2.9
\$1,000 - \$1,999	2,449	2.6	1,011	2.7	626	3.4	188	1.5	77	2.6	67	2.3
\$2,000 - \$2,999	3,021	3.2	1,294	3.5	695	3.7	230	1.9	52	1.8	91	3.1
\$3,000 - \$3,999	4,037	4.3	1,543	4.1	999	5.4	239	1.9	155	5.3	192	6.6
\$4,000 - \$4,999	4,737	5.0	1,523	4.1	1,514	8.2	330	2.7	141	4.8	235	8.0
\$5,000 - \$5,999	5,393	5.7	1,912	5.1	1,539	8.3	421	3.4	172	5.9	177	6.1
\$6,000 - \$6,999	5,543	5.8	2,142	5.7	1,506	8.1	428	3.5	123	4.2	176	6.0
\$7,000 - \$7,999	5,638	5.9	2,012	5.4	1,437	7.7	496	4.0	155	5.3	276	9.5
\$8,000 - \$8,999	5,413	5.7	1,994	5.3	1,335	7.2	548	4.5	180	6.2	181	6.2
\$9,000 - \$9,999	5,494	5.8	2,221	5.9	1,145	6.2	510	4.1	174	6.0	195	6.7
\$10,000 - \$11,999	11,028	11.6	4,830	12.9	1,892	10.2	1,263	10.3	371	12.7	325	11.1
\$12,000 - \$14,999	12,841	13.5	5,572	14.9	1,848	10.0	1,823	14.8	513	17.6	315	10.8
\$15,000 - \$24,999	20,361	21.4	8,215	21.9	2,722	14.7	3,916	31.8	567	19.4	493	16.9
\$25,000 or more	6,598	7.0	2,311	6.2	753	4.1	1,737	14.1	152	5.2	141	3.8
Median Income	\$10,610		\$10,915		\$8,316		\$14,179		\$10,771		\$8,884	
Mean Income	\$12,210		\$12,188		\$10,028		\$15,936		\$11,754		\$10,475	

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)IG (1970), Table 24.

NOTE: Based on a 20 percent sampling.

TABLE 59

COMPARISON BETWEEN AVERAGE INCOME OF THE CHINESE AND THE NATIONAL AND STATE AVERAGES, 1969

	Family Income	
	Median	Mean
United States	\$ 9,590	\$10,999
Chinese in the United States	10,610	12,210
California	10,732	12,227
Chinese in California	10,915	12,188
New York	10,617	12,491
Chinese in New York	8,316	10,028
Hawaii	11,554	13,077
Chinese in Hawaii	14,179	15,936
Illinois	10,959	12,338
Chinese in Illinois	10,771	11,754
Massachusetts	10,835	12,283
Chinese in Massachusetts	8,884	10,475

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Chinese: Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 24; U.S. and States: Subject Report, PC(1)C1 (1970), Table 178.

TABLE 60

FAMILY INCOME OF CHINESE IN THE U.S., BY NUMBER OF EARNERS, 1969

Income of Families with Earners	Total Families	Number of Earners					% of Families in Income Bracket (100.0%)
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	
\$1 - \$999 or less	100.0%	58.8%	35.3%	5.9%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%
\$1,000 - \$1,999	100.0	47.8	43.5	0.0	4.3	4.3	2.0
\$2,000 - \$2,999	100.0	42.4	45.5	6.1	3.0	3.0	2.9
\$3,000 - \$3,999	100.0	43.4	43.4	5.7	1.9	5.7	4.6
\$4,000 - \$4,999	100.0	40.4	46.8	8.5	0.0	4.3	4.1
\$5,000 - \$6,999	100.0	43.9	30.9	11.4	5.7	8.1	10.8
\$7,000 - \$9,999	100.0	37.0	35.9	13.8	7.2	6.1	15.9
\$10,000 - \$14,999	100.0	43.1	31.0	12.8	3.7	9.4	26.0
\$15,000 - \$19,999	100.0	33.2	37.0	14.1	8.7	7.1	16.1
\$20,000 - \$29,999	100.0	25.4	31.6	18.4	6.1	18.4	10.0
\$30,000 - \$49,999	100.0	20.4	16.7	14.8	9.3	38.9	4.7
\$50,000 and over	100.0	20.0	26.7	6.7	0.0	46.7	1.3
Median Income	\$11,574	\$10,664	\$10,815	\$12,961	\$13,636	\$23,750	\$11,574
Mean Income	\$13,577	\$11,857	\$12,411	\$15,073	\$15,363	\$24,722	\$13,577

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

Table 58 shows family income of the Chinese in the United States and five selected states. There seems to be wide disparity in family income from state to state. California, with its larger Chinese population, approximates the national pattern of income distribution--about 5 percent for each \$1,000 aggregate, except at the lower and higher extremities. The Chinese in New York are noticeably poorer, and those in Hawaii, significantly better off.

There is a close relationship between income and length of stay in this country. The old-timers are doing well and the recent arrivals are having a hard time. The Chinese in New York are faring the worst. Their median income is close to \$6,000 below that of Chinese in Hawaii. That is a very big gap. The Chinese in Massachusetts are only a little better off. Obviously, the eastern states, with the more recent influx of immigrants, have a significantly lower income. In the two eastern states--New York and Massachusetts--the Chinese are predominantly service workers and operatives; the rate of illiteracy is high, but so is the proportion of college graduates. (See Tables 21 and 27.) The main causal factor in the much lower income seems to be the recentness of arrival in this country.

How does the average Chinese family income compare with the U.S. and state averages? Table 59 gives a comparison. In the United States and in the states of California and Hawaii, the Chinese median, as well as the mean, income is higher. In New York, Illinois, and Massachusetts, the figures are lower.

The mean is higher than the median in every instance, which indicates that the Chinese in the upper-income half have a substantially higher income to pull up the average. And the Chinese in Hawaii have pulled up the U.S. family income of the Chinese. Attention to regional or state differences must, therefore, be considered in any social or economic planning.

Multi-earners

Since the average income of the Chinese family exceeds in many instances that for the people of the nation and some states, can it be surmised that the Chinese are well paid and well off? On the surface, it may appear that way until we take a look at the number of earners in the Chinese families. I had not given this matter much thought until I read a term paper submitted by one of my students on the lifestyle of a Chinese family. The family consisted of parents and six offspring. It seemed as if their eating and sleeping habits were very irregular because someone was invariably going to work or coming home. The father and two older children had full-time jobs; two other younger girls who were still in

TABLE 61

COMPARISON OF PERSONAL AND FAMILY INCOME OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S., 1969

Income	Personal Income		Family Income	
	Male 16+	Female 16+	No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%
Total Persons or Families	146,969	100.0	95,332	100.0
\$1 - \$999 or less	17,799	12.1	23,744	24.9
\$1,000 - \$1,999	17,286	11.8	16,209	17.0
\$2,000 - \$2,999	12,707	8.7	11,237	11.8
\$3,000 - \$3,999	12,332	8.4	10,304	10.8
\$4,000 - \$4,999	11,216	7.6	8,654	9.1
\$5,000 - \$5,999	9,619	6.5	7,057	7.4
\$6,000 - \$6,999	8,821	6.0	5,216	5.5
\$7,000 - \$7,999	8,215	5.6	3,748	4.0
\$8,000 - \$8,999	7,491	5.1	2,933	3.1
\$9,000 - \$9,999	6,247	4.3	1,687	1.8
\$10,000 - \$14,999	21,419	14.6	3,478	3.6
\$15,000 or more	13,817	9.4	1,065	1.1
Median Income	\$5,223		\$2,686	
Mean Income	\$6,877		\$3,512	
Less than \$5,000	71,340	48.5	70,148	73.6
\$5,000 - \$10,000	40,393	27.5	20,641	21.7
\$10,000 - \$15,000	21,419	14.6	3,478	3.6
\$15,000 or more	13,817	9.4	1,065	1.1
			16,622	17.5
			27,481	28.9
			23,869	25.1
			26,979	28.4
			\$10,610	
			\$12,210	

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2) 1G (1970), Tables 19, 24.

school had part-time jobs, but their hours were rather long. They worked in a supermarket at night, stacking the shelves. The mother was continually sending off one of her brood to school or to work. But five paychecks were coming into that family--dutifully handed to the mother every Friday.

The fact that half of the Chinese females 16 years and over are in the labor force is a telling clue that the family income for the Chinese comes from more than one source. The number of earners in Chinese families is given in Table 60. In the \$10,000 to \$14,999 bracket, just a bit over two out of five (43.1 percent) attained this family income with one earner. 31 percent had two earners, and as much as 9.4 percent of the families with this income had five earners. Obviously, then, the additional persons putting into the family "kitty" will raise the total amount, but, when viewed in light of manpower expended and remuneration per unit of labor, the picture does not look as rosy.

The higher mean family income may come from the 16.1 percent of families with \$15,000 to \$19,999 and even the 10.0 percent with \$20,000 to \$29,999, but in these higher income brackets, the increment invariably comes from a larger number of earners, rather than from increases in individual pay.

Per Capita Income

This fact is apparent when personal income is compared with family income. These figures are presented in Table 61. Personal income is that amount received per individual 16 years and over. When one examines this table, the seeming affluence of the Chinese fades. Only one-fourth of the Chinese males earned over \$10,000, and less than 5 percent of the females did. If family members did not pool their incomes, the Chinese would be in a sorry economic shape.

Are the Chinese Poor?

In 1970, for the first time in U.S. census history, a new concept or economic characteristic was introduced into the census. It was the poverty level index. "The index provides a range of poverty income cutoffs adjusted by such factors as family size, sex of the family head, number of children under 18 years old, and farm and non-farm residence."²

2. U.S. Census Bureau, "General Social and Economic Characteristics," U.S. Summary (1970), Appendix 30.

TABLE 62.

CHINESE PERSONS AND FAMILIES WITH INCOME LESS THAN POVERTY LEVEL,
TOTAL U.S. AND FIVE SELECTED STATES, 1970

<u>Income Less Than Poverty Level</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>Calif.</u>	<u>N.Y.</u>	<u>Hawaii</u>	<u>Ill.</u>	<u>Mass.</u>
<u>Families</u>						
Percent all Families	9,753	3,694	2,560	676	301	371
Mean Size of Families	10.3	9.9	13.8	5.5	10.3	12.7
Mean Income Deficit	3.98	4.03	4.03	3.89	3.75	4.45
With Related Children Under 18	\$1,596	\$1,645	\$1,506	\$1,551	\$1,533	\$1,698
Families With Female Heads	6,302	2,344	1,716	397	152	284
	1,290	559	174	209	19	42
<u>Unrelated Individuals 14 Yrs. +</u>						
Percent Unrelated Individ. 14 Yrs +	17,867	6,983	3,344	958	625	578
Mean Income Deficit	40.3	40.3	36.5	37.7	38.8	37.3
Percent 65 Yrs. +	\$1,174	\$1,157	\$1,142	\$1,038	\$1,181	\$1,136
	24.1	21.0	37.4	39.6	18.7	24.4
<u>Persons Involved</u>						
Percent of all Persons	55,748	21,668	13,188	3,566	1,718	2,150
Percent 65 Yrs. +	13.3	13.0	16.3	6.9	12.9	16.1
	13.4	13.1	16.4	18.9	12.7	9.1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 24.

NOTE: Based on a 20 percent sampling.

In 1969, the poverty thresholds ranged from approximately \$1,500 to \$6,000. The average poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of four headed by a male was \$3,745. The thresholds are computed on a national basis only and are not adjusted for local or state variations in the cost of living.

Table 62 shows the number of Chinese families with income less than poverty level. 9,753 families fall into this category, and the table gives a further breakdown by states. New York has a higher percentage of poverty-level families, with 13.8 percent, compared to a Chinese national average of 10.3 percent. This proportion is just about the same as for the U.S. poverty level for whites (10.2 percent), but substantially below that for black families (29.9 percent). Again, the reader is reminded that Chinese families have multi-earners. There is a good deal of moonlighting (working at two jobs) and long hours so that the income figures are not exactly comparable.

Pay Goes Up with Age

There is a definite correlation between income and age, except for those beyond age 65. The reason is apparent, and follows the normal course of events. The only remarkable factor about the pay-age correlation is the long period it takes for the Chinese to get started. By age 20 to 24, over three-quarters of the Chinese males earn less than \$4,000, and it is not until the 25 to 34 age category that the males begin to move into the higher income brackets. This is explained in large part by the fact that the Chinese are still going for their graduate degrees, and whatever earnings they make come from school-related or part-time work.

The 40.6 percent of male teenagers 16 to 19 years old who have no income (see Table 63) is a current and potentially explosive troublespot. Young fellows at this age need initiation into the work world. Their demands are also great, fueled and increased by the long hours spent in front of television. Teenagers should have more access to paying jobs, which would give them some sense of personal worth and would reduce their time watching the "boob tube" or hanging out with the gang. Teenage gangs and their violent behavior in San Francisco and New York's Chinatown are now headline producers. The old adage still holds, "Idle hands are the devil's workshop."

Pay for Chinese females increases with age at a much slower pace than for males. The median pay is approximately one-half that of the males for all age brackets except the teens. At the height of their earning power (age 35 to 44) only 7.5 percent take

TABLE 63

PERSONAL INCOME OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S., BY AGE GROUP AND SEX, 1969

	Total 16 yrs.+		16-19		20-24		25-34		35-44		45-64		65+	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Male 16 Years +	163,893		18,757		22,996		33,575		31,082		42,239		15,244	
Without Income*	16,924	10.3	7,610	40.6	4,303	18.7	1,947	5.8	645	2.1	1,510	3.6	909	6.0
With Income**	146,969	100.0	11,147	100.0	18,693	100.0	31,628	100.0	30,437	100.0	40,729	100.0	14,335	100.0
Under \$2,000 or loss	35,085	23.9	9,029	81.0	9,416	50.4	3,335	10.5	1,722	5.7	4,158	10.2	7,425	51.8
\$2,000 - \$3,999	25,039	17.0	1,586	14.2	5,266	28.2	5,347	16.9	3,143	10.3	6,068	14.9	3,647	25.4
\$4,000 - \$5,999	20,835	14.2	335	3.0	2,034	10.9	5,220	17.0	4,702	15.5	7,207	17.7	1,337	9.3
\$6,000 - \$7,999	17,036	11.6	147	1.3	1,104	5.9	4,631	14.6	4,343	14.3	6,114	15.0	697	4.9
\$8,000 - \$9,999	13,738	9.4	21	0.2	569	3.0	4,175	13.2	3,934	12.9	4,657	11.4	382	2.7
\$10,000 - \$14,999	21,419	14.6	18	0.2	259	1.4	6,439	20.4	7,450	24.5	6,791	16.7	462	3.2
\$15,000 or more	13,817	9.4	11	0.1	45	0.2	2,481	7.8	5,161	17.0	5,734	14.1	385	2.7
Median Income	\$5,223		\$916		\$1,985		\$6,887		\$8,643		\$6,904		\$1,943	
Mean Income	\$6,877		\$1,277		\$2,650		\$7,458		\$9,951		\$8,842		\$3,348	
Female 16 Years +	145,012		17,099		22,888		32,411		28,194		32,808		11,612	
Without Income*	49,680	34.3	7,627	44.6	5,935	25.9	12,639	39.0	10,146	36.0	10,692	32.6	2,641	22.7
With Income**	95,332	100.0	9,472	100.0	16,953	100.0	19,772	100.0	18,048	100.0	22,116	100.0	8,971	100.0
Under \$2,000 or loss	39,953	41.9	7,891	83.3	8,900	53.0	5,383	27.2	4,513	25.0	6,556	29.6	6,710	74.8
\$2,000 - \$3,999	21,541	22.6	1,227	13.0	3,908	23.1	4,315	21.8	4,541	25.2	6,192	28.0	1,358	15.1
\$4,000 - \$5,999	15,711	16.5	262	2.8	2,781	16.4	3,994	20.2	3,984	22.1	4,296	19.4	394	4.4
\$6,000 - \$7,999	8,964	9.4	46	0.5	1,081	6.4	3,130	15.8	2,402	13.3	2,120	9.6	185	2.1
\$8,000 - \$9,999	4,620	4.9	5	0.1	174	1.0	1,727	8.7	1,253	7.0	1,345	6.1	116	1.3
\$10,000 - \$14,999	3,478	3.7	29	0.3	86	1.0	1,043	5.3	1,080	6.0	1,121	5.1	119	1.3
\$15,000 or more	1,065	1.1	12	0.1	23	0.1	180	1.0	275	1.5	486	2.2	89	1.0
Median Income	\$2,686		\$856		\$1,889		\$4,090		\$3,988		\$3,464		\$1,188	
Mean Income	\$3,512		\$1,154		\$2,486		\$4,472		\$4,493		\$4,294		\$1,918	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 21.

*Percentage based on all persons 16 years and over.

**Percentage based on persons with income.

in over \$10,000 annually.

Income by Occupation

What does a Chinese doctor earn? An engineer? A garment worker? A service worker in the food industry? Table 64 gives median earnings by selected occupations. Why is it that Chinese physicians' or dentists' earnings average out to between \$14,000 and \$15,000? This is considerably below a doctor's earning capacity. I could venture a conjecture that many have not fulfilled the licensing or citizenship requirements and are earning a small pittance in a hospital as a resident physician, whereas the established M.D.'s may be doing quite well.

Cheap Chinese Labor

A strong argument used to push through the Chinese Exclusion Act and its extensions time and again was that the Chinese were cheap labor willing to accept lower wages, which undermined the American standard of living. I assure you that no one wants to accept lower wages if he can get more, but employers and the labor market must rid themselves of the notion that Chinese manpower can be obtained at less than the going rate.

When I was working in the public library, a reader came over to my desk one evening and told me how much he enjoyed reading my book, Mountain of Gold.

"I am a great admirer of the Chinese people," he gushed. "They are hard working and reliable. My business is film processing. I develop movie and documentary films, and I would like to hire some Chinese. Can you recommend someone?"

I felt a momentary surge of pride from the man's comments and offered to contact an acquaintance who handles job referrals at the China Institute.

"I need two people at least," continued the prospective employer. "I will train one man to process film, and I would like another person for stock control." The jobs sounded rather interesting, and the year was 1969, when jobs were not too plentiful.

China Institute responded to my call immediately and dispatched a recent graduate in engineering for the film processing job and an education major for the stock control job. Two weeks later, I saw the prospective employer in the library again. Curious about the

TABLE 64

AVERAGE EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED CHINESE WHO WORKED 50-52 WEEKS IN 1969, BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND SEX

Occupations	Male Earnings		Female Earnings	
	Median	Mean	Median	Mean
<u>Professional and Technical</u>				
Architects	\$11,049	\$11,445	\$6,076	\$6,591
Computer Specialists	11,000	11,167	6,000	6,625
Engineers	10,600	12,313	9,000	7,688
Lawyers and Judges	13,062	13,541	9,000	7,000
Librarians, Archivists & Curators	13,000	12,600	---	---
Mathematical Specialists	8,500	13,900	7,000	7,000
Life and Physical Scientists	13,000	13,000	17,500	17,500
Physicians, Dentists & Related Practitioners	13,000	13,075	9,500	7,500
Health Workers exc. Practitioners	14,000	14,719	15,000	15,750
Social Scientists	8,000	7,600	9,000	7,900
Teachers, College & University	15,000	14,500	5,000	3,250
Teachers, Elementary & Secondary	10,750	10,597	2,500	5,429
Technicians	4,800	7,105	6,500	6,530
Writers, Artists, & Entertainers	8,000	7,986	4,000	3,667
Research Workers	10,000	11,275	4,000	4,417
Other Professionals	6,000	6,000	---	---
	4,777	7,732	5,000	5,917
<u>Managers and Administrators</u>				
Salaried -- Manufacturing	8,450	9,901	6,375	7,093
Trade	25,000	23,125	---	---
Service Industries	7,750	8,913	6,000	6,000
Others	11,000	18,900	8,000	7,333
Self-Employed -- Manufacturing	12,000	11,591	8,500	13,667
Trade	6,000	6,667	---	---
Service Industries	7,833	9,667	5,750	6,545
Others	6,600	8,607	6,000	5,300
	5,000	7,417	6,000	6,000
<u>Sales Workers</u>				
Insurance Agents and Brokers	6,714	8,409	2,533	3,314
Stock and Bond Salesmen	10,000	10,250	11,000	7,500
Sales Clerk, Retail Trade	25,000	22,500	---	---
Other Sales Workers	4,666	4,813	2,363	2,980
	7,250	8,786	3,000	3,313

(continued)

TABLE 64—continued

Occupations	Male Earnings—		Female Earnings—	
	Median	Mean	Median	Mean
<u>Clerical and Kindred Workers</u>				
Bank Tellers	\$5,529	\$6,084	\$4,717	\$4,786
Bookkeepers	6,666	8,200	4,200	4,400
File Clerks	7,666	7,300	5,416	4,889
Office Machine Operators	3,000	3,000	3,400	3,100
Secretaries, Stenographers, and Typists	5,000	5,667	5,000	5,111
Telephone Operators	5,500	5,200	5,333	5,072
Other Clerical Workers	---	---	3,000	3,125
	4,923	5,978	3,916	4,773
<u>Craftsmen and Kindred Workers</u>				
Mechanics and Repairmen incl. Automobile	9,937	9,137	3,000	4,583
Printing Trade Craftsmen	9,666	8,981	---	---
Construction Craftsmen	8,333	9,583	---	---
Tailors	9,500	9,611	---	---
Other Craftsmen	7,000	7,000	2,000	2,000
	9,363	9,047	5,000	5,875
<u>Operatives, exc. Transport</u>				
Food Industry	5,562	6,379	3,095	3,438
Apparel Industry	8,250	9,967	4,000	4,000
Laundry and Dry Cleaning Operatives	2,125	3,767	2,818	3,290
Other Operatives	5,600	5,860	3,000	2,750
	5,857	6,338	4,000	4,033
<u>Transport Equipment Operatives</u>				
	8,000	7,533	---	---
<u>Laborers, exc. Farm</u>				
Freight, Stock, and Material Handlers	3,500	4,661	3,000	3,125
Other Laborers	3,500	5,053	2,000	2,833
	3,500	3,833	4,000	4,000
<u>Farm Workers and Managers</u>				
	8,000	9,444	5,000	4,625
<u>Service Workers</u>				
Cleaning Service	4,555	4,886	2,619	3,000
Food Service	3,666	4,500	3,000	3,333
Health Service	4,516	4,797	2,333	2,773
Personal Service	7,000	4,250	5,000	5,000
Protective Service	7,000	4,625	3,000	3,667
	8,000	8,500	---	---
<u>Private Household Workers</u>				
	5,000	4,625	2,000	2,130

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

TABLE 65

SOURCE OF INCOME OF CHINESE FAMILIES IN THE U.S., 1969

Source of Income	U. S.	Calif.	Hawaii	N. Y.	Illinois	Mass.
All Families	94,931	37,437	12,304	18,546	2,920	2,920
Wage and Salary	84,786	33,174	11,265	16,769	2,598	2,727
Mean Wage and Salary	\$10,862	\$10,489	\$14,090	\$ 9,417	\$11,177	\$9,545
Non-farm Self Employment	17,472	7,956	1,403	2,747	.520	434
Mean Non-farm Self Employment	\$ 8,527	\$ 8,741	\$12,845	\$ 5,960	\$ 6,963	\$6,173
Farm Self Employment	713	434	106	20	15	18
Mean Farm Self Employment	\$ 6,312	\$ 8,160	\$ 5,412	---	---	---
Social Security	13,589	5,787	2,473	2,569	314	374
Mean Social Security	\$ 1,311	\$ 1,291	\$ 1,450	\$ 1,227	\$ 1,317	\$1,118
Public Assistance or Welfare	3,445	1,959	330	622	41	125
Mean Public Assist. or Welfare	\$ 1,253	\$ 1,174	\$ 1,627	\$ 1,320	---	\$1,276
Other Income	41,040	17,151	5,833	6,692	1,140	1,109
Mean Other Income	\$ 1,524	\$ 1,486	\$ 2,508	\$ 1,155	\$ 1,057	\$1,139

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 24.

outcome of the two referrals, I approached the man and inquired if the two people were hired.

"No," he said. "The young man didn't want the job, and the young lady's English was not good enough to handle the paperwork." My reaction was: Well, I tried; and I let the matter go at that.

Some time later, I met my acquaintance from the China Institute and asked him about the referral. "That man offered C _____ coolie wages," he replied. "He just wanted good cheap labor."

"What about the other job?" I inquired. "The man said her English was not up to par."

"Nonsense," my friend replied. "She was just hired at P.S. _____ as a teacher. I think the Board of Education is a better judge of her English than that fellow. She, too, was insulted by the salary he offered her."

Now from the other side of the coin: In an interview with a Chinese-American bank officer in Chinatown, I asked what the banks were doing to widen the scope of employment opportunities for the Chinese in Chinatown. His off-handed remark was: "I have been trying to sell Chinatown to the electronics industry. I tell them we have cheap, dependable labor here." Need I comment further on this statement?

Source of Income

The main reason why I set up Table 64 to reflect earnings by occupation rather than income by occupation was to find out what a Chinese makes on a given job. Income is a more inclusive term, covering receipts from all sources. The census lists wage and salary, self-employment income, Social Security, public assistance or welfare, and other income. The latter category covers interest, dividends, rent, royalties, gifts, inheritance, gambling winnings, prizes, etc. However, the census does not give a detailed breakdown for these.

In examining the data in Table 65, we see that the main source of income comes from being gainfully employed, either working for others or for oneself, in a business or profession. About 14 percent are on Social Security, and 3.6 percent on public assistance or welfare.

Ivan Light, in his book Ethnic Enterprise in America, wrote:

Between 1900 and 1940, in only two instances did the Chinese obtain assistance from tax funds. Following the San Francisco fire and earthquake of April 1906 when Chinatown was entirely burned out, the Chinese did receive some public aid. In proportion to their numbers, however, the Chinese received only one-thirtieth of the free soup and rehabilitation accorded other San Franciscans.

The second occasion on which the Chinese secured aid from public authorities was the Great Depression. These low figures are the more remarkable in view of the poverty of the Chinese relative to more advantaged whites.³

In the past, the reluctance to apply for public assistance in the face of dire need was due more to fear of the government than to absence of need. The Chinese felt that if they applied for public assistance, they would be subject to deportation, and this was the sword of Damocles that hung over their heads.

Public assistance is viewed in a different light by today's younger generation of Chinese-Americans. There is no Damocles' sword for them and government assistance is not considered dole. In fact, many interest groups vie for funds and demand their fair share of the government's tax revenues.

Savings

The most revealing clue in Table 65 comes from the numbers listed under "Other Income." In his study of ethnic enterprise, Ivan Light stated that the Oriental communities had decided economic advantages over the black communities in that they had ethnic institutions and, more important, capital. With low-paying occupations, where did the Asians obtain capital? Only from savings and the pooling of resources.

The Chinese are a frugal and careful spending people. By saving their pennies and nickels and dimes, they save to invest and earn dividends or interest. According to Table 65, 41,040 out of the 94,931 families (43.2 percent) had income from other sources to augment their earnings. In my book, Mountain of Gold,

3. Op. cit., (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 87.

I describe some of the simple methods contrived by the Chinese to save and obtain credit.⁴ Ivan Light also describes others.⁵ With resource to capital, the Chinese could undertake ventures that would lift them out of the laboring class into the small entrepreneur class. These skills were dramatically depicted in the process with which Nyuk Tsin Kee, a penniless, illiterate peasant woman in James Michener's novel, Hawaii, built up a fortune so that the family became an economic tour de force on the Islands.

The trait or ability of the Chinese to postpone demand and save capital for future utilization gives them building blocks upon which to expand their earning power. Many Chinese buy shares in going enterprises, like restaurants, where they may insure themselves of a job if they are a part-owner and at the same time collect dividends in addition to a wage and salary. When they are part-owner, they are more conscientious and less wasteful, so the benefits accrue all around.

Although the Chinese communities are going through a tremendous transition at this time, accommodating to the huge influx of immigrants, they are taking positive steps to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps: Just as they devised a simple credit system called the hui, literally a club whereby they pooled savings to make available capital, "minorities are banding together and pooling their resources to finance savings and loan associations that service their local communities. Federal and state authorities are approving these new associations in record numbers."⁶

Since January 1972, the Federal Home Loan Bank approved fifteen new charters for mutually owned banks in the western region and three of these charters were granted to Chinese-oriented associations. The first to open its doors, in Los Angeles Chinatown, had over \$5 million in deposits by the end of the first year. The second to open, in San Francisco's Chinatown, had on deposit over \$2.5 million in 1,250 accounts in just under four months of operation. The third and newest opened in San Francisco's Richmond area, and a fourth application is pending for Oakland's Chinatown. On the East Coast, the Chinese-American Bank in New York's China-

4. Sung, Op. cit., pp. 140-142.

5. Light, Op. cit., pp. 23-27.

6. Richard Springer, "Minority-Based Savings and Loans on the Upsurge," East/West (August 21, 1974).

town has been in existence for over a decade, and it has played an important role in the financial life of the community. In Washington, D.C., well-known CBS television reporter Connie Chung is organizing an Asian-American Bank to serve minority communities.

This accrual of capital is one of the hidden economic strengths of the Chinese people. Along with education, it has been a prime factor in the maintenance of economic life in a hostile environment. Both education and capital resources are stepping stones to upward mobility for the Chinese in the United States.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. In interpreting the figures on income, one must be aware that the concept of income in the Chinese mind is not the same as that in the American mind. Chinese employers are responsible for board, if not room, income taxes, Social Security payments, and oftentimes, health insurance. Eighty dollars a week means \$80 in the pay envelope. Net income is what the Chinese employee reports as income, and as we all know, there is a substantial difference between the high-sounding income we are offered and what is left over in our paychecks.

2. The Chinese-American family income shows wide disparity from state to state. New York is significantly poorer than Hawaii or California.

3. The national median income for Chinese families is slightly higher than for the United States as a whole, but this figure is somewhat deceptive.

4. There are multi-earners in the Chinese families who tend to boost the family income.

5. Personal income is a more accurate reflection of what the Chinese make. These figures are comparatively low.

6. Are the Chinese poor? No, if the yardstick is family income upon which the poverty index is based. A more accurate measurement would be income per unit of work.

7. The time has come to cleanse our minds of the idea that the Chinese are a source of cheap labor.

8. The earnings figures for the Chinese are a more accurate reflection of what the Chinese are being paid in their respective occupations.

9. A good proportion of Chinese families have income from such other sources as dividends, interests, and return on investments.

10. Capital accumulation has been one of the major sources of economic strength of the Chinese people.

11. Public assistance to the Chinese has been minimal. The younger generations of Chinese-Americans no longer view government assistance as dole. On the contrary, they are beginning to vie for their fair share of the government's revenues as taxpayers.

RECOMMENDATIONS

After presenting an entire chapter on income of the Chinese in the United States based upon the 1970 census, I am going to shoot holes through it and say I do not place too much trust on the reliability of the dollars and cents figures from the census. These numbers do, however, provide guidelines in certain respects. For instance, Chinese persons employed by non-Chinese will adhere more closely to American bookkeeping procedures and the concept of income will be more in line with the usual definition of income according to accepted accounting procedures. The white-collar occupations fall within this purview.

Some occupations are more likely to have been counted in the census, and if the census figures lean heavily in the direction of white-collar jobs, some account of this must be taken in the interpretation of the percentages. In instances like these, use of the actual figures may be a better index. One cannot escape the fact that there are approximately 4,000 Chinese-American physicians or dentists and over 5,000 teachers in colleges or universities. These numbers tell us something whether or not the garment workers or waiters have been undercounted. Income for the white-collar workers may be taken more or less at face value. Income for the other large groups, such as operatives and service workers, is not as reliable. But then oranges cannot be added to apples, and the blue-collar workers' income cannot be placed side by side with the white collar workers' to get a true composite.

I have already mentioned the rate of nonresponse to the income question on the census survey. In conversation with some of the demographers at the Census Bureau in Washington, I asked what is the range of deviation of the income figures. Plus or minus 10 percent was the answer. To my mind, that is a large margin of deviation. The reason: Few people hesitate to answer questions pertaining to sex, marital status, occupation, hours worked, residence, etc., but income is a very private question.

Nevertheless, the income data does reveal some glaring symptoms. Among them, the depressed level of income of Chinese females, and the large proportion of teenagers who have no income at all. These two syndromes cannot be disputed. Both call for remedies that I am not competent to offer as a simplistic solution. They require attention from the ethnic community and from labor, government, and educational institutions. These problems are not just peculiar to the Chinese. They are also symptomatic of the employment situation as a whole.

Income is measured in terms of money, but money is not the

ultimate measure. It depends upon what you do with the money. You can spend it, waste it foolishly, hide it in the mattress, or use it to generate more money. A bright spot in the picture is the thrifty habits of the Chinese and their ability to accumulate capital as a stepping stone to a better life. Some of the credit facilities developed by the Chinese in the past may be fading away, and the more impersonal, complicated setups of the American banking system taking their place. But recent immigrants, who are coming from a rural or less developed economy, are not familiar with the sophisticated procedures of applying for credit from banks. The more personal and simple credit facilities within the ethnic community should be revived for those who feel that they can deal more comfortably with a familiar setup. For example, the Lee Family Association Credit Union is a very successful model to follow. It operates like any other credit union, but its membership is based upon the extended kinship family. The special features of a credit institution like this are the primary relationship of its members, the elimination of the language barrier, and the less stringent procedures governing its operations because the members are known to one another.

Since we cannot put too much faith in the census figures on income, and it is very difficult to get valid figures, we are operating in the dark when we attempt to make recommendations. However, I hope I have been able to point out some of the cultural differences in concept of income and some of the factors pertaining to the Chinese-American employment picture which mask the true financial status of the Chinese.

CHAPTER X

UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT

"GM Lays Off 12,000 More," "Freeze on Government Hiring," "Pink Slips to 300 at Singer," "The Ax Falls Again at School District 26." These 1974 headlines mean the same thing: people are being separated from their jobs, and the unemployment figures are rising. Such headlines forebode the general employment situation and do not pertain specifically to the Chinese. However, if the general unemployment rate rises, can it be anything but more pessimistic for the Chinese?

The answer is not always the seemingly obvious one. In 1970, a year of relative prosperity, the unemployment rate for white males was 3.6 percent; for black males, it was 6.3 percent; for the Chinese male, it was only 3.0 percent. The female unemployment rates ran to 4.7 percent for whites, 7.7 percent for blacks, and 3.7 percent for the Chinese.¹

In some states, the unemployment rates for the Chinese were even lower. Table 26 shows the labor force and employment status of the Chinese for three states and ten SMSAs. For males, the unemployment rate sank to 1.4 percent in Washington, D.C., and in most other eastern states it was but a little higher than 2 percent. The unemployment rate in the western states ran higher, and it was highest in the San Francisco-Oakland area. Nevertheless, when compared city by city with the urban area rate for all persons, the Chinese unemployment rate falls far below that of the general area. More important, the disparity is frequently a large one. (See Table 66.) From these figures, one could simply surmise that for the Chinese, jobs are easy to come by.

1. Figures for blacks and whites: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(1)C1 (1970); for Chinese, PC(2)1G (1970).

TABLE 66

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FOR MALES IN THE CIVILIAN
LABOR FORCE IN TEN SMSAS, 1970

<u>SMSA's</u>	<u>All Persons</u>	<u>Chinese</u>
Boston	3.5	2.8
Chicago	3.5	2.5
Honolulu	3.0	2.1
Los Angeles-Long Beach	6.2	3.9
New York	3.8	2.4
Sacramento	7.2	2.1
San Francisco-Oakland	5.8	4.4
San Jose	5.8	3.6
Seattle-Everett	8.2	3.8
Wash. D.C.-Md.-Va.	2.7	1.4

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, U.S. Summary, PC(1)C1 (1970, Table 184; Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 28.

Perhaps. One must admit that the Chinese have benefitted tremendously from the assertion of minority groups for their legitimate rights over the past two decades, and they owe a great debt to the Civil Rights Movement, which initiated this drive. But within the Chinese context, there are other factors that mask the low rate of unemployment. The reasons are many and varied.

Jobs in Search of People

Obviously, the Chinese as a group cannot be considered slackers. Industry is a strongly ingrained character trait reinforced by sheer necessity of the impoverished background from which they sprang. When the opportunity for making money presented itself in the United States, the immigrants hastened to "make hay while the sun shines." In fact, one might say they are greedy and tend to overwork. (Work attitudes and the Chinese work ethic are dealt with at greater length in Chapter XI.)

A large proportion of the Chinese population now in this country are a recently uprooted people. They have incurred large expenses to make the trans-Pacific journey. They are starting life anew and their expenses are heavy. One ricewinner in the family is not sufficient. All hands must be on deck to keep the family afloat. Employment is an absolute economic necessity, regardless of what type of employment.

There are always jobs in search of people. Many such jobs, however, are the more undesirable ones which are low in status, unpleasant in nature, low in pay, and paid by the piece. Other drawbacks are long working hours, poor working conditions, off hours, repetitive and unimaginative work, dead-end jobs, and other unattractive conditions. It has traditionally been the lot of the newest wave of immigrants to assume these positions until they or their children could move up and out. In a highly mobile society like that in the United States, the lower echelon occupations always have a high turnover rate. People who are willing to accept employment in these jobs have no problem finding work, and if an employer can find a steady reliable source of labor for such positions, he is more than elated.

The garment industry is a good example. It is extremely easy to get a job as a seamstress. The usual procedure is for a friend or relative to take the applicant down in person and introduce her to the owner or boss. The boss says, "Try it out." The applicant sits down at a machine and the friend explains to her what is to be done. They work at first with some scraps, and then the applicant is given a garment. She takes her time and may finish it with

the help of her friend in three or four hours or as long as is needed. The boss doesn't care. He pays by the piece. The pay is something like sixty cents a skirt.

Even at twenty cents, the women grasp it eagerly. It is a job that they can handle. They do not have to go far beyond Chinatown, and once they get the knack of finishing a garment, they can find ready employment in another factory. There are over 230 garment factories in and around New York's Chinatown, and others are being attracted to Chinatown to tap the reservoir of high-quality Chinese female labor at cheap prices.

Kitchen duties are a large area of employment for Chinese males. The hours are long, the temperature in the kitchen is always hot, the duties are not the most pleasant, the status is low. Restaurants always have openings for dishwashers, in spite of the installation of dishwashing machines and other mechanical devices. One of the biggest headaches of a restaurant manager is to find a person to scrape the dishes and put them into the dishwashing machine. Few people want the job. They may take it for three months or half a year, but they do not stay long. A dishwasher's position is very easy to come by.

In cities like New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Boston, etc., many jobs held by the Chinese are ingrown occupations servicing the Chinese community itself. Chinatowns may be the fastest growing sectors in many large cities where urban decline is the general trend. The huge influx of recent immigrants has created a demand for goods and services within the community. Almost any business opening up in New York's Chinatown seems to be making money. The local economy relies not so much on the tourist trade today as on local consumption. The newcomers are buying furniture, clothes, appliances, and food. They need the services of barbers, doctors, dentists, bankers, lawyers, and accountants. Any discrimination resulting from a recession in the larger American economy will be buffered by the fact that the Chinese in Chinatowns are consumers as well as workers, and their demand for goods and services have created many jobs.

Business Bad--Unemployment Down

Would you believe that when business is bad the unemployment rate among the Chinese may decrease rather than increase? In years past, it generally did. The population was fairly homogeneous and oftentimes related. If a person lost his job, a relative would take him into his restaurant or laundry or grocery store until the fellow landed another. Strongly inherent in the Chinese culture is

an emphasis on family and social obligations. This is in strong contrast to the practice in times of adverse business conditions when American business management efficiency calls immediately for a cut in personnel.

American businessmen were surprised to learn of some of these traditional Oriental practices while doing business in Japan. They discovered that, once a Japanese worker is hired, he considers his employment a lifelong relationship, except under unusual circumstances. When sales fell off for Toyota, the workers in Japan were furloughed at 90 percent pay. At the same time, General Motors in Detroit laid off 12,000 workers, leaving them to unemployment insurance and their own resources until such time as the cost accountants could justify their return to the plant.

Today's circumstances among the Chinese-Americans are somewhat different. There are fewer self-owned and operated enterprises to permit this method of mutual aid; the population is more diverse, people are more impersonal; family ties are not as strong; there is unemployment insurance. Furthermore, American society and culture tend to deprive the worker of his sense of duty, security, and belonging.

Escalator Profits

Along the same lines of reasoning, the Chinese small businessmen can survive and surmount business adversity a little bit better when he has more flexibility. Take the average Chinese restaurant. It is seldom owned by one man any more. The usual procedure is to pool the capital resources and manpower of a small group which sets up a joint venture, either in a partnership or corporation. The partners are both employers and employees. Each one insures for himself a job and a salary. When business is good, they give themselves a raise. When business is bad, they look at the receipts and say, "We'll have to take less this month." The employers/employees are not out of work. They try to pull through the bad times together.

These are some of the techniques and responses that the Chinese have developed to live and survive in the United States. The problem is that, as the employment horizons are broadened and the Chinese must compete in the larger society in an alien setting, they are going to encounter situations in which responses have not been tried and developed. Each man or woman is going to be on his own to meet the problems, not as a group, but as an individual. The nature of the transition period is conjectural. No one can predict which way the wind will blow, and the generation of the 70s will be in the

vanguard. Will the Chinese fall back upon the the traditional responses? Should they crawl back into their shells and insulate themselves by self-isolation as they did in the past? Or will they devise new ways to deal collectively with the specter of unemployment?

Who Are the Unemployed?

The unemployed are the recent immigrants. In fact, the statistics covering them may not even be in the 1970 census. Had they been included, the unemployment rates would have been much higher. The reasons are inherent in their migration. They gave up whatever occupation or status or income they had in their homeland to begin life anew in this country. When they got here, they immediately joined the ranks of those looking for jobs. The problem lies in how to help these newcomers smooth over their period of transition.

Approximately two-thirds of the total immigrants coming into the country fall within the age bracket of twenty to sixty years. Three out of four able-bodied adult males join the ranks of those looking for employment. About half of the women will join the labor force. The most urgent employment needs of the Chinese lie with the new immigrants. Their greatest obstacle is unfamiliarity with the language and American customs. They do not know how or where to turn for help except to their immediate relatives or friends, whose own knowledge of the employment field may be equally limited. If I were to give priority to any one aspect of the employment situation of the Chinese, I would concentrate on helping the new immigrant.

Refugees in Limbo

The unemployed are the refugees. Generally, employers shy away from hiring anyone who does not have a green card testifying to the fact that he or she is lawfully admitted as a permanent resident and is permitted to seek employment in this country. Non-immigrants, such as visitors, students, businessmen, and tourists are not allowed to work. Refugees are a special case. They are permitted to work, but they are not issued a green card until they have a record of two years of good conduct in this country. Most employers do not know of this technicality, however, and will only accept the green card as proof of eligibility. Furthermore, a great deal of publicity has been given to a bill sponsored by Representative Peter W. Rodino in the Congress which would severely penalize the employer of an alien who is not enti-

tled to work here, thereby creating more uncertainty and fear.

Not Female Operatives

The unemployed are not the women in operative jobs. For example, in New York, San Francisco, Chicago, and Boston, where the garment industry is strong, the unemployment rate is very low. In New York City, the proportion of the total Chinese female labor force in operative jobs is 43.7 percent and the unemployment rate for Chinese females is 2.8 percent. (See Tables 26 and 28.) In Sacramento, 43.6 percent are in the clerical field and the unemployment rate is 11.1 percent. I believe these unemployment figures reinforce my contention that some jobs are easy to come by when no one else wants them. The figures also support my argument that as the Chinese leave their community and reach out into the larger society, they will become highly vulnerable to the ups and downs of the larger economy.

Young or Old

There is no distinct pattern to unemployment by age group. In Table 67; we have a comparison of percent between the Chinese in the labor force and unemployment rate by age groups for the United States and five states. For females, the proportions are almost identical: they are found in the labor force more or less proportionate to their rate of unemployment. But the percentages for the males present some disturbing dislocations.

In the national figures, the rate of unemployment for young men from 16 to 24 years is double that of their proportion in the labor force. In the state of Hawaii, the rate is triple or higher. In other words, Chinese males in the 20- to 24-year age bracket are 11 percent of the labor force, yet they make up 31 percent of the unemployed. This may explain why Hawaii's young men are leaving the islands.

In New York, the dislocation is at the other end of the age spectrum. Chinese males are 35 percent of the labor force in the 45- to 64-year age bracket, but they constitute 44 percent of the unemployed.

In Massachusetts, the problem is worse. The greatest proportion of unemployed is found in the 25- to 34-year age bracket. These age brackets are generally the ones in which the full potential of the male workers is achieved. They have finished their education; they are most likely married and have families to support; they have

TABLE 67

COMPARISON OF EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND LABOR FORCE OF THE CHINESE
IN THE U.S., BY AGE GROUP AND SEX, FOR TOTAL U.S. AND FIVE SELECTED STATES, 1970

Age Group and Sex	U. S. Total			California			New York			Hawaii			Illinois			Massachusetts		
	% Labor Force	% Unem- pl'd	% pl'd	% Labor Force	% Unem- pl'd	% pl'd	% Labor Force	% Unem- pl'd	% pl'd	% Labor Force	% Unem- pl'd	% pl'd	% Labor Force	% Unem- pl'd	% pl'd	% Labor Force	% Unem- pl'd	% pl'd
Males 16 Yrs. +	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
16-19 years	6	12	7	12	4	8	6	30	4	6	30	5	7	4	6	4	4	4
20-24 years	11	22	12	22	9	14	11	31	9	11	31	11	23	7	12	12	20	20
25-34 years	24	16	22	12	23	13	19	6	19	6	19	31	23	23	28	28	43	43
35-44 years	25	14	26	15	26	13	24	10	24	10	24	24	11	11	22	22	13	13
45-64 years	31	30	31	34	35	44	37	22	44	22	37	25	23	23	28	28	21	21
65 years +	3	5	3	5	3	7	4	2	3	2	4	3	12	3	3	3	---	---
Females 16 Yrs. +	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
16-19 years	8	12	9	11	7	11	7	7	7	7	7	9	9	9	12	12	12	12
20-24 years	18	20	18	20	17	17	14	22	14	14	22	20	20	20	19	19	19	19
25-34 years	23	22	21	16	22	30	19	26	19	19	26	26	25	25	24	24	24	24
35-44 years	23	20	24	20	25	19	23	16	23	16	23	23	23	23	19	19	19	19
45-64 years	26	23	25	30	28	18	35	15	35	15	35	20	20	20	25	25	24	24
65 years +	2	4	2	8	2	5	1	---	2	---	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	3

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)IG (1970), Table 21.

TABLE 68

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF CHINESE MALES
16 TO 21 YEARS OLD, FOR TEN SMSAS, 1970

Males 16-21 Years Old	Total No.		Not Enrolled in Sch.		Not Hi-Sch. Grad.		Unempl'd or Not in Labor Force	
	(100%)	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
U. S.	31,297	5,347	17	1,584	5	784	3	
Boston	1,082	259	24	68	6	34	3	
Chicago	797	102	13	42	5	21	3	
Honolulu	2,728	725	26	154	6	110	4	
Los Angeles-Long Beach	2,901	379	13	41	1	17	1	
New York City	5,217	1,099	21	491	9	245	5	
Sacramento	908	116	13	33	4	6	1	
San Francisco-Oakland	6,532	960	15	259	4	157	2	
San Jose	650	57	8	8	1	8	1	
Seattle	606	109	18	34	6	10	2	
Wash. D.C.-Md.-Va.	385	46	12	14	4	--	0	
Total 10 SMSAS	21,806	3,852	18	1,144	5	608	3	

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2) 1C (1970), Tables 19, 28.



had time to gain some experience and an opportunity to establish themselves. If they are unemployed at this stage in their lives, the problem is doubly acute.

Teenage and Youth Unemployment

According to Table 68, teenage and youth unemployment is not much of a problem, except in New York City and, to a lesser degree, San Francisco. This table gives the number of Chinese males who are 16 to 21 years of age for ten SMSAs in the United States with sizable Chinese populations. The columns show the number of youths in that city, and the percentages who are not enrolled in school, who are not high school graduates, and who are unemployed. Of the 608 who fit all these labels, 245 are found in New York City and 157 are found in San Francisco. Again, New York seems to be the problem area. Perhaps these idle youth may be the cause of the recent waves of crime plaguing New York's Chinatown.

Underemployment

The problem of underemployment is greater than that of unemployment for the Chinese. There are always some jobs to serve the immediate needs of staving off hunger or the bill collector if one is willing to do the work. When it comes to dire necessity, one accepts such work, even though the position may be far beneath the worker's qualifications.

Contributing to the underemployment syndrome is the United States government immigration policy of giving preference to persons with good skills and education. When highly educated and skilled persons are admitted to this country but are hampered at every turn to practice their trade or profession, underemployment inevitably results. The former Shanghai plastics manufacturer is working as a waiter. The former accountant from Hong Kong is the salad-and-dessert man in a kitchen. The former principal of a normal school sells groceries in a Chinese food store. The former starlet of movies and nightclubs works as a restaurant cashier and doubles as a take-out clerk. The former professor is a janitor. The former doctor is an orderly. Instances like these are all too common. To get a general idea of how pervasive underemployment is, I took the first twenty names off the roster of trainees who had completed their twelve-week course at the Chinatown Manpower Project in Chinatown and listed their education, their former positions in Hong Kong or Taiwan, and their present positions (Table 69). The rest of the group is just like the first twenty.

TABLE 69

UNDEREMPLOYMENT OF THE CHINESE AS REFLECTED
IN CHINATOWN MANPOWER ROSTER, 1972

<u>Case No.</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Past Experience</u>	<u>Present Position</u>
1	College Student	Teacher in Hong Kong	Embroidery work
2	High School Grad.	Nurse	Maintenance work
3	Normal Sch. Grad.	Teacher	Cashier
4	High School Grad.	Self-employed business	Manager--small business
5	College Grad. (eco)	Teacher in Hong Kong	Assembler, office supplies
6	College Grad. (eco)	Teacher in Hong Kong	Cashier
7	College Grad. (bus)	Teacher in Hong Kong	Clerk, service agency
8	College Grad. (ed.)	Teacher in Hong Kong	Secretary--Chinese agency
9	College Graduate	Gov't service, Taiwan	Ass't Manager--Restaurant
10	Nursing Sch. Grad.	Nurse, Taiwan	Nurses Aide, Nursing Home
11	College Graduate	Herb doctor	Nurses Trainee
12	College Graduate	Nurse	Nurses Aide, Hospital
13	College Graduate	Medical doctor	Teacher, Advanced ESL
14	College Graduate	Minister, Hong Kong	Examiner in Bank
15	College Grad. (law)	Teacher in Taiwan	Bank Clerk
16	Nursing Sch. Grad.	Registered Nurse in H.K.	Preparing for nurse's license
17	College Graduate	H.S. Teacher in H.K.	Restaurant Manager
18	High School Grad.	In charge, rubber fact.	Advanced ESL Class
19	High School Grad.	Teacher in Hong Kong	Restaurant Cashier
20	College Grad. (law)	Lawyer in Taiwan	Bank, Examining Clerk

Source: Chinatown Manpower Project, (1972).

TABLE 70

CURRENT OCCUPATION AND OCCUPATION FIVE YEARS AGO OF THE CHINESE
16 YEARS AND OVER, 1970 (in hundreds)

Current Occupation	1970 Total	Occupation Five Years Ago											
		Prof. Tech.	Mgrs. Admin.	Sale Wkrs.	Cler. Wkrs.	Crafts	Oper.	Labor-ers	Farm-ers	Serv. Wkrs.	Pvt. H.H.		
<u>Males 16 Yrs. +</u>													
Prof., Tech.	1,125	230	104	26	48	65	83	20	2	164	2		
Managers, Admin.	359	212	5	1	5	3	2	2	0	1	0		
Sales Workers	120	6	79	3	2	0	8	3	0	7	0		
Clerical	47	1	4	16	0	1	0	2	0	3	0		
Craftsmen	94	5	2	3	35	0	0	4	0	5	0		
Operatives	98	2	3	0	0	55	6	1	0	3	0		
Laborers	113	2	6	0	1	2	58	1	0	4	0		
Farmers	31	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	0	1	0		
Service Workers	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0		
Private Household	257	2	5	3	5	3	8	1	0	140	0		
	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2		
<u>Females 16 Yrs. +</u>													
Prof., Tech.	732	79	20	15	100	5	91	4	0	51	3		
Managers, Admin.	155	67	2	0	7	0	1	0	0	1	0		
Sales Workers	27	1	12	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Clerical Workers	39	2	1	12	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		
Craftsmen	220	6	2	2	87	0	2	0	0	4	0		
Operatives	14	0	0	0	1	4	1	0	0	0	0		
Laborers	151	2	2	0	2	0	91	0	0	0	0		
Farmers	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0		
Service Workers	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Private Household	105	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	46	0		
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3		

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

NOTE: Based on a 5 percent sampling.

TABLE 71

CURRENT INDUSTRY AND INDUSTRY FIVE YEARS AGO
OF THE CHINESE 16 YEARS AND OVER, 1970 (in hundreds)

Current Industry*	1970 total	Industry Five Years Ago											
		Mfg.	Transp.	Comm.	Groc.	---Trade---		Fin.	Bus.	Pers.	Ent.	Prof.	Pub.
						Eat,	Drink	Ins.	Rep.	Serv.	Rec.	Serv.	Adm.
								R.E.	Serv.	Serv.	Serv.	Serv.	Serv.
<u>Males 16 Years +</u>													
Manufacturing	1,125	103	29	14	51	168	17		22		5	116	7
Transportation	142	81	0	1	0	4	0		0		0	4	1
Communications	28	0	21	0	0	2	0		0		0	2	1
Trade: Grocery Stores	22	1	1	9	0	0	1		1		0	0	0
Eat, Drink Places	53	1	0	0	36	3	0		0		0	0	0
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	241	6	2	2	5	147	0		4		0	2	2
Business and Repair Service	39	3	0	0	2	2	15		1		0	1	0
Personal Services	41	1	1	1	0	1	0		15		0	4	0
Entertainment & Recreatn'l Serv.	70	0	0	0	2	1	0		0		0	3	0
Professional Service	12	1	0	0	0	2	0		0		4	0	0
Public Administration	213	4	0	0	1	2	1		0		1	95	4
	96	0	4	0	1	1	0		0		0	2	59
<u>Females 16 Years +</u>													
Manufacturing	732	89	4	4	15	43	23		4		3	89	30
Transportation	161	81	1	1	1	1	1		0		0	4	1
Communications	8	0	2	0	0	0	1		0		1	0	0
Trade: Grocery Stores	9	0	0	3	0	0	0		0		0	0	0
Eat, Drink Places	18	0	0	0	12	0	0		0		0	0	0
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	70	2	0	0	0	35	0		0		0	0	0
Business and Repair Service	54	1	1	0	0	0	18		0		0	5	0
Personal Services	10	0	0	0	0	0	0		1		0	2	0
Entertainment & Recreatn'l Serv.	50	0	0	0	1	0	0		2		0	1	0
Professional Service	5	0	0	0	0	0	0		0		2	0	0
Public Administration	200	4	0	0	0	5	2		0		0	74	3
	45	1	0	0	0	2	1		0		0	0	23

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

NOTE: Based on a 5 percent sampling.

*Omitted because numbers were insignificant: Agriculture, Construction, Mining, Utilities and Sanitation Services.

Some people will say, "So what? It happens to all immigrant groups who first come here. The setback is an inevitable part of the transitional process. Given time, they will catch up." Some do, but the majority won't. This is evident when we look at Tables 70 and 71. The Chinese simply do not readily move from one line of work to another. They tend to stay put. If they accept employment at a lower level, the tendency is that they will stay there for some time, unless helped to move out of the rut or given a strong impetus to do so on their own.

Stuck at Entry Level

Underemployment is also prevalent among the native-born Chinese-American who does not face the same problem of transition as his foreign-born counterpart. Since he has little problem with the English language and the likelihood is that he is highly educated, he will encounter no difficulty finding employment at the entry level of professional careers. He usually performs competently and logs considerable years of experience, but fellow workers who came in at the same time he did will have gone on to bigger and better positions while he still plugs away in the same position year after year.

These Chinese are the engineers who draft the plans, the architects who do the renderings, the teachers who have the same grades every year, the lab technicians who do the tests, the librarians who catalog the books, etc. They are the unsung workers who do their daily chores quietly and efficiently, and then are overlooked at promotion time. They have professional positions, but they are drones.

The Drones Are the Workers

Because they are drones and the drones are the workers, there is a tendency to try to retain such people in their positions as long as possible. For example, if an executive has a super-efficient secretary who is able to relieve him of much of the tedious details of his job, he is going to try to keep her as long as possible, even though she may be qualified to move up into the executive ranks. If the secretary never expresses a desire for a promotion, the boss will most likely not initiate action to promote her, and, even if she indicates that she is willing and capable of moving ahead, the boss may covertly try to obstruct her promotion.

All too often, the Chinese-American never voices dissatisfaction with his position. He is quiet, reliable, docile; in effect,

he is penalized for his performance, rather than rewarded. He is perpetuated as a drone rather than given an opportunity to make decisions or come up with new ideas. Tragically few people are aware of the extent that many Chinese-Americans are underemployed because they remain so quiet.

Worse yet is when deliberate attempts are made to keep highly qualified personnel from moving ahead for indefensible motives. At the Civil Rights Commission Hearings on Equal Opportunity for Asian-Americans in the New York area in 1974, Dr. John S. Hong revealed some of the tactics employed to keep Asian doctors, educated and trained abroad, from advancing in their professions. Dr Hong said:

From the economic point of view, the new wave of Asian immigrants represents some form of net gain to the U.S. They are some of the best minds in Asia. They are highly skilled and established professionals in their countries.

In 1972, a very conservative estimate of \$50,000 is the face value of the foreign medical graduate at the time he enters the country. . . .

Foreign medical graduates have contributed very much to the health care of this country, yet among those I interviewed, there was a mixed feeling of gratitude and dissatisfaction. . . . The competence of a foreign medical graduate is disregarded simply because he does not have the Standard Certificate issued by the ECFMG (Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates). Instances were cited wherein some residents were nominated for senior or chief positions but were turned down for the same reason.

There seems to be an intentional scoring to see to it that there are not enough passing prospective interns to fill up completely all internship positions available. A shortage of interns produces a shortage of physicians. The lesser the supply, the greater the demand, the higher the medical costs.²

Dr. Hong went on to say that doctors are often given visas because they have a M.D. after their names, "but once they enter

2. Testimony given before Civil Rights Commission Hearing in New York (Friday, July 12, 1974): II pp. 203-4.

the country, without the ECFMG they will never have an opportunity to be employees or intern residents in the so-called approved training hospitals. . . . Often they are used as technicians or nurses' aides or in almost any capacity.³

The implication here was that these doctors are paid less than a doctor but are used to do medical work. In fact, such foreign medical graduates can be hired cheaper than the going rate for a nurse.

Dr. Chungik Rhee also testified before the same commission hearings and his reference pertained to nurses, nutritionists, pharmacists, and X-ray and lab technicians. It was again pointed out that such professionals are granted visas from Asian countries because of the simple fact that they are skilled technicians and professionals, but once they come to this country they cannot find a job because of the constraints of professional associations who take the position that unless you go through the same kind of internship and the same kind of licensing, a permit is not issued and a job cannot be found.

Dr. Rhee gave an example of how Asian pharmacists are being exploited, and Mr. Albert J. Sica, executive secretary of the State Board of Pharmacy in New York confirmed it. Brought out in their testimonies was the fact that pharmacists are given preference in applying for an immigrant visa, but forty-eight states and the District of Columbia bar graduates of foreign pharmacy schools from applying for licenses to practice.

In New York and Illinois, applications are accepted, but the foreign pharmacists must serve a period of internship before they can take the regular licensing examination. Since there are only two states in the country that will accept pharmacists educated and/or trained abroad, prospective interns gravitate to these two states, and the supply exceeds the demand to such a degree that pharmacists in these states must offer their services free for a one- or two-year period in order to have the opportunity to work as an intern to qualify for the licensing examination. If one refuses to work for free (the euphemism is "volunteer their services"), someone else will. The economic hardships borne by the families of these men or women are devastating during the time that these pharmacists are serving out their internships. At the same time, one might say these people are not just underemployed

3. Ibid.

TABLE 72

OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF ORIENTALS IN THREE SAN FRANCISCO COMPANIES, 1970

Job Categories	Clothing Manufacturer		Printing Company		Heavy Industry	
	Total Employees	Oriental	Total Employees	Oriental	Total Employees	Oriental
Officials and Managers	10	0	16	0	56	0
Professionals	1	0	10	0	26	0
Technicians	2	0	--	--	2	0
Sales Workers	--	--	18	0	--	--
Office and Clerical	4	0	51	1	79	1
Craftsmen (skilled)	139	28	170	9	105	0
Operatives (semi-skilled)	20	1	117	11	157	4
Laborers (unskilled)	1	0	136	7	75	1
Service Workers	3	0	--	--	1	0
TOTAL	180	29	518	28	501	6

Source: "Chinese in San Francisco," employment problems of the community as presented in testimony before the California Fair Employment Practice Commission (1970), p. 14.

*No job category given by that company.

or underpaid, they are undergoing compulsory servitude.⁴

On the West Coast, similar hearings of employment problems of the Chinese were conducted before the Fair Employment Practices Commission. At those hearings, Mr. James W. Chin, of the Department of Defense, Office of Contract Compliance, selected at random three San Francisco companies to illustrate the underutilization of Orientals in specific job categories. The figures he gave were tabulated and set forth in Table 72.

Mr. Chin pointed out that the Orientals are conspicuously absent from the higher level management positions. In his six years of experience in the field of interethnic relations, he feels that the employment profiles reflected in the companies cited are not atypical.⁵

Female Underemployment

The most flagrantly underemployed are the Chinese females. Their plight has already been touched upon in many instances in this report, and Chapter VI is devoted exclusively to Chinese female employment. In spite of the high educational attainment (approximately one out of three has some college education or is a college graduate), the positions they occupy are lowly and the income they receive is deplorable. (See also Chapters IV and IX.) I risk being repetitive, but I do feel that I cannot emphasize too much the grossly inequitable situation of the Chinese female.

4. Ibid., II pp. 200 ff.

5. "Chinese in San Francisco, 1970," employment problems of the community as presented in testimony before the California Fair Employment Practices Commission, p. 14.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. In 1970, the unemployment rate for the Chinese in the United States was noticeably lower than that for whites or blacks.

2. The low unemployment rate may be attributed to the following:

a. The Chinese are conditioned to hard work by cultural and economic circumstances in their homeland.

b. They may have incurred large debts in coming to this country and must work extra hard to pay back the debts.

c. Because of the compelling urgency to earn a livelihood and because there is little choice, the Chinese are willing to take certain jobs that no one else wants. Such jobs are easy to come by.

d. Many jobs held by the Chinese are generated by the community and are community related.

e. Employment is oftentimes artificially shored up when times are bad. The unemployed are squeezed into going concerns until better times.

f. In Chinese enterprises, the partners are generally both employers and employees. In bad times, the partners tighten their belts, and in good times, they work a little harder.

3. The recent immigrants pose the most urgent unemployment problems. Their need for jobs is immediate. They have no Social Security or unemployment compensation cushion to fall back on. They have problems of language and adjustment. The recent immigrants are the priority group for employment attention.

4. Political refugees are suspended in a peculiar limbo, because employers think they do not have the right to seek employment in this country.

5. Women operatives have little difficulty finding employment.

6. In Hawaii, the young from age 16 to 24 are the most likely candidates for the ranks of the unemployed. In New York, the age range is 45 to 64. In Massachusetts, it shifts to 25 to 34--the worst possible age range for being unemployed.

7. In absolute numbers, New York City has the largest number

of idle youth not enrolled in school, not high school graduates, and not employed. The number is 245 out of a national total of 608.

8. For the Chinese, the underemployment problem is greater than that of unemployment.

9. Under the 1965 Immigration Act immigrants are granted preferential visas if they are highly educated or possess skills in short supply in this country, but due to the recentness of their arrival and their language difficulties, they invariably take low-paying and low-status jobs to meet their immediate economic needs.

10. The census shows that, once in a job, few Chinese move out of their occupations.

11. The native-born Chinese-American encounters different problems of underemployment. He is generally stuck at the entry level of professional positions.

12. Sometimes, deliberate attempts are made to keep highly qualified personnel from attaining professional status in order to obtain their services cheaply or for free.

13. Attention is being called again to the gross underemployment of Chinese females whose educational attainment is fairly high, but whose occupational status and income are very low.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Judging on the surface from the unemployment rates for the Chinese according to the 1970 census, the Chinese situation in comparison to other minority groups or to the national average looks wonderful. Most economists or manpower administrators would conclude that the Chinese are a model minority, a hard-working people, a group that takes care of its own, and, hence, no further attention need be directed toward them.

This viewpoint is fairly prevalent throughout American officialdom, and it explains why so few programs with such meager funding have been set up for the Chinese. In fact, most of the uplift projects initiated under the "Great Society" and "War on Poverty" programs are based on the prevalence of pathological conditions in the communities involved. If a group can show that it has three times the national unemployment rate, five times the crime rate, two times the broken family rate, one and a half times the school dropout rate, ad nauseum, the chances for obtaining governmental funding are excellent. And, the opposite holds true. If a people try to be self-sustaining, self-reliant, industrious, even to the extent of lowering their sights considerably and accepting work far beneath their qualifications so that they need not be unemployed or apply for welfare, they are overlooked, ignored, or bypassed.

In fact, the more vocal, activist members of the Chinese community are anxiously awaiting the results of this report. From rather cursory deduction of the overall census figures and from superficial studies of social scientists who are not really familiar with the customs, the ways, the thinking, and the history of the Chinese in the United States, it seems that another statistical study of the census would only reinforce the belief that the Chinese have no problems. They have already expressed these fears to me.

A New Policy

My first recommendation, therefore, is to look beyond the unemployment figures and interpret them in conjunction with the cultural background and special characteristics of the group involved. If the criteria for government funding, revenue sharing, or awarding of grants continues to be based exclusively upon pathology, then the desperate may feel that they have to adopt the tactics of the pathological in order to be heard. If the payoff comes from demonstrations, protests, rioting, violence, and such, the new breed of Chinese-Americans, who are imbued with the American outlook in many respects, may feel that this is the

only way to attract attention and, to get anything done. The fact that the government came running with fistfuls of money into Watts and Detroit and Bedford-Stuyvesant in the late 1960s has not been lost upon the youth of Chinatowns. Such tactics have been increasingly employed or advocated to bring about some amelioration of the intolerable conditions in San Francisco and New York's Chinatowns. At the same time, it does seem ironic that present-day government policy for service to its people operates on the basis of a reverse reward system.

Job Referrals

My second recommendation would be to provide more and better job referral services to the Chinese community. Specifically, in the larger Chinatowns, a branch of the Federal or State Employment Service should be set up with bilingual personnel who are fully cognizant of the language problems and special circumstances of the Chinese. These career counselors should make every effort to help the Chinese diversify into as many areas of employment as possible.

A good model for this type of branch office is the State Employment Service in San Francisco's Chinatown, under the directorship of Mr. Steve Lee, who has a staff of approximately twenty-five employment interviewers. Mr. Lee had been with the State Employment Department for more than a quarter of a century before he was asked to head the branch office, which opened in 1965. Each month he receives an average of about 500 applications for jobs and manages to fill about 150 of these. Mr. Lee feels that job placement of the recent immigrants is especially difficult for several reasons. One is that the Chinese applicants need a great deal of hand-holding. They are timid, fearful, and wary of going beyond the borders of Chinatown. A second reason is, of course, the language, and a third reason is the nontransferability of former skills. For example, a skilled midwife has no market for her services in the United States. A subsistence rice farmer from southern China would be totally lost on a mechanized farm where rice planting is done by airplanes.

Mr. Lee also operates a chef training program under a government EDA grant, at which each trainee is charged fifty dollars to attend school for a five and a half month period. These chefs are not trained to make chop suey and chow mein; rather they are taught the continental cuisine. After graduation, they are placed in hotels and name restaurants. "Good chefs can earn up to \$20,000 per year," said Mr. Lee, "and our trainees are accepted into the unions readily." Mr. Lee feels that his training program has been

highly successful.

In New York, where the number of immigrants coming into that city exceeds that of San Francisco by more than three times, there is no similar employment service branch in Chinatown. Outside of a few private employment agencies that handle restaurant personnel only, there are two agencies partially funded by the government. These are the Chinatown Planning Council, which is a multiservice agency that deals only peripherally with job referral, and the Chinatown Manpower Project, which is geared more to job training than to job referral.

Both these agencies are funded by private sources, contributions, and the government on a year-to-year basis. Some of the personnel are volunteers. Those who are salaried cannot commit themselves to any kind of continuity or look upon their service as a career. There is no question that service and morale could be greatly improved if the personnel could look upon their jobs as something more than a transient position, dependent upon the yearly renewal of the grant or the operating funds. That is why such an important service as job referrals for the Chinese should have some permanence and continuity. Incorporating it into the state or federal Employment Service and extending it to a group sorely in need of its services would have that effect. After all, that is the raison d'etre of the employment services in the first place.

In an interview with Mr. Paul Wong, the acting director of the Chinatown Manpower Project in New York, I learned that job applicants run to about 125 per week, but that placements average only about 15. The personnel in that office number one and a half placement counselors, one job developer, and one and a half vocational counselors. "The problem," says the director, "is that four people can only accomplish so much within a certain period of time."

Training Programs

The Chinatown Manpower Project in New York came into being in 1972 with the backing of such dedicated public servants as the Honorable Percy Sutton, Borough President of Manhattan; Commissioner Joseph Erazo, of the Manpower Development and Career Training Administration; Commissioner Lucille Rose, of the Human Resources Administration; and Bishop Paul Moore, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who generously donated the facilities of a four-story building at 46 Henry Street to house the program. The founding director and driving force behind the project was Ms. Nightingale Fong, who has moved on to become New York City deputy commissioner of employment.

From the beginning, the project was set up primarily to equip trainees with a basic set of skills so that they could take on a prescribed job. The subjects chosen were typing, bookkeeping, key-punch, and basic office practices. In the beginning, there were only slots for twenty trainees. By 1974, there were sixty trainees enrolled in these courses. The trainees receive a stipend of \$50 per week for living expenses. The program lasts from twelve to sixteen weeks. The students attend classes from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. daily. They are taught basic English and vocational guidance in addition to their lessons, and practice at the office machines. There are simulated job interviews, and the trainees are given pointers on how to dress and what to expect in a job interview. All books and supplies are provided free to the trainees.

As it is currently set up, the staff of the Manpower Project consists of the following: the director; placement counselor, one and a half; job developer, one; vocational counselor, one and a half; teachers, eight and a half; central information and liaison person, one; intake counselor, one.

The Chinatown Manpower Project in New York is only two years old, but it has already graduated about ten classes. Under the stipulations of government funding, the project must place 50 percent (the requirement now is 75 percent) of its trainees in jobs. This project has the proud record of 95 percent placement in non-traditional Chinese jobs. In looking over the lists of trainees, I noticed that the graduates of the program were placed in banks, insurance companies, the telephone company, computer centers, and the like. They were not graduated to compete again in the narrow and limited jobs with Chinese enterprises within the Chinatown community.

In spite of this outstanding record, I learned much to my disbelief that, to a large extent, the Chinatown Manpower Project funding has come from private sources. Through solicitation by the director, private companies such as IBM and RCA have pledged support of the program in various ways. For instance, IBM supplies the typewriters, keypunch machines, punch cards, and an instructor; RCA underwrote the costs of five other instructors. I mentioned previously that the Protestant Episcopal Church donated the use of the premises.

For this quality manpower training center, the project received from government sources a mere pittance of \$133,440 for the fiscal year 1973. Of course, the Chinese community is grateful that it has the center, and it can be proud of the fact that it has successfully solicited private sources of funding, but government funding has been token at best. Again, we come back to the question: must

a group be penalized for self-reliance, efficiency, and performance?

My third recommendation is, therefore, to the Department of Labor. It should underwrite broader-based training programs for the Chinese on a performance basis. If the community or director can come up with support from private sources, the government should reward such effort by coupling it to effort expended and results obtained. The worst possible policy would be to say, "The Chinese are doing a good job by themselves. We don't have to bother with them. Yes; they have an enormous problem of adjustment and transition, but they'll take care of their own." This attitude can only invite the type of protest and resentment that will manifest itself in undesirable ways.

A fourth suggestion would be to rectify the glaring omission of training programs geared more for the Chinese male. The subjects currently taught are entirely in the clerical field. They should be expanded to include training in the trades or crafts.

Remediation of Underemployment

To repeat, underemployment is a greater problem than unemployment for the Chinese. For example, political refugees are invariably persons with impressive backgrounds. The American people should try to utilize the services of these people to the fullest extent. Or take the example of the foreign-trained pharmacists: New York and Illinois are the only two states where their credentials are accepted for internship. Can the other forty-eight states justify their refusal to accept these skilled professionals trained abroad?

More attention should be paid to job referrals. Mr. Paul Wong, acting director of the Chinatown Manpower Project in New York, brought out the fact that those who come in to apply for jobs are generally highly skilled or educated people. About four out of five are of this caliber. These people do not need training except in English, and not necessarily in written English or grammar. What they need are jobs in their line of work. A job developer should devote intensive effort to locating jobs that need professionally trained people with a minimum command of spoken English or of public contact. Given time, these people will pick up enough of the language to function effectively. At the same time, they will be self-supporting, and the stipends that they might have received in retraining could be used for the job developer's salary instead.

The underemployment of the native-born Chinese-American or

those who have penetrated the higher occupation groups, but are stuck at the entry level, poses a different set of problems altogether. There is a matter of more aggressive effort to push ahead, to throw off the burden of past discrimination and stereotypes. Both these topics will be dealt with in greater length in Chapter XIV.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHINESE WORK ETHIC

The Purloined Work Ethic

While I was thumbing through some magazines in a waiting room one day, an article called "Protestant Ethic, Chinese Style" caught my eye. The writer of the article was recounting some of the evangelical attitudes toward work marveled at by visitors coming out of China. Nothing revolutionary about that, commented the writer. China just borrowed the Protestant ethic of hard work from the West. His exact words were less benign. I believe he said, ". . . the Chinese purloined our ethic. . . ." This writer reminded me of the period when Russia was reestablishing contact with the Western world after World War II and went about claiming credit for inventing everything imaginable.

Down through the ages, the Chinese people have known nothing but hard work. There was no other choice. When you must scrounge and scrape a bare livelihood from an overpopulated land, you become accustomed to toiling from sunup to sundown. As an undeveloped nation, China had neither enough capital nor enough land in the economic triad of productivity. All that was available was labor, and highly competitive labor at that. It was either work or starve. That was a lesson every Chinese learned very early in life and took with him wherever he went.

I can still remember the days when I was a little girl. My father opened his doors at six o'clock in the morning and closed them at ten o'clock at night. He operated a hand laundry like most Chinese in the United States did at that time. I recall how I always awoke to the swishing of the washing machine and the hum of its motors. We lived above the laundry, and the work was for-

1. Nation (August 2, 1971).

TABLE 73

EMPLOYED CHINESE WHO WORKED 40 OR MORE HOURS PER WEEK IN 1969, BY SEX

	Male		Female	
	40 hrs. or more	60 hrs. or more	40 hrs. or more	60 hrs. or more
a. Employed Persons 16 Years +	80%	12%	62%	6%
Professional and Technical Managers and Administrators	73	5	57	1
Salaried	93	2	82	25
Self-employed	91	7	70	0
Sales Workers	94	40	88	35
Clerical Workers	78	11	52	10
Graftsmen	71	4	57	3
Operatives	88	6	71	0
Food Industry	85	17	72	8
Apparel Industry	87	28	67	0
Laundry and Dry Cleaning	82	13	67	3
Laborers	92	42	91	50
Service Workers	60	4	60	0
Food Service	81	17	62	13
Private Household	82	19	60	16
	85	0	58	4

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

NOTE: Based on a 1 percent sampling.

*Subdivision of the 40-hours-or-more category.

ever in sight. After washing came the starching, after the starching came the drying, then the ironing, the folding, the sorting, and the wrapping. After dinner, it was time to sort the next day's wash and repeat the labors of the day before. Occasionally, my father sat down, rolled a cigarette, drank a cup of tea, then resumed his work. There was only a brief time out for meals.

This went on for six days a week. On Sunday, he opened from 9:00 A.M. to noon to accommodate the customers who came in for their packages, but we did no washing or ironing that day. After lunch, my father went off to Chinatown. Sometimes relatives came by to visit the family. Each week there was a half day of rest.

On holidays, we did not wash, but aside from these brief respites, the work continued the year around without vacation from one year to the next. In this fashion, my father raised his family of five children.

I just took a pencil and figured the hours that my father worked per week. It comes out to sixteen hours a day, six and a half days a week, a total of ninety-nine hours.

A 100-Hour Week.

The hours in restaurant work are just as long. My sister and brother-in-law were in that line of work. Their day started at 10:00 A.M., when they started to prepare for the day's luncheon. The restaurant opened up at 11:00 A.M. It closed at midnight, but there were invariably stragglers who took their time finishing their midnight snack. When my brother-in-law turned the key in the lock to the front doors, the help still had to mop the floors and clean the kitchen before they went home to sleep. At 6:00 A.M., my brother-in-law would call the meat and produce markets to order his supplies for the next day and then back to bed for another few winks before he got on the treadmill again.

The restaurant routine went on for seven days a week without ending. In the middle of the day, between lunch and dinner time, there was a lull, but the doors remained open. Restaurant working hours also ran close to 100 hours per week.

Backfire

Whenever I relate the above information to my children, they always counter with, "But Ma, that was in YOUR days." I realize now that the point I wanted to put across to them about how hard

my parents worked and how much we as children had to help out in the family business did not register with my children at all. Not only did it not register, it backfired. Not only did they not appreciate their life of relative ease, they just thought the old folks must have been pretty dumb clucks to have worked so hard.

Now, mind you, when I speak about a 100-hour week I am not referring to the Middle Ages. In 1938, one of the most "radical" pieces of legislation to come out of the New Deal was the Wage and Hour Law, which provided for a forty-four-hour maximum work week to be decreased to forty hours by 1940. At the same time, minimum wages were set at twenty-five cents an hour to be increased to forty cents by 1945. Today, the work week for white collar jobs is generally thirty-five hours and for blue collar workers, forty hours, but then electricians, I understand, have a twenty-hour week.

Not so for the Chinese. From Table 73 we see that they still put in long hard hours. An overwhelming proportion work forty hours or more, and a considerable proportion of both males and females work sixty or more hours. The ones who put in the longest hours are the self-employed managers and laundry operatives. The proportion of males who work less than thirty-five hours per week is less than one in six, and for females about one in four. Obviously, not too many are part-time workers. Nor does it look as if the women work much fewer hours at their jobs than do the men. About two out of five males who are self-employed put in more than sixty hours per week. We cannot tell from the census whether they put in as many as the ninety-nine hours that my father did in his laundry. The fact that up to one-half of the laundrymen still work over sixty hours testifies to their lives as continuous toil.

More Than You Think

On top of the long hours already reported on the census questionnaire, I suspect that the Chinese have not reduced their working hours per week to any appreciable degree, in spite of the changed attitude of the younger generations toward long hours. Let me tell you why I suspect this.

Ten thousand female operatives work for the garment industry. One of the advantages of working by piece work is the greater freedom that these women have in coming and going, which allows them to fit their working schedules with their domestic and maternal responsibilities. One would suspect that these women work to supplement their family incomes and that they would put in less hours than the usual forty. However, 67 percent stated that they work the full work week or more, and the probability is that they work more than

a forty-hour week.

The fact that they must conform to union regulations is still no deterrent. The unions try to enforce their regulations, but there are still many instances of women working behind locked doors on Saturdays and Sundays. The extra hours are not reported because they may be contrary to union rules.

Restaurants try to abide by the eight-hour regulations, but most employees in this line of work must put in six days a week with one day off during the week. That already makes the restaurant worker's week a forty-eight-hour one, but unless the business attracts a continuous clientele, it cannot afford two shifts of workers to cover luncheon and dinner. As a result, restaurant workers get what is known in the trade as a short-off. In other words, the worker's day is cut into two segments. He goes to work from eleven to two o'clock, takes off for three hours, and resumes work at five in the afternoon to cover the dinner hours. In sum, the restaurant worker's day is a very long one.

We have already mentioned in Chapter V the prevalence of double shifts and double jobs of many Chinese. The moonlighting may or may not be steady work, and is usually not reported to the Internal Revenue Service or to the Census Bureau.

Another predominant occupation of the Chinese population in the United States is in the field of education. To think that teachers or professors merely put in the prescribed hours in the classroom is extremely naive. Many hours are spent by conscientious teachers in drawing up their lesson plans, grading papers, and keeping up with developments in their profession. Professors spend an inordinate amount of time doing research and writing on top of their teaching duties. Few of these people ever stop to add up their work hours per week. I can say with absolute certainty that it exceeds the thirty-five or forty hours customarily comprising the work week.

In Chapter IV we also noted that the Chinese prolong their education far beyond the ordinary student's age. To my surprise I found that a large proportion of my students at City College of New York work at a full-time job. One young fellow played the drums all night in nightspots and came to my early class at 9:00 A.M. Another stacked groceries all night in a supermarket. A third worked for a utility company, but found time to do his studying on the job. A nineteen-year-old girl sold stockings every day from 3:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M.

The fact, therefore, that the family or personal incomes of

ANNUAL PERSONAL INCOME BY HOURS WORKED PER WEEK OF THE CHINESE, BY SEX, 1969

Income	Hours Worked Per Week													
	Worked 69		Under 15		15-34		35-39		40		41-48		49+	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Males 16 yrs. & Over														
\$1-999 or Loss	136,200	5.3	12,300	11.4	4,700	4.3	48,800	45.1	16,100	14.9	20,700	19.1		
\$1,000 - 1,999	15,700	34.4	1,500	24.6	0	0	1,700	27.9	400	6.6	400	6.6		
\$2,000 - 2,999	12,900	17.1	1,500	21.4	400	5.7	2,300	32.9	700	10.0	900	12.9		
\$3,000 - 3,999	10,500	7.8	2,000	26.0	200	2.6	1,800	23.4	1,500	19.5	1,600	20.8		
\$4,000 - 4,999	10,600	11.9	1,800	21.4	300	3.6	2,600	31.0	1,100	13.1	1,600	19.0		
\$5,000 - 6,999	9,300	1.4	1,200	16.2	200	2.7	3,600	48.6	1,000	13.5	1,300	17.6		
\$7,000 - 9,999	17,400	3.0	1,200	7.9	800	5.3	6,700	44.1	2,500	16.4	3,700	24.3		
\$10,000 - 14,999	21,000	1.0	1,300	6.7	1,300	6.7	9,100	46.9	3,200	16.5	4,300	22.2		
\$15,000 - 19,999	23,700	0.4	1,200	5.2	900	3.9	14,200	62.0	2,900	12.7	3,600	15.7		
\$20,000 - 29,999	8,800	1.2	300	3.5	200	2.3	4,300	50.0	1,800	20.9	1,900	22.1		
\$30,000 - 49,999	4,400	0	200	5.1	300	7.7	1,800	46.2	800	20.5	800	20.5		
\$50,000+	1,300	0	100	9.1	100	9.1	300	27.3	100	9.1	500	45.5		
	600	0	0	0	0	0	400	66.7	100	16.7	100	16.7		
Females 16 yrs. & Over														
\$1-999 or Loss	85,400	8.7	12,900	19.7	7,000	10.7	29,900	45.6	4,800	7.3	5,200	7.9		
\$1,000 - 1,999	15,200	32.6	2,400	27.9	400	4.7	1,800	20.9	300	3.5	900	10.5		
\$2,000 - 2,999	13,900	13.8	3,000	34.5	800	9.2	2,700	31.0	700	8.0	300	3.4		
\$3,000 - 3,999	9,100	7.0	1,700	23.9	700	9.9	2,700	38.0	1,000	14.1	500	7.0		
\$4,000 - 4,999	9,100	5.0	2,900	25.0	900	11.3	3,400	42.5	500	6.3	800	10.0		
\$5,000 - 6,999	9,400	5.4	900	12.2	800	10.8	4,400	59.5	200	2.7	700	9.5		
\$7,000 - 9,999	14,300	1.6	1,600	12.7	1,800	14.3	7,100	56.3	1,200	9.5	700	5.6		
\$10,000 - 14,999	9,200	1.2	600	7.1	1,200	14.3	5,400	64.3	100	1.2	1,000	11.9		
\$15,000 - 19,999	3,900	2.8	600	16.7	300	8.3	2,100	58.3	400	11.1	100	2.8		
\$20,000 - 29,999	700	0	0	0	0	0	300	50.0	100	16.7	200	33.3		
\$30,000 - 49,999	200	0	100	50.0	0	0	0	0	100	50.0	0	0		
\$50,000+	400	0	0	0	100	33.3	0	0	200	66.7	0	0		
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation (1970).

NOTE: Based on a 1-percent sampling.

the Chinese look rosier than the national average must be probed a little deeper to uncover some of the reasons contributing to the higher figures. Long hours are definitely an important factor. This statement is substantiated by the cross tabulation of personal income by hours worked per week of the Chinese. (See Table 74.)

The table is constructed to show a horizontal percentage by income group. The higher percentages are more toward the right-hand columns of longer work weeks. Again, an anomaly shows up in these figures. For instance, 45 percent of the males who earned \$30,000-\$49,999 put in more than forty-nine hours. On the other hand, every income bracket showed a large proportion who also put in forty-nine or more hours without improving their financial positions. The conclusion to be drawn from this data is that to earn more a Chinese must work longer hours, but longer hours do not necessarily result in a higher income.

Weeks Worked Per Year

There are only fifty-two weeks in a year. 61 percent of the Chinese males worked the full year. This percentage is much lower than 68 percent for white males and 71 percent for Japanese males. (See Table 75.) The figures do seem a bit low for the Chinese and appear somewhat out of character. Since the number of weeks worked includes paid vacations, we can interpret these figures to mean that the Chinese are not fully employed throughout the year. I do not rule out this conclusion. If so, then we see here a symptom of employment malaise. However, there may be some other plausible reasons.

Over 5 percent of the employed Chinese are educators who may be employed on a school-year basis, which is nine to ten months per year. It cannot be said that these people are working at less than full-time.

Another 10,000 Chinese females are in the garment industry, and they are paid on a piecework basis. The garment industry is seasonal. There are months when the new styles are coming out and the workers put in extra hours. Then come the slow periods and there is little or no work for weeks on end.

And, finally, we must remember the prolonged years of education, which prevent many a student from being employed for the full year.

In spite of the above explanations, the figures still appear disquieting and merit closer scrutiny to discover the underlying reasons why the Chinese work fewer weeks per year.

TABLE 75

COMPARISON OF WEEKS WORKED IN 1969 BY ETHNIC GROUP AND SEX

	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Spanish Surnamed</u>
<u>Males 16 Years and Over</u>					
50 - 52 weeks	61	71	68	58	62
27 - 49 weeks	22	16	19	27	24
26 weeks or less	17	13	13	15	14
<u>Females 16 Years and Over</u>					
50 - 52 weeks	42	52	44	43	39
27 - 49 weeks	30	25	27	32	29
26 weeks or less	28	22	29	26	32

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, U. S. Summary PC(1)C1, Table 93; Subject Report PC(2)1G.

Table 76 may give us some clue. It shows weeks worked by age group and sex. For males, the 35- to 64-year age groups seem fully employed. It is the teenage and early twenties age groups that work only part of the year.

The female work cycle is different. A woman's childbearing and childrearing role reduces her involvement in paid employment during the 20- to 44-year age group, and it is the middle-aged woman who is more able to devote full time to a job outside the home. This fact has always been apparent, but insufficient attention has been directed toward helping this segment of the labor force in its special circumstances.

Occupation and Weeks Worked

Is a full-year employment more common with certain occupations? From Table 77 we find that laborers, salespersons, operatives, clerical workers, and service workers are more likely to have a shorter work year. Positions in these job categories have traditionally been more unstable with a higher rate of part-time work and turnover.

A pattern appears when we scrutinize the weeks worked for selected cities of Chinese concentration. The SMSAs with the larger proportion of recent Chinese immigrants, such as Boston and New York City, find that their employed labor force works a shorter work year than more established communities like Honolulu and Washington, D.C. (See Table 78.)

How do we reconcile the long work week and the short work year for the Chinese? Reviewing the situation in light of the general economic conditions for 1969, we must take into account that the year preceding the 1970 census was a recession year. However, if employees are eager to work and to work long hard hours when they are holding a job but are not sure of having year-round employment, then we have uncovered another symptom of employment ills.

Hard Work Out of Style?

Is hard work going out of style? It does seem that way with high rates of absenteeism, idle youth, clock-watchers, three-day weekends, job dissatisfaction, unreliable help, and increasing welfare rolls. I already mentioned that when I broached the subject of hard work, my children found the thought of working long hours stupid and the idea of working the year round without letup unthinkable.

TABLE 76

WEEKS WORKED BY CHINESE EMPLOYED 16 YEARS AND OVER, BY SEX AND AGE GROUP, 1969

Weeks Worked	Total 16 Yrs & Over					
	16-19 Yrs	20-24 Yrs	25-34 Yrs	35-44 Yrs	45-64 Yrs	65+ Yrs
<u>Males Employed</u>	132,516	17,889	30,778	30,096	38,182	4,811
50-52 Weeks	81,166	5,230	20,111	23,327	28,221	2,619
27-49 Weeks	28,856	4,871	7,302	5,476	7,606	1,158
26 Weeks or Less	22,494	7,788	3,365	1,293	2,355	1,034
<u>Percent Males Employed</u>						
50-52 Weeks	61.2%	29.2%	65.3%	77.5%	73.9%	54.4%
27-49 Weeks	21.8%	27.2%	23.7%	18.2%	19.9%	24.1%
26 Weeks or Less	17.0%	43.5%	10.9%	4.3%	6.2%	21.5%
<u>Females Employed</u>	83,821	16,439	18,862	17,612	20,066	1,854
50-52 Weeks	35,146	4,751	8,151	9,322	11,195	686
27-49 Weeks	25,500	4,931	6,282	5,381	6,122	666
26 Weeks or Less	23,175	6,757	4,429	2,909	2,749	502
<u>Percent Females Employed</u>						
50-52 Weeks	41.9%	28.9%	43.2%	52.9%	55.8%	37.0%
27-49 Weeks	30.4%	30.0%	33.3%	30.6%	30.5%	35.9%
26 Weeks or Less	27.6%	41.1%	23.5%	16.5%	13.7%	27.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)IG (1970).

NOTE: Based on a 20 percent sampling.

TABLE 77

WEEKS WORKED BY EMPLOYED CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES,
BY OCCUPATION, SEX, AND PERCENT, 1969

	Weeks Worked in 1969											
	50 - 52		40 - 49		27 - 39		14 - 26		1 - 13			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employed Persons 16 Years +	71%	44%	13%	21%	7%	16%	8%	11%	1%	8%		
Professional and Technical Managers and Administrators	85	93	13	3	1	3	0	0	1	0		
Sales Workers	64	59	16	14	9	11	7	5	5	11		
Clerical Workers	62	59	14	18	7	5	7	10	11	8		
Craftsmen	86	50	8	17	4	17	2	0	0	17		
Operatives	63	44	15	29	8	14	6	8	7	5		
Transport Operatives	80	0	13	0	7	0	0	0	0	0		
Laborers	57	80	11	0	7	0	11	0	14	20		
Farm Workers	78	25	0	25	11	0	11	25	0	25		
Service Workers	64	52	16	19	8	14	8	14	4	1		
Private Household Workers	83	23	17	15	0	31	0	8	0	23		

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

NOTE: Based on a 1 percent sampling.

TABLE 78

WEEKS WORKED IN 1969 BY THE CHINESE IN THE U.S.
FOR SELECTED SMSAS, BY SEX

SMSA	Total 16+	50-52 Wks.	%	27-49 Wks.	%	26 Wks. or Less	%
Males 16 Yrs.+							
Boston	3,929	2,014	51.3	988	25.1	927	23.6
Chicago	3,828	2,396	62.6	863	22.5	569	14.9
Honolulu	14,065	10,726	76.3	1,606	11.4	1,733	12.3
L.A.-Long Beach	12,759	7,954	62.3	2,777	21.8	2,028	15.9
N.Y.C.	23,405	13,181	56.3	6,602	28.2	3,622	15.5
Sacramento	2,948	1,955	66.3	488	16.6	505	17.1
S.F.-Oakland	25,891	15,698	60.6	5,859	22.6	4,334	16.7
San Jose	2,704	1,741	64.4	495	18.3	468	17.3
Seattle-Everett	2,327	1,379	59.3	601	25.8	347	14.9
D.C.-Md.-Va.	2,387	1,717	71.9	352	14.7	318	13.3
Females 16 Yrs.+							
Boston	2,510	836	33.3	922	36.7	752	30.0
Chicago	2,284	883	38.7	828	36.3	573	25.1
Honolulu	10,399	6,163	59.3	1,941	18.7	2,295	22.1
L.A.-Long Beach	8,305	3,284	39.5	2,731	32.9	2,290	27.6
N.Y.C.	14,096	5,675	40.3	5,256	37.3	3,165	22.5
Sacramento	2,118	721	34.0	449	21.2	948	44.8
S.F.-Oakland	19,213	8,018	41.7	6,296	32.8	4,899	25.5
San Jose	1,480	548	37.0	415	28.0	517	34.9
Seattle-Everett	1,449	568	39.2	493	34.0	388	26.8
D.C.-Md.-Va.	1,642	722	44.0	425	25.9	495	30.1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970).

NOTE: Based on a 20 percent sampling.

They have the luxury of this attitude at present. Will they be able to afford the same attitude when duty, obligation, and necessity replace parental support? Or have these values also gone out of style?

A survey by Daniel Yankelovich found that "students, by and large, no longer subscribe to the traditional view that hard work will pay off. Nor do they regard work as an important value. Yet in spite of these feelings, there is no visible sign of any increased tendency toward avoiding hard work as a necessary part of life."² In the same survey, 37 percent did not believe that duty comes before pleasure.

Eli Ginzberg, chairman of the National Manpower Advisory Committee and consultant to six presidents on manpower policy, rejects the notion that people no longer want to work hard. He feels that the conditions of our lives have changed. Social and welfare benefits have liberated people from working solely to satisfy their basic needs. People now want control over their own lives. "It is not that people have gotten lazy; rather they like the notion that they're not beholden to their present boss for their future to the same extent that workers once were." He feels that people will work hard if they have an opportunity to get something for working.³

Do the poor want to work? This was the topic of a study conducted by the Brookings Institution. One of the questions asked was, "Supposing that somebody just gave you the money you needed every week; would you like this better than working?" More than 72 percent of all groups responding said that they would rather be working. The poor consistently expressed the view that education and hard work were the means to get ahead.⁴

Then how is it that Studs Terkel can write a huge, fat volume based on interviews with people from all walks of life and come to the conclusion that most of the 85 million white- and blue-collar workers in this country hold jobs which make them sick?

2. Daniel Yankelovich Inc., The Changing Values on Campus, Survey for the John D. Rockefeller, III Fund (N.Y.: Washington Square Press, 1972), p. 30.

3. Interview with Eli Ginzberg, "Is Hard Work Going Out of Style?" in U.S. News and World Report (August 23, 1971), pp. 52-56.

4. Leonard Goodwin, Do the Poor Want Work? (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1972).

Workers suffer from headaches, backaches, ulcers, alcoholism, drug addiction, and even nervous breakdowns, all because they find their work unsatisfying and consider it "another form of violence." After three years of research, Terkel reports that most of the people he interviewed found their work monotonous or painful.⁵

Even without the benefit of interviews, surveys, and studies, most of us will agree that present day job performance leaves much to be desired. And while we rail at the other person's indifference, we rationalize our own slack. For instance, the man who takes the Monday off to go skiing will level his choicest obscenities toward the automobile factory worker when his brand new Chevrolet breaks down en route to the ski lodge. The new bride who feigns sickness to stay home from the office for a furniture delivery is infuriated when her sofa does not arrive on the date promised because the truckmen obtained tickets for the World Series and did not show up for work. And so on, down the line.

Most people need an occupation. We are programmed since infancy to look upon a career or occupation as a source of livelihood and as a respectable means of engaging our time. However, we may find very distasteful the tasks we must perform within that occupation, unless we find other purposes and other meanings in those chores.

Charles Reich, in his book, The Greening of America, blames the media and advertisers for job dissatisfaction. Through television and the "slicks," the public is persuaded to believe in the principle of hedonism. Pleasure is found in sex, material possessions, and excitement. "We are no longer expected to find work happy or satisfying. There is, for example, no advertising designed to create pride in craftsmanship or in a worker's self discipline. Nor is anyone convinced that he should work for the good of the community."⁶

Attitude of Chinese toward Work

The stereotype of the Chinese is that he is a hard worker; he is a reliable worker; he works long hours without letup or complaint. I think our census data bear this out. For this group, the conditioning of the old country still prevails. For most, the problem of economic survival or security is their uppermost concern. They have little choice. They must compensate for their disadvantaged

5. Studs Terkel, Working (New York: Pantheon, 1974).

6. Charles Reich, The Greening of America (New York: Random House, 1970).

position by having more people in the family work, by working longer hours, by ~~working at more than one job.~~

Do they enjoy their work? Are they less disenchanted than the workers Studs Terkel interviewed? After I had left home and gone to college, I used to look back at our family life and marvel at the stamina that my parents exhibited. And I believe it was the norm for their compatriots in this country at the time. I never realized the depths to which my father hated the work he did for more than thirty years of his life. This feeling was revealed to me when I went back to Hong Kong to visit him after his retirement. Yet, I do not recall that he ever slackened his pace, slept late just because he was too tired, or took off a day other than a holiday.

What kept him going when he was bone-tired and sick of the monotony and drudgery of his work? I can venture my own opinion: livelihood, duty, and future goal. The simple reality was that there was little else for a Chinese to do at the time, and duty bound him to support his family to the best of his ability. But I suspect that what kept my father going was the thought that in the future, when he had laid an economic base, he could cast off his yoke. Providence was good to him in that his plans bore fruit. My father bought a building in Hong Kong after his retirement and lived off the rents for the remaining twenty years of his life. The work-horse image that I carried of him was dispelled completely when I saw how much he, too, knew how to enjoy economic freedom and leisure.

The Past Is Past

Perhaps I am reminiscing about a bygone era and different circumstances. Formerly, the Chinese in the United States was a sojourner. He planned for his eventual return to a land where his status was more assured. Today's Chinese are transplants. They have cast their future in the United States, but they are no longer sure that a pot of gold is going to be at the end of their working days. The rewards are more uncertain; the prospects more illusory.

As Eli Ginzberg said, "People do not mind working hard if they have the opportunity to get something for working." People do not shun work if work is fulfilling, for as one sage remarked, "By labor wisdom gives poignancy to pleasure, and by pleasure she restores vigor to labor."

Our forebears were haunted by the specter of economic insecurity and bound by the strong bonds of duty. The upcoming

generations of Chinese-Americans are being brought up in a climate that takes affluence for granted. Yes, even some of the young Chinese immigrants whose fathers came to this country ahead of their families feel this way. The children did not see their fathers toil and sweat at their labors. They cashed the remittance checks sent back to Hong Kong, which with a favorable rate of exchange afforded the overseas Chinese families a relative degree of affluence.

It is not the color of the skin or national origin that determines a person's attitude toward work. It is the circumstances and conditions surrounding one's upbringing. Those who are reared with the specters of hunger and want stalking them are compelled to put their noses to the grindstone. In this country, we now have social benefits which reduce this insecurity, so it is inevitable that the intensity of work effort is correspondingly reduced.

Career Choices

This freedom from the shackles of want and duty in the choice of occupation was quite apparent in the study done by Daniel Yankelovich. Of the 1,244 students he surveyed he found the following goals in determining career choices, in order of importance: chance to make a contribution; challenge of the job; ability to express yourself; free time for outside interest; opportunity to work with other people--not manipulate them; security; money; chance to get ahead; family and job prestige. It is interesting to note that security and money fall at the lower end of the scale of goals.

In a questionnaire that I handed out to a group of young Asian MBA (Master of Business Administration) students from Eastern Seaboard colleges at a conference held at Columbia University in 1974, I elicited some inkling of what these budding businessmen considered personal success. They were given five choices to rank in order of importance: \$50,000 a year; high policy-making position; doing something worthwhile; doing what you enjoy doing; making a name for yourself. The stand-out criterion of success was high policy-making position, followed by doing something worthwhile, and then doing what you enjoy doing. The \$50,000 was in the middle. The prestige or name came last.

Thirty-five of the respondents out of a total of forty-nine

7. Yankelovich, Op. cit., p. 47.

were foreign-born Asians. Yet their aspirations did not differ much from the students from Mr. Yankelovich's sample. The opportunity to make decisions and to feel that one's work is worthwhile are more important than the money or the prestige.

B.W. was my student in his freshman year. He was a very outspoken and idealistic young man. The late sixties and early seventies were the peak years of campus unrest, and the number of students who did not question the status quo were few and far between. Let me state for the record that B.W. was a fairly vocal dissenter.

After he had finished my class, I did not see him for more than three years. Then one day he came by my office to say good-bye. "I'm graduating," he announced. I could not believe that the years had gone by so swiftly, but B.W. had changed so much he was almost like a different person. He was neater. He had even grown taller. He was deferential, and the way he talked showed that he had matured a great deal over the three years. B.W. was twenty-four years old. He had come to the United States at age thirteen, and he spoke with a slight accent. We had a long talk, and he told me his plans for the future. The reason I had not seen him around campus was that for his last year he had been working full time during the day and finishing up his course work at night. He was studying electrical engineering, and he worked for a electric company repairing transformers, starting at \$170 per week. He was then earning \$200. As soon as he graduated, his salary would be upped to \$220.

"Looks like you're all set," I commented. "Do you like your work?"

"It's an easy job," he replied. "The reason why I could work full time was that I had plenty of time to do my homework on company time. The first day I went to try out for the job, I repaired four transformers that day, even without experience. I could do ten now, but I only do one or two."

My interest was piqued. "Why?" I asked.

"Well, when I first went there, I tried to do my best, and my fellow workers came up to me and said, 'What are you trying to prove?' I didn't want to get on the bad side of my fellow workers, so I slowed down. The supervisor doesn't complain. He's very satisfied with my work. I think I would like to go into research and development. If I felt I were on the tail of something interesting, I would work day and night. And if I came up with a new development, I could demand an increase in pay, a promotion, or

start looking elsewhere."

I am not going to classify B.W. as a slacker--he worked at a full-time job and carried a full course load in college. B.W. is playing the game according to the rules. He is a motivated and intelligent young man. He is moving ahead and he is setting his sights on the next goal to be attained. He went through the usual stages of probing and questioning when he was growing up, and he adapted easily to the circumstances at hand. I don't think he will ever take a subservient stance because he is quite confident of his own ability.

The difference between the old work ethic and the new stems from the change in our economic circumstances and our outlook on life. In former days, work was looked upon as an end in itself. Today, work is the means to an end and is not the sole pursuit in life. This is a societal change that the younger generations are grappling with and trying to bring about.

Can Chinese youth help but be affected by the social milieu in which they live? As they are removed in time from the immigrant generation, they too will take on American values and will exhibit a lower intensity of work effort. Let me give several specific examples I encountered in dealing with my students at City College.

In late spring of 1972, I received a call from a government personnel officer who told me she had six typist jobs for the summer. She inquired whether any of my students would be interested in applying. Frankly, I was very excited about the offer because summer jobs are not exactly the easiest to get, and I thought that among my students there would be a number who would jump at the opportunity. At least that is how I erroneously viewed the situation. I took my student roster and called six persons immediately. The general reaction was: "Typing! I don't want to type." Not one of the six exhibited the least interest. They wanted to work at something more exciting.

I received a circular announcing a position in Washington, D.C., with the Civil Rights Commission. I wanted to recommend one of my very bright students who was extremely active in Asian-American affairs on campus. I felt that the position was tailored-made for him and that, if he really wanted to work for the cause of Asian Americans, here was his chance to demonstrate his zeal in a position where he could bring about change. He refused to apply, although he said the job appealed to him because he did not want to leave his friends in New York.

I visited a community program set up by the Neighborhood Youth

Corps one summer. The intent of the program was "to keep the youngsters off the streets." A number of young lads and girls whom I recognized were there. It was a very hot afternoon, and some of the young men were stripped to the waist and sprawled out in the seats or on the benches. There was not the slightest sign of any activity.

"What are you doing here?" I asked.

"We work here," I was told.

"Really! What kind of work do you do?"

"We stay off the streets."

That may have been a facetious remark, but, in looking back at the event, I presume these young people had fulfilled the intent of the program.

Work Is Saintly

Industry is a commendable trait, and it is fast becoming a scarce one. But even good things can be overdone, and the Chinese tend to overdo in this area. If we are immigrants from China, we are too recently removed from the fear of dire want to be indolent. If we have grown up in this country, we are just as recently removed from the injustices of racism, prejudice, and discrimination. All are haunting specters. We are like squirrels let loose in a pile of acorns in autumn. Never have we had such an opportunity to make money, so we work without ceasing to store up our acorns for the winter.

We are so ingrained with equating saintliness with work that we also equate idleness or leisure with sin. Imbued with these values as conditioned by our circumstances and environment, we carry them throughout our lifetimes, and we are self-propelled, driven mainly by our sense of insecurity.

In a visit to a Chinatown garment factory, I saw the women sitting on the edge of their seats, itching to get at their sewing machines. It was almost one o'clock and the end of the lunch hour. Union regulations decree that no one may work during the lunch period and all machines must be closed. But instead of utilizing the lunch hour to get away from their work, to eat a leisurely meal, or to relax a bit, a number of women utilized their lunch hour to ready their garments in preparation for the clock to strike one when they could open their machines again. They were paid by

the piece and they were racing against themselves. These women reminded me of race horses straining against the reins at the starting gate.

I have a Chinese neighbor who used to be a designer for one of the largest department stores in the country. By profession, he is also an architect. During the weekdays, he works full time as a designer. At night, he works on commissions as an architect. In payment for redecorating it, he acquired shares in a restaurant at which he works as a maitre d' on weekends. Actually, one income would have sufficed for this gentleman's family expenses, but this way his time was totally taken up by his work, leaving very little time for him to spend with his wife and children.

Insecurity

One of the leading complaints that my students voice against their parents is that they are money hungry. There is a great deal of hidden resentment that the parent's love of money is greater than their love for their children. Of course, the parents feel that their toil is to provide a security cushion for the children, but I think the children would rather have more of their parents' time and attention. The generation gap between parent and child in the Chinese family is already very wide, and we are seeing the manifestations of that gap in behavior problems of the young people. I do not know to what extent the work habits of the older generations can be changed. If they cannot, the younger generations, who are more flexible, must try to understand the thinking and conditioning of their elders.

The Chinese are also driven by fear of losing their jobs. When they work, they work long, hard hours, but for one-sixth of the Chinese males who worked twenty-six weeks or less per year, it may be a feast-or-famine situation. The census data is not detailed enough to support this conclusion, but this clue may be symptomatic. It is recommended that further inquiry or a closer look be taken at the extent of and reason for the part-time employment of the Chinese.

Overcompensation

It is not just that the Chinese equate industry and hard work with saintliness, it is also that they cannot afford to be mediocre, or to let their guard down, that they must uphold the good image of family and national group, that one bad egg spoils the broth for all Chinese. Combined, these psychological burdens

constitute a heavy yoke to bear.

R.C. stood up in class one day and told about his experience when he went to apply for a Christmas job at M. Department Store. He had just joined a long line of applicants when the personnel officer came out of his office and walked up and down the line, pulling out all the Chinese applicants who had gone with R.C. to apply for jobs. "You, you, and you," he said, "are hired." He had not even looked at their applications,

"Why?" inquired R.C.

"All Chinese are good workers," replied the personnel officer.

R.C. and his companions did not refuse the jobs, but they felt that they had to measure up to a certain expectation. They had an image to uphold and could never feel free to let their guard down. If someone did not fit into the mold, the general comment would be, "You are not like a Chinese."

Good or Bad?

Commenting on the work ethic of the Chinese or any other group of people involves a value judgment whether it is good or bad to keep one's nose to the grindstone, to feel obligated to do one's best, or to have the freedom to take one's job in stride and work at one's own will and pace. The answer may depend upon which side of the fence we are on, whether we are the employer or employee.

The work ethic may also involve a cultural background or heritage. People from the southern climes are inclined to take things easier because of the hot weather. Two thousand six hundred years ago, Confucius had already laid down a body of ethics for China, and this is what he had to say about indolence:

"A lazy person is like a piece of rotten wood.
It cannot be carved."

Edwin Markham, an American poet, cried out in protest when he saw Millet's famous painting, "The Man with the Hoe," which shows a farm laborer gnarled and bent from his work in the field. He penned his famous poem with the same title. Markham viewed this man as slightly below the angels, thus his anguish at seeing this noble creature of God's creation as "a brother to the ox" and "a slave to the wheel of labor." He asked:

"Is this the Thing the Lord God made and gave
To have dominion over sea and land;
To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;
To feel the passion of Eternity?"

Somewhere between Markham and Confucius, there must be a
happy medium.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. The Chinese were conditioned by economic necessity in their homeland to hard work and long hours.
2. 100-hour weeks were quite common in the traditional occupations of laundries, restaurants, and small business enterprises.
3. Long hours are still the rule, rather than the exception, among the Chinese today.
4. Moonlighting, or having a second or third job, is fairly common also.
5. When calculated in terms of hours worked, the hourly income rate of the Chinese appears less favorable than the total income figures would indicate.
6. The work year is shorter for the Chinese in comparison with other ethnic groups. Only 61 percent worked the 50- to 52-week years. Even worse, one out of six males worked 26 hours or less. This is a rather large percentage who worked only half the time during the year 1969.
7. The attitude toward hard work and long hours is changing, especially among the younger generations, who view work in a different light from their parents.
8. In spite of growing worker alienation toward their jobs, the findings from many studies indicate that people do not shun work, they just want more control over their own lives.
9. The stereotype of the Chinese is that he is an industrious worker. The census figures bear this out, if the long hours are any indication. This does not mean, however, that the Chinese is any happier in his work. The necessity of earning a livelihood, the strong sense of duty, and his dreams for the future sustain him in his daily drudgery. These values are diminished: (a) when social and welfare programs afford the present generations an alternative which permit them to deemphasize the importance of work; (b) when the value of work is fragmented and the role of the worker is splintered and denigrated; (c) when the purpose of the work is obscure or runs counter to humanistic values.
10. The heavy influx of immigrants from China will sustain the reputation of the Chinese as a hard-working group, but the longer they are here in this country, the more likelihood of their adopting the prevailing American values toward work.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I stood at the corner of Main Street and Northern Boulevard in Flushing, New York one day and watched the parade of humanity go by. Somebody looking at me would say I was idling, but I was observing people at work.

A taxi cut off my view. The driver looked sullen and surly. I wondered if he enjoyed driving a cab. A truck driver came next, perched high on his seat. He reminded me of a little boy at play. The pizza man in the store behind me was throwing his dough in the air, slapping and stretching it as he worked it into a crust. A telephone installer was catching forty winks in his truck. Disposable black plastic bags full of garbage were piled high on the sidewalk, waiting for the garbage-men to come by. They are not called garbage men any more; the correct euphemism is sanitary engineers.

I spied an older woman on the telephone in the real estate office. It looked as if she was hot on the trail of a sale. A young girl in the same office sat in front of her typewriter. Her attention was focused on the young man seated to her right. Several men were standing against the wall of a furniture store. They seemed in no hurry to go anywhere or do anything.

This busy corner of a bustling metropolis reflected the spectrum of work attitudes. The garbage, for instance. I believe the starting salary for sanitary engineers today is \$12,000. For that money, New York City should have top-notch, conscientious men. There is no shortage of men applying for the jobs, but the work remains so distasteful and low status that New York has been called one of the dirtiest cities in the world.

There are some jobs that no one likes to do; for example, stoop labor, cleaning public toilets, filing cards day after day. Who is going to do the menial work? In the past, those who could afford it hired others to do the jobs they did not want to do. Conquerors enslaved the conquered for these tasks. The white Europeans subjugated the colored races on their own soil and relegated them to the lowly tasks, while the lords and masters wore white suits, lived in their manors, and issued orders. Slavery in the South was a manifestation of the white man's distaste for the back-breaking work of growing cotton and tobacco. He sought some method to get out of it and slavery was his answer. The whole history of Asian immigrants to the American West is but another manifestation of the white man's disdain for such menial work as cultivation of crops, ditch digging to reclaim tidelands, laying railroad tracks, cooking meals, and washing clothes. The white man was caught on the horns of a dilemma: he did not want

the yellow or brown man around, yet he could not do without him because of the many chores that he performed.

With the rise of the masses and the rising consciousness of the black, yellow, brown, and red men, the distasteful jobs can no longer be pushed on to the shoulders of the colored races. But the question remains: Who is going to do the unpleasant jobs?

We saw from Mr. Yankelovich's survey and my questionnaire that almost everyone likes to give orders and enjoy what he is doing. There must be someone on the other end to receive and carry out the order. Perhaps the Chinese on the mainland have come up with some answers. Here are some of the methods they use:

1. Ascribe new status to manual work. The laborer, the farmer, the working man are glorified. The parasite is not allowed to exist. The position of being a former landowner or progeny of the leisure class is now an onus that is borne heavily.

2. Rotate work. Every worker must leave his regular job for a specified time and either work on the farm, work in a factory, or do his daily stint in an unpleasant but necessary task. For instance, doctors, professors, storekeepers, nurses; et alia, may be assigned to bring in their quota of cow dung or horse manure from the droppings on the streets. The streets are cleaned and the droppings are added to the fertilizer stocks.

3. The existence of an intellectual elite or any other privileged class is being nullified by such policies as decreeing that all students must, after graduation from high school, put in a two-year tour of duty on the farm or in a factory. By being in the shoes of these people; the learned come to appreciate firsthand the problems of the laboring people.

4. Work in teams. When a project needs to be done, large groups of people are mobilized at once and the task is attacked in full force. If an irrigation ditch must be dug, a date is set, the people informed, the gong sounded, and everyone is mobilized for the job at hand. This generates a cooperative spirit and because everyone else is working, an individual is less apt to shirk his duty.

5. Give purpose and direction to work. There must be dedication to a cause. The cause may be for God, for country, for mankind, to make the world safe for democracy, to rid the country of imperialists, to give our children the privileges we never had-- the list is endless. Again, let us recall that doing something worthwhile is the second strongest work motivation.

6. Encourage self-criticism and group struggle. Work groups meet periodically to review performance. Each person assesses his own contribution to see if he has done his best. Then his peers judge and criticize him. By these cathartic and scrutinizing routines the individual is goaded on to better performance.

These are some of the methods used in China, where distinction between classes is being reduced to ensure that one group does not use or exploit another, and that the pleasant and unpleasant tasks are shared.

I am not recommending that we adopt any of the above or that they are applicable in this country. Many, in fact, are not simply because we emphasize individualism over the social group or community. But China has come up with new ways of dealing with a revolutionized classless society, the feverish pace at which China is forging ahead is not due to a work ethic purloined from the West.

CHAPTER XII

SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND SMALL BUSINESS

Not Qualified for a Job

The day after the funeral, late at night, Mrs. Chin sat at the kitchen table, wondering how she was going to manage without her husband. Mentally, she took stock of herself. She was fifty-eight years old; she could barely read and write in Chinese, let alone in English; she had no skills and no qualifications. All her life she had depended upon her husband, who was a chef, and his savings and insurance were skimpy at best. Her daughter sat hunched over in the upholstered chair, her head between her knees. Perhaps they were thinking about the same thing. The daughter might have to drop out of school and find a job. It pained Mrs. Chin to think about it, and the words would not form on her lips to broach the subject to the girl.

The next day, Mrs. Chin went to visit a friend, a woman who was known for her generous nature in helping others with problems. In her, Mrs. Chin confided her predicament. The Helpful Lady listened attentively and asked Mrs. Chin if she would be willing to work so that her daughter could finish her schooling. "Of course," replied Mrs. Chin, "but what can I do? Who would hire an ignorant old woman like me?"

"How about peddling some small items?" suggested the Helpful Lady. "I will take you to a wholesaler where you can buy some small things. We'll go to the city government and apply for a peddler's license. You won't risk much, and you can try it out."

At the wholesaler's, they settled on men's belts and ladies' earrings. The belts cost twelve dollars a dozen and the earrings six dollars a dozen. They took two dozen each and bought a small suitcase and a stand. Mrs. Chin was instructed to stand in front of a busy department store with her wares. In a few hours, Mrs. Chin had disposed of all her stock at a 100 percent markup. In

one day, Mrs. Chin had grossed \$36, more than she would have earned in any type of job. At the end of the week, she came to the Helpful Lady again to ask her help in opening a bank account, into which she deposited \$200.

Mrs. Chin was soon able to replenish her stock on her own, and she began to branch out into other items on different days: Sometimes it was men's or ladies' scarves; sometimes it was small toys; sometimes it was umbrellas. Mrs. Chin loved her work. She enjoyed being among people. All the English she needed was the price of the item she was selling. She paid cash for her stock and, when an item did not sell, she returned it to the supplier who gave her something else in exchange. She was in business for herself, and her livelihood was assured.

A job is not the answer for everybody. To have a job is to perform a service for someone else in exchange for a wage or salary. This someone else (the employer) must have come to the conclusion that the employee possesses a combination of knowledge, skills, and time on which he can capitalize to earn a profit. He minimizes his risk by hiring those who can show that they have the necessary basic qualifications. The chances are minimal that an old, ignorant woman who has never worked before will be hired. The best recourse for Mrs. Chin, therefore, was to employ herself.

Work for Self or Work for Others

"I've worked for large companies, and I've worked for small companies, but I like to work for me best." This statement expresses the attitude of another type of person who prefers being self-employed to working for someone else.

In a study undertaken at Michigan State University, entitled "The Enterprising Man," it was found that men who strike out on their own in private enterprises are somewhat different from those who are employed. The former cannot live within a framework of occupational behavior set up by others. He is more likely to be a loner; steeped in middle-class values; willing to work long, hard hours; has organizing abilities; craves upward mobility, power and status; is unwilling to submit to authority; can bounce back quickly after reverses; is competitive in action and attitudes; has initiative and drive; and probably comes from a rural, rather than an urban, background. The industry, drive, thrift, endurance, and agrarian background of the Chinese closely resemble the personality traits of the enterprising man. And to the ambitious person stuck at a certain level in the organizational hierarchy, the only way to go up may be to start one's own business.

No Choice But . . .

The Second Constitution of California, drawn up in 1879, "forbids all corporations to employ any Chinese, debars them from the suffrage . . . forbids their employment on any public works, annuls all contracts for 'coolie labor,' directs the legislature to provide for the punishment of any company which shall employ Chinese, to impose conditions on the residence of Chinese, and to cause their removal if they fail to observe these conditions."¹

In 1928, the Stanford University Placement Service stated, "It is almost impossible to place a Chinese or Japanese of either the first or second generation in any kind of position, engineering, manufacturing or business. Many firms have general regulations against employing them; others object to them on the grounds that the other men employed by the firms do not care to work with them."²

Until very recently, white firms simply did not hire Chinese employees. There was no choice but for the Chinese to create their own jobs by setting up small service or business enterprises. Until recently, small business has been the rule, rather than the exception, in the employment pattern of the Chinese in the United States.

Spared the Indignity of Groveling for a Job

The private enterprise pattern of employment made the Chinese different from other ethnic or minority groups who relied more heavily upon working for others for a living. Ling Liu, in his book, Chinese in North America,³ estimated that there were 10,000 laundries, 4,300 restaurants, and 2,000 groceries operated by the Chinese in continental United States. These were the three main occupations of the Chinese, and they took the form of self-owned and operated private businesses, generally run as individual or family enterprises.

In my book, Mountain of Gold, I compared the experiences of

1. James Bryce, The American Commonwealth (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1927), p. 439.

2. Eliot G. Mears, Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 200.

3. Op. cit. (Privately published in Chinese, 1949).

the Yugoslav immigrants and the blacks with that of the Chinese. The former sold their labor to the construction and mining companies in Pennsylvania, and employment depended upon seasonal fluctuation and the whims of the construction bosses. Strikes and layoffs meant uncertainty of income, insecurity of job tenure, hunger, and want.

Black ownership of private businesses was almost nil, even in their own ghettos. This total economic dependence upon the white man held the black man down and perpetuated his inferior status. Not that laundry or restaurant work is less menial than that of janitor, ditch digger, field hand, miner, or construction worker; it was simply that the Chinese were independent and self-sufficient. They were spared the indignation, abuse, and hurt that came from groveling for a job.

Family Businesses

By and large, the Chinese enterprises had the following characteristics:

1. Contrary to popular myth, they were fairly widely scattered in large urban centers along the East and West Coasts, and were not concentrated entirely in Chinatowns or segregated ghettos.

2. They catered more to non-Chinese clientele. Therefore, the economic base was broad.

3. They were very small in capitalization. Equity capital came primarily from pooled savings. Little or none came from non-Chinese financial sources.

4. They were set up along a kinship basis. Laundries and groceries were generally mom-and-pop stores. In such businesses, the family was a work unit, living together (usually above or behind the store), and everyone pitched in to help out. Father and mother were always present, and the children grew up seeing their parents work and having responsibility for the performance of chores. This work experience has had tremendous impact upon the second-generation Chinese-American, shaping his work attitude and character.⁴

4. Lin Yutang, Chinatown Family (New York: John Day Co., 1948); Jade Snow Wong, Fifth Chinese Daughter (New York: Harper Bros., 1950).

TABLE 79

WAGE AND SALARY OR SELF-EMPLOYED CHINESE
IN THE U.S., FOR SELECTED SMSAS, 1970

SMSA	Total Empl. (100%) 16 yrs. and over		Wage & Salary		Self-Employed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
United States	183,562		163,009	88.8	20,553	11.2
Boston	5,391		4,991	92.6	400	7.4
Chicago	5,305		4,780	90.1	525	9.9
Honolulu	21,538		20,287	94.2	1,251	5.8
Los Angeles-Long Beach	18,315		16,103	87.9	2,212	12.1
New York	33,400		30,330	90.8	3,070	9.2
Sacramento	3,911		3,357	85.8	554	14.2
San Francisco-Oakland	38,727		34,502	89.1	4,225	10.9
San Jose	3,346		2,839	84.9	507	15.2
Seattle-Everett	3,122		2,726	87.3	396	12.7
Washington D.C.-Md.-Va.	3,358		3,028	90.2	330	9.8

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Tables 19, 28.

NOTE: Based on a 20 percent sampling.

TABLE 80
 CLASS OF WORKER, BY AGE GROUP OF THE CHINESE
 IN THE UNITED STATES, 1970

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Wage & Salary</u>	<u>Self-Employed</u>	<u>Ratio Col 1:Col 2</u>
16-24 years	53,600	600	89:1
25-34 years	48,100	3,400	14:1
35-44 years	42,700	6,500	7:1
45-54 years	31,400	6,900	5:1
55-64 years	17,800	3,600	5:1
65 years +	6,100	2,000	3:1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970)

NOTE: Based on a 1 percent sampling.

5. Restaurants required more capital investment and, therefore, were usually cooperative ventures based upon a larger kinship group. For example, several brothers would form a partnership, or uncles and cousins would hold shares in an incorporated restaurant.

6. The operation of these enterprises was fairly simple. Although few had previous experience in their type of work, the owners could swap stories about their experiences or call upon a compatriot for information about suppliers and problem solving.

7. Earnings were marginal or low by American standards. Nevertheless, they provided employment and income in a hostile land.

Revolution in Chinese Employment Pattern

Since 1950, a quiet revolution has taken place in the employment pattern of the Chinese. They have abandoned their private businesses in droves and prefer working for wages and salaries. Two main factors are responsible for this upheaval. First, obstacles to finding a job were lowered; and, second, recent generations disdain the long hours, hard work, and marginal nature of small business or service enterprises. They prefer a 9- to 5-schedule, no risk, and a no-headaches-after-hours job.

Table 79 shows Chinese employed in 1970 by class of worker. Those who earn a wage and salary far exceed those who are self-employed. The national ratio is about 8:1. Broken down by cities, the percentages reveal that Chinese on the West Coast are more likely to be self-employed than those on the East Coast. Why? The reason may be that the Chinese on the East Coast are more recent immigrants and may not yet have sufficient capital to embark on any private venture. Another reason may be that there are more professional people who are self-employed on the West Coast.

The young definitely prefer being employed to self-employment. This fact is quite obvious from Table 80 showing the ratio, by age group, of wage and salary workers to the self-employed. The older generation still clings to small businesses because there is no other alternative. The younger generations are primarily in the professions and evidently prefer working for others.

A word of caution, however, about accepting at face value these figures compiled from the census. The category wage-and-salary includes all persons who work for any incorporated firm. Many private enterprises will incorporate to limit their liability, although they may be one-man or family-operated setups. In Chinese restaurants,

particularly when the venture is a cooperative one, the restaurant will be owned collectively and the shareowners are both employers and employees. These people have invested capital in a small, private enterprise, but they are salaried employees of their own businesses. Since restaurant work is the single leading area of employment for the Chinese in the United States, the actual importance of small business enterprises has not diminished to the extent indicated by the census.

Chinatown Enterprises

In their own ghettos or Chinatowns, the Chinese are definitely proprietors of their own businesses. Tables 81 and 82 show the type of services and commercial establishments in which the Chinese are engaged in New York and San Francisco's Chinatowns. The figures are outdated, but the type of enterprises give us an inkling of the characteristics of these small businesses.

1. They cater to Chinese clientele.
2. They seek to capitalize on the tourist trade.
3. They offer essential services.
4. Garment or sewing factories are the only manufacturing enterprises shown where the market is with non-Chinese clientele. Recently, light industries, such as electronic components and frozen foods, have been introduced.
5. They are operated by a group limited in education, language, or financial resources.

The small size and lack of variety of the Chinatown enterprises are just as revealing as the existing types. In other words, the Chinatown Chinese are still small-time operators. The florist shop may be a husband-and-wife store. The tailor shop may be one step removed from Mrs. Chin, our old lady peddler mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. The accountant may operate from his desk space with a limited Chinese clientele. Here is a symptom that warrants closer scrutiny. Can the Chinese aim for bigger and better enterprises? Do they have the resources and capability to try? Is private enterprise an answer to the employment problem of immigrants who cannot meet the job specification of language proficiency? There is a great need for exploring this avenue of inquiry.

TABLE 81

PRIVATE ENTERPRISES IN NEW YORK'S CHINATOWN (CORE AREA), 1973

<u>Type of Business</u>	<u>Number of Establishments</u>	<u>Type of Business</u>	<u>Number of Establishments</u>
Restaurants	77	Dentists	6
Exporters and Importers	72	Furniture	6
Garment Factories	60	Theaters	6
Groceries	52	Florists	6
Doctors (Physicians and Surgeons)	46	Bakeries	6
Insurance, Real Est. and Stock Brokers	35	Clothing Stores	6
Gift Shops	30	Employment Agencies	6
Coffee Shops	25	Carpenters, Painters and Plumbers	5
Lawyers	22	Drug Stores	5
Chinese Newspapers, News Agencies & Publns.	15	Jewelers	4
Meat and Poultry	15	Liquor Stores	4
Accountants	13	Photo Studios	4
Barber Shops	13	China, Cookery and Glass Wares	4
Banks	12	Tailors	4
Printers	12	Department Stores	3
Beauty Salons	10	Advertising and Art Design	3
Herbalists	10	Funeral Parlors	3
Book Stores	9	Candy Stores	2
Laundry Supply and Appliance	9	Fish Markets	2
*Radio, TV and Recorded Music	8	Cigars and Cigarettes	1
Dry Cleaning and Laundries	8	Transportation Company	1
Noodle Manufacturers	7		

Source: Chinese Trading Journal, New York Chinese Import and Export Association, 1973.

NOTE: These figures are quite outdated but are given to show types of enterprises Chinese in Chinatown are engaged in. For example, I know from personal knowledge that garment factories have swelled to over 230 as of 1975.

TABLE 82

PRIVATE ENTERPRISES IN SAN FRANCISCO'S CHINATOWN (CORE AREA), 1969

<u>Type of Business</u>	<u>Number of Establishments</u>
Markets and Grocery Stores	162
Dry Goods and Fine Arts (Curio Shops)	136
Sewing Factories	120
Restaurants	67
Insurance Offices	41
Pharmacies	29
Laundries	29
Bakeries	18
Clothing Shops	18
Hotels and Motels	15
Beauty Salons	15
Banks	13
Jewelry Shops	12
Barber Shops	10
Studios	9
Travel Agencies	9
Schools	9
Noodle Factories	7
Painter and Carpenter Shops	6
Theaters	5
Book Stores	5
Printing Shops	5
Architects	4
Shoe Stores	3
TOTAL	<u>747</u>

Source: San Francisco Chinese Community Citizens Survey and Fact Finding Committee Report (1969).

NOTE: These figures are quite outdated but are given to show types of enterprises Chinese in Chinatown are engaged in.

Beyond Chinatown Borders

Private enterprises outside Chinatown are more varied and operate on a larger scale. ~~No systematic study has been undertaken~~ of these businesses, but they are much more sophisticated and efficient. Offhand, I can list a few whose capitalization could easily exceed a million dollars, and they are not within the traditional restaurant, supermarket, or garment factory categories.

Case History I: The most impressive undertaking I have visited is the ETEC corporation in Hayward, California, which makes an electron microscope called Autoscan. James Dao, the president, and Nelson Yu, the technical manager, are young men in their mid-thirties. They are the founders, the owners, and the driving force behind this most unusual venture. According to Mr. Dao, there are only six companies in the entire world that manufacture electron microscopes. Three are in the United States, and ETEC is one of them.

When I visited the plant in 1973, the company had been in business for only two and a half years. Since its inception, the staff had grown to 126, most of them highly educated and highly paid scientists and technicians. The company was doing about \$500,000 in business a month. The scanning electron microscopes sold from \$50,000 to \$250,000 each. The Autoscan is one of the latest developments in electron-optical instrumentation. It has a magnification range of 5 times to 240,000 times. It can produce three-dimensional images in which all details are in sharp focus. The extraordinary features of the Autoscan are astounding, and the possibilities that this microscope has for medical and physical research are boundless.

Nelson Yu has the technical know-how. He was an assistant to the professor at Stanford who developed the electron microscope. James Dao runs the business end. He is a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley with a degree in electrical engineering. He came to the United States at the age of thirteen and has worked ever since at jobs ranging from milking cows to waiting on tables to electrical engineering for the city government. James Dao admits that entrepreneurs are a special breed. "If you are afraid of hard work," he said, "forget it."

The following three case histories were compiled by Ernest D. Chu, senior vice-president of an investment banking house off Wall Street, and are excellent examples of small business successes pioneered or led by Chinese-Americans.

Case History II: Wangco Inc.

Wangco Inc. designs and produces magnetic tape-drive systems (electronic devices that record, store and reproduce data on computer tapes), and sells them to original equipment manufacturers mainly for use in minicomputers and related systems. In fiscal 1973, the company broadened its product line by the introduction of a fixed-head disc drive.

The company chairman is Dr. Ben C. Wang. Twenty-five years ago, Dr. Wang was a freshly arrived immigrant from China. He had \$100 in his pocket and a conviction that as long as he could find a job--any kind of a job--he "would never starve in the U.S." Today, Wangco Inc. is the nation's second largest producer of tape drives for the mini-computer industry, and Wang himself is worth \$3 million-plus in company stock and other interests.

After working his way through the University of California at Berkeley and the Illinois Institute of Technology, engineer Wang went to work for IBM and "drifted into computer peripherals." Later lured to Ampex, he developed direct-driven, single-capstan tape drive, which is still a standard in the industry. Attracted by Wang's growing reputation, Scientific Data Systems hired him to start up a new computer peripherals operation in 1964. Five years later, Wang was ready to go into the peripherals business for himself. Catching the first wave of growth in the new mini-computer business, his little company expanded rapidly to \$10.7-million volume and \$1.2-million net in fiscal 1973. The company employs over 400 people. The sales and earnings record of Wangco Inc. shows how the business has grown:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Sales</u>	<u>Net Inc.</u>	<u>Share Earnings</u>
1974	\$18,260,000	\$1,610,000	\$1.54
1973	10,680,000	1,103,000	1.01
1972	4,599,000	421,000	.36
1971	1,598,000	(84,000)	(.14)
1970	23,000	(550,000)	(1.28)

Case History III: Macrodata Corporation

Macrodata Corporation makes and designs equipment for testing small- and large-scale integrated semiconductor circuits which perform specialized memory and logic functions, such as data storage, counting, timing, and mathematical computation. It also makes computer-controlled design systems and offers design consulting services. Its chairman and president is Dr. William C.W. Mow and

its vice president is Stuart Liu. Its sales and earnings record are given below:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Sales</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Share Earnings</u>
1973	\$8,609,000	\$655,000	\$0.82
1972	4,699,000	389,000	0.62
1971	2,650,000	196,000	0.32
1970	77,000	(817,000)	(1.32)
1969	18,000	(140,000)	(0.24)

Case History IV: Finnegan Corporation

Finnegan Corporation was founded by Robert Finnegan, but ran into serious financial difficulties. After the appointment of T.Z. Chu as president and chief operating officer, the company has shown an impressive growth record.

The company develops, manufactures, and sells spectrometer systems. These systems are used to detect, identify, and quantify the constituents of gases, liquids, and solids. The company's systems are in use in the fields of biomedicine, for the analysis of drugs and drug metabolites in toxicology and pharmacology applications; analytical chemistry, for quantitative and qualitative analysis of compounds in research and industrial setting; environmental research and pollution control, for identification of chemical contaminants in water, soil foodstuffs and air; and forensic science, for positive identification of various types of physical evidence used in criminal justice proceedings. It also makes incremental shaft encoders.

Finnegan Corporation employs about 300 people. The financial condition of these companies are given to show that a few Chinese-Americans have been successful in business ventures on an impressive scale.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Sales</u>	<u>Net Inc.</u>	<u>Share Earnings</u>
1974	\$10,500,000	\$600,000	\$0.95
	(est.)	(est.)	(est.)
1973	7,933,000	322,000	0.63
1972	5,501,000	42,000	—
1971	3,906,000	(9,000)	(0.03)
(T.Z. Chu came in)			
1970	2,677,000	(600,000)	(3.15)
1969	1,999,000	(146,000)	(1.13)

Export and Import

International trade, an important area of employment and income source for the Chinese in the United States will inevitably grow. Formerly, it was confined to importation of foodstuffs and art goods--the former for the Chinese population, and the latter for the tourist trade. The market for today's imports is entirely different. Textiles, electron products, and wool products lead the list of imports from Taiwan, and exports to that island consist of agricultural products (wheat, cotton, soybeans, and tobacco), machinery tools, and vehicles and vessels. The volume of trade runs to about \$4 billion annually, according to the Chinese Information Service.

Trade with the People's Republic of China was forbidden by The Trading with the Enemy Act, passed in 1950, during the Korean War. Trade did not resume until shortly before President Nixon's visit to Peking in 1972. Both countries are proceeding cautiously, so that the volume of trade is not significant at the moment. China's trading policy will be dictated more by politics than by economics. Those who wish to trade with China must have her permission or sanction. They are invited to the Trade Fair in Canton, which is held biannually in the spring and the fall. At the fair, contacts are established with the Foreign Trading Corporations, which are legally responsible for negotiating all China's trade contracts.

American firms wishing to do business with China will have a great need for personnel familiar with the language, the culture, and the channels of doing business with the People's Republic. Interpreters of the culture, as well as the language, will be in great demand. The Chinese are not going to cater to Americans by conducting their business entirely in English, as was done in the past. Americans expecting to do business in volume would be advised to take a Chinese interpreter with them to the Canton Trade Fairs.

The subtleties of Chinese etiquette also warrant extra attention. American businessmen are accustomed to snapping their fingers and expecting results on the double. The Chinese place great store on personal contact and person-to-person relationships. Their sales contract may be sparsely expressed, including only the most basic elements of the transaction, such as a concise description of the goods and their specifications, delivery date, type of packing, unit price, total price, and method of payment. American businessmen may insist on detailed and exact terms couched in highly legalistic wording that may prove offensive to Chinese sensitivity. These differences require the services of middlemen versed in the ways of both countries.

The Chinese must also be apprised of American regulations governing import-export trade. Stipulations, such as place of origin labeling, reporting of end-use of the product, declaration of trade volume to the American government, etc., are procedures that must be explained to Chinese officials who do not encounter such red tape in trade with Southeast Asian or African countries.

Acting as intermediaries who can provide such services for companies dealing in trade with the People's Republic is a potential field of private enterprise for refugees and immigrants who may have rich experience in international trade in China or Southeast Asia. And there is no reason why such persons cannot eventually deal directly in importing and exporting themselves on a larger scale than do the small firms which now operate out of Chinatowns.

Management Consultant Firms

Engineering is a favorite profession of Chinese males. How engineering skills can be utilized in a private venture is shown by a management consulting firm on Long Island, New York. The firm specializes in troubleshooting. It packages a group of highly specialized engineers and sends them in under contract for a specific job and specific period of time. The engineers are on the payroll of the consulting firm. The advantages to the contracting clients are that they can get competent and skilled personnel quickly without having to recruit and put extra people on the payroll and then lay them off upon completion of the task at hand. One might say the function of this consulting firm is parallel to that of office temporaries; except that the latter handles secretarial and clerical help while the former handles engineers and technicians.

The owner of this service enterprise is, a second-generation Chinese and a product of New York's Chinatown. He has about fifty engineers on his payroll. The volume of his business can be gauged by his weekly payroll. One could say that his business is substantially removed from that of the garment factory that his widowed mother worked for.

Private ventures of the Chinese outside Chinatowns are many and varied. Others that quickly come to mind are a manufacturer of plastic boats, a home-cleaning service, a computer sales agency, a tin-and-gold foil mill, and a sailboat chartering company.

From Mrs. Chin, the peddler, to ETEC, manufacturers of electron microscopes, the Chinese have shown that they can work for themselves, that they have the enterprising traits to succeed at it, and that they are willing to work hard and persevere toward their goals. They also

had a few other factors in their favor, not the least of which is their ability to garner equity capital to get started.

Availability of Credit

Through their kinship organizations, such as the family associations, the Chinese devised credit facilities so that they could save and have access to funds in the event of emergency or sudden need. Some of these rotating credit clubs are described in detail in Ivan Light's Ethnic Enterprise in America. Professor Light attributes the Chinese and Japanese ownership of small business in no small measure to these facilities for capital accumulation.⁵

The rotating credit associations or savings clubs operate on the principle of pooling resources. The clubs are organized on the basis of family name or close association. Those who elect to join the club agree to pay into the pool a fixed sum, ten dollars a week, for example. If there are fifty shares in the pool, the total pot would be \$500. The pool would run for fifty weeks.

Each week, persons needing the money bid for the pool. If the successful bid is twenty-five cents, each share pays in \$9.75 and the bidder takes the lump sum collected of \$487.50. No money is ever left in the club. If no one bids for the money, all names of the shareholders who have not yet received a pool are put in a hat and one name is withdrawn. That person receives the total pool for the week.

In essence, this is a cooperative banking system in which the members are both borrowers and depositors, but no funds are ever left on deposit. The savings club does not have to look for profitable investment opportunities to pay interest on money deposited. There is no danger of anyone absconding with the money since the club members are related or known to one another. Fixed and operating expenses are minimal.

Such money pools were adequate for the simpler Chinese communities of yesteryear, but they can no longer serve the larger Chinese population in the United States today. Some of these savings clubs still exist, but they cannot provide the services offered by credit institutions like banks.

5. (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972) pp. 45-61.

Banks

One would presume that a bank could provide more sophisticated and satisfactory service than the rotating credit associations. However, the first Chinese-American Bank, founded in California during the early 1900s, closed its doors in 1926. The bulk of its services was in the remittance of foreign exchange to China and its impact upon the commercial life of the Chinese in the United States was nil. Known as the Canton Bank, it was suspended for mismanagement.⁶

Not until 1962 did another Chinese-owned bank appear on the American scene. It was the state-chartered Cathay Bank of Los Angeles.⁷ Chinese owned banks in the United States can still be counted on the fingers of one hand, but the Chinese have availed themselves of the services of American banks. For instance, twelve banks (none owned by Chinese-Americans)⁸ have offices or branches in New York's Chinatown, and their business is brisk. Services are no longer limited to remittances, but cover the full range of banking services.

I interviewed the manager of The Bank of North America, one of the largest banks in New York's Chinatown. It is not Chinese-owned, although when one walks into the bank one may think so. Its staff is 100 percent Chinese, and practically all its patrons are too. The branch located in Chinatown about ten years ago, nosing out other giants, like Chase Manhattan and the Chemical Bank, which recognized the potentialities of the Chinese community only recently.

The Bank of North America is a commercial bank, as differentiated from a savings bank. Its loans are made primarily to restaurateurs, importer-exporters, and gift shop owners. The average loan is for about \$10,000. At this bank, the Chinese borrower generally has little difficulty obtaining credit. The rate of delinquent payment, the manager told me, is "very, very small."

In reviewing my conversation with the bank manager, I read signs of strength and symptoms of malaise of the Chinese entrepreneur in Chinatown. The strengths are that he encounters little problem in

6. Ibid. p. 47.

7. Idem.

8. The Chinese American Bank of New York is the former Bank of China and is foreign-owned.

obtaining credit, and his credit rating is excellent. This intangible asset has stood the Chinese businessman in good stead. Wherever he has gone and wherever he has traded, he has built up a solid reputation of honesty and integrity. "His word is as good as his bond," is a generally held opinion of the Chinese. In some parts of the world, Southeast Asia in particular, the Chinese operate vast trading empires, and much of the business is done by verbal agreement. The Chinese guard this reputation of honesty and integrity carefully, for to them this intangible asset is worth more than gold or silver. If any Chinese in the United States is tempted to sell this reputation short he will harm both himself and his compatriots.

The symptoms of malaise are revealed by the limited type of borrowers and by the size of the loans. It evidences small-scale and perhaps marginal businesses employing few people and handling a small volume. My hope is that the Chinatown entrepreneurs will dream of bigger and more venturesome undertakings and that they will launch into more efficient and optimum use of capital and manpower. But to climb out of the Little League into the Big League may take more capital and more know-how than the Chinatown businessman can muster.

Office of Minority Business Enterprise

There are many federal resources available to minority entrepreneurs that will provide them with funds, with counsel and advice, and with technical assistance. To coordinate these activities, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE) was created on March 15, 1969, by President Nixon's Executive Order No. 11458. In announcing the creation of OMBE, "the President indicated that there were 116 federal programs, administered by twenty or more federal agencies, that might help minorities go into business for themselves or that could help to develop existing businesses. OMBE's job would be to coordinate the government's efforts and keep track of all workable programs."⁹ In addition, the main program of OMBE is to get private corporations, commercial banks, and the government itself to speed the development of minority businesses. The device to be used is the Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Company, or MESBIC.

Actually, MESBIC is no more than a revised version of the

9. Edward H. Jones, Blacks in Business (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971), p. 132.

Small Business Investment Company, authorized by the Small Business Investment Act of 1958. A SBIC is a company chartered under state law and licensed and regulated by the Small Business Administration to make investments in small businesses. A minimum of \$300,000 was required as minimum capitalization of the parent company. This money is then invested in small business of the SBIC's choice. As the SBIC invests its money, it is allowed to draw additional funds from the federal government for more investments, up to a maximum of twice its own capitalization. Thus \$300,000 could grow to \$900,000. This sum could be further pyramided, since the small businesses in which SBIC made an investment could then turn to the SBA and receive additional assistance in loans or guarantee of loans. The MESBIC differs essentially from the SBIC only in the fact that it seeks out minority small businesses and the minimum capitalization is reduced to \$150,000 instead of \$300,000.¹⁰ Experience has shown, however, that an optimum capitalization is in the range of \$1 million to \$2 million. A central feature of each MESBIC is the continuing management assistance it provides without charge to the enterprises in which it invests or to which it lends money. The assistance is designed to insure their successful and competitive operation.

Of the sixty-six MESBICs now licensed to operate in 1974, only one was started by a Chinese-American. She is Mrs. Rose Leong, a Los Angeles building developer and construction contractor. Mrs. Leong arrived in the United States in 1948. She obtained a Master's Degree in education from the University of Southern California and, in 1955, she started a real estate investment company. Later, when she announced that she wanted to be a construction contractor, everyone laughed at her. She started in business by building structures which were leased to the Post Office as branches. She went on to build apartments and office buildings for some of the nation's best-known corporate tenants. She admits that when she first started she did not even know what a two-by-four was.

In March 1974, with \$300,000 of her own money, Mrs. Leong put up the capital for her own MESBIC, the Chinese Investment Company of California, the first federally-licensed minority venture capital company to be formed and the only one wholly capitalized by a woman. Mrs. Leong now feels that she would like to share her talents and help others get started.¹¹

10. Ibid., pp. 132-134.

11. "From China with Skill," Commerce Today (April 1, 1974), p. 7.

Other Government Resources

To mention a few other governmental resources available to the minority businessman, the National Minority Purchasing Council works to increase corporate purchases from minority firms. The General Services Administration offers counseling on doing business with the government by assisting minority businessmen to develop a government market for their products and services and to obtain contract opportunities. The Economic Development Corporation of the Department of Commerce is not usually aimed at the small minority entrepreneur, but it can provide technical and management assistance.

SBA Section 8(a)--Procurement Program

A Presidential directive in 1969 requested all federal agencies and departments to provide procurement opportunities for minority businessmen by exempting them from competitive bidding and allowing a cost differential. These dispensations were carried out under Section 8(a) of the Small Business Act. This is how the 8(a) program operates:

"The minority businessman contacts his local SBA office and tells the procurement specialist about the products he can produce. SBA specialists then visit the businessman's company and makes an on-site field survey and evaluation of the company's capability. If the business has the capability, SBA then locates and identifies the products it needs and contacts a federal agency that wants to buy. SBA negotiates the contract."¹²

The General Services Administration Purchasing Agency for the federal government is further permitted to set aside 10 to 15 percent of its total purchases for minority businesses and contractors on a permanent basis. These provisos now guarantee a substantial market for many businesses now unable to compete with larger companies.¹³

OMBE-Funded Asian Programs

There are a number of OMBE-funded programs initiated by Asians in California. Among them are Asian American National Business

12. Jones, Op. cit., p. 138.

13. Idem.

Alliance, Inc., in Los Angeles; Asians, Inc., in San Francisco; and Arcata Management, in Palo Alto. All these firms act as management consultants to Asian-Americans.

The director of Arcata is Buck Wong, a MBA graduate from Stanford. In his words, "We are attempting to help those minority businessmen who have a better opportunity for success. We are trying to get away from the marginal operations that have in the past been supported. We offer free consultation. We will train a staff member of the minority enterprise in accounting. We will help establish a business plan. We will try to line up capital to get a company started. The time we stay with a company varies from three weeks to eighteen months. On the average we devote 165 man-hours to a company, usually spread over a long period. Our client load ranges from fifty to sixty."

Among the companies helped by Arcata was Lee Engineering, of Palo Alto. It now has an annual business of over \$1 million, including a contract in 1974 for a nuclear power plant and a sewage disposal piping system.¹⁴

There is no question that the government has established a policy and has embarked on programs designed to aid the minority businessman in breaking into private enterprise. This policy was instituted in recognition of the fact that minorities comprise 17 percent of the American population, but own from 1-3 percent of all businesses and do only 1 percent of the business volume. For further information about federal resources for minority businessmen, OMBE puts out a number of booklets of which minorities should avail themselves:

1. "Special Catalog of Federal Programs Assisting Minority Enterprise" (1971). Description of 85 federal programs specifically designed to aid minority business enterprise and an additional 175 programs which offer potential business opportunities to minorities.

2. "Minority Business Opportunity Committee Handbook, Guidance and Procedures" (July 1974).

3. "Franchise Opportunities Handbook" (September 1973).

These booklets are very specific and provide valuable information.

14. Chinatown News (Vancouver, Canada: Chinese Publicity Bureau Ltd., August 18, 1974), p. 15-16.

My feeling is that few Chinese are aware of the resources available to them, although many of these programs have been operative in the black and Spanish-speaking communities for a number of years now. With the tradition of small private enterprise that the Chinese in this country have, it is now time for them to move on to bigger and more diversified ventures.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. Traditionally, small business has been the rule, rather than the exception, for the Chinese in the United States because:

- a. The Chinese could not meet standards set up by American firms for jobs.
- b. The temperament and background of the Chinese immigrant was more suited to self-enterprise.
- c. American firms simply did not hire Chinese.

2. Self-employment spared the Chinese some of the demeaning treatment meted out to minority groups who depended totally upon someone else for jobs.

3. As the social climate and attitude toward the Chinese improved, the predominant pattern of self-employment has changed to one in which wage-and-salary workers exceed the self-employed.

4. Contrary to popular belief, Chinese enterprises were located primarily outside Chinatowns and most catered to non-Chinese clientele. These businesses were set up on a family basis. They operated on a marginal level and managed to stay afloat primarily because of perseverance, long hours, and unpaid help available from family members.

5. Chinatown enterprises, especially those inside the ghetto, catered to a Chinese clientele and were very limited in scale, size, and variety.

6. Hand laundries, formerly overwhelmingly the most common type of self-owned and operated type of enterprise up to twenty years ago, is now on the verge of extinction.

7. Chinese ventures outside of Chinatown's borders today are more varied and operate on a larger scale.

8. Foreign trade is an important area of potential for Chinese-American businessmen.

9. A valuable, intangible asset that the Chinese have is their reputation for honesty and integrity in business dealings.

10. The Chinese have traditionally created their own sources of capital and credit to launch them into private enterprise on a small scale. Today, capital needs are greater than the local

community can provide.

11. The Office of Minority Business Enterprise was set up in 1969 to coordinate and facilitate government efforts to help minority entrepreneurs with loans, counsel, and technical assistance. Since such assistance is available, the Chinese should make use of these government services.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The drastic reversal of the Chinese employment pattern, from private entrepreneur (albeit on a small scale) to wage or salary worker, can be viewed from two angles.

On the plus side, the Chinese now do have an entrée into the mainstream job market. Many are fully qualified to compete at all levels in the occupational ladder. They need no longer create their own jobs to eke out a marginal livelihood by putting in long hours and hard work. In working for others their responsibility usually ends when they leave their place of employment, and they need not risk their capital and savings.

With the decline of small self-owned and operated businesses, there arise a number of likely minuses. What I consider the negative side may be more sociological or psychological than occupational or economic, but these aspects are related to economics, and the well-being or malaise in one affects the other.

By being self-employed, the Chinese insulated themselves, or were at least one step removed from occupational discrimination. They never put themselves in a position to be last hired and first fired. The usual response to bad times of the Chinese self-employed was to tighten the belt and expect less, which is perhaps a mite better than being outright unemployed. If their jobs depended upon a boss, they would more likely be laid off or fired. Being one's own boss also added to one's self-image and dignity, especially when such dignity was constantly undercut and trampled.

The Chinese also found collective security in the way they set up their private businesses. The family was the working unit, but family did not always mean mom and pop and children. Rather, it meant the enlarged kinship group. Economic dependence held the family members together and generated jobs for the close of kin. All these factors were important to the survival of the Chinese in the past.

What I consider the saving grace of the Chinese, however, the younger generation Chinese-Americans look upon as an albatross. They do not care to continue at all in their family businesses. They view their parents' work with distaste and disdain. They would prefer getting a job and working for others to being self-employed. The traits of industry and thrift are old-fashioned and even stupid. "Who wants to work so hard? There's more to life than working." These are the attitudes that replaced the ones of self-help, family solidarity, and mutual aid. And these attitudes are reflected in the high ratio (8:1) of employed to

self-employed.

Vulnerability to Economic Reverses

But what if I suggested that the Chinese are now overexposed and overreliant upon employers for a livelihood, and that the Chinese are now in a position highly vulnerable to occupational reverses in the event the country plunges into a depression? Would I be accused of being too apprehensive, overly pessimistic, or even paranoid? Perhaps, but the possibilities exist. There are historical precedents, and who was it that said, "History repeats itself?"

I realize that times have changed. Attitudes have changed. The nature of small business has changed. The Chinese population has changed increasingly to a first-generation immigrant group which lacks familiarity with American ways and the English language. So would I be considered reactionary if I advocated, as my first recommendation, a strong backward look at self-employment and small business ventures. To be sure, I do not mean a return to the restaurants, laundries, grocery stores, gift shops, one-man stands, or family-run operations that characterized Chinese entrepreneurship in the past. I am thinking along more sophisticated lines and on a somewhat larger scale.

In fact, the risks of going into business for oneself are extremely high. One out of every three businesses fails within a year. The rate of failure decreases as net worth increases,¹⁴ which is why it is vitally important to be adequately capitalized.

The Chinese do have access to limited capital, but big money is a different story. Commercial banks trust the Chinese, but, as a rule, they are not in the habit of providing entrepreneurs with risk capital. Access to venture capital is what the Chinese need, and taking advantage of government-proffered assistances such as MESBICs may be one answer. The mechanism whereby MESBICs make available venture capital was touched upon earlier. They are set up to involve private investors and to provide risk capital to minority enterprises. MESBICs provide counseling and technical assistance as well.

MESBICs have been available for three years now and in only

14. Joseph D. Phillips, Little Business in the American Economy (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958), p. 55.

one instance have the Chinese taken advantage of this opportunity. Obviously, the Chinese have not availed themselves of many opportunities set up for minority enterprise, and my belief is that they simply do not know about them. A second recommendation, therefore, is to create better channels of information to ethnic communities other than the black and Spanish-speaking ones. This recommendation applies also to government programs other than MESBIC that help minority businesses find needed resources, and managerial, technical, and marketing assistance.

My third recommendation, therefore, is to invite Asian-American members to serve on the private sector Minority Advisory Council. (See Organizational Chart G.) These people would convey the pulse and economic conditions of the Asian communities to the Executive Office of the President through OMBE. An Asian-American should be included in the Public Sector Interagency Committee. This person's responsibility would be to make sure that Asian-Americans are apprised of the help available from the government and that they are fairly represented for their share of programs awarded. Hopefully, Asian representation will insure better channels of information in both directions: from the government to the Chinese community, and from the Chinese community to the government.

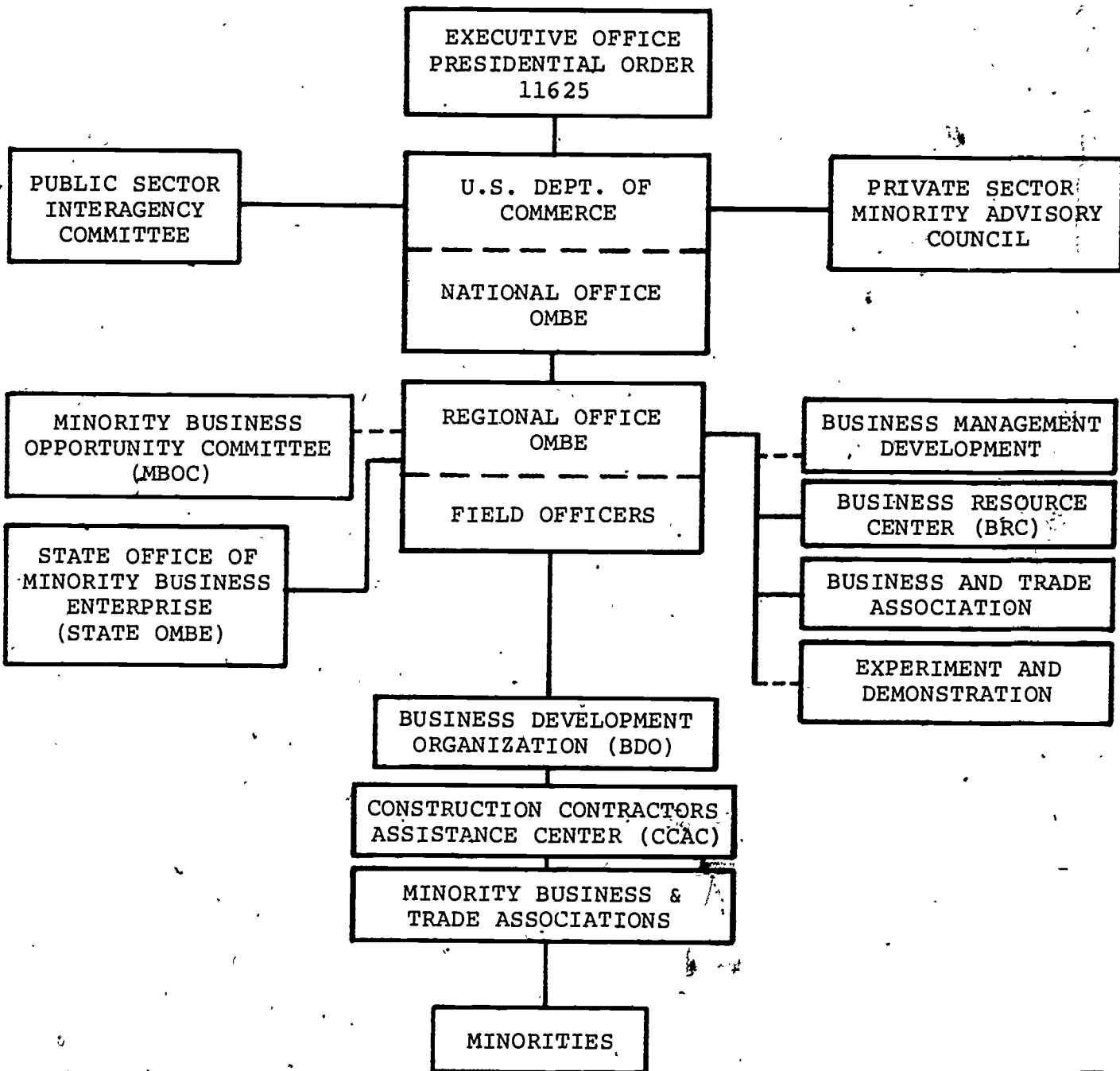
Chinese Do Meet Criteria

The Chinese make good candidates for assistance under the minority business enterprise program. Mr. Newton Downing, director of the New York Office of Minority Business Enterprise, emphatically stated that his office is not intended to be a panacea for social ills nor a giveaway program for ineligibles who do not have the potential for successful operation of a private venture. He said that the money and efforts of the program must be concentrated on target beneficiaries who have the potential to spearhead and stimulate the movement to eliminate inequities in our economic system and influence the integration of minorities into the political and social fabric of our country.

Mr. Downing is well aware that enthusiasm, interest, specialized skills, and willingness to work hard and put in long hours are not enough to insure successful operation of a business venture. This was pointed out in nine case studies by Alvin N. Puryear and Charles A. West in their book, Black Enterprise.¹⁵ One of the men there described had had years of experience making pocketbooks. He was

15. (New York: Anchor Press, 1973).

CHART G
 ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
 OFFICE OF MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE



All efforts and resources represented by
 agencies and organizations indicated on
 this chart are accessible to
 minority entrepreneurs

skilled in a trade, but lacked managerial ability. Another fellow was extremely artistic and could create beautiful fabric designs. A market existed for his product, but the designer did not know how to handle money. Another man's life-long ambition had been to own the TV repair business in which he had worked most of his life. Yet, when each man became captain of his ship, he floundered and would have sunk had it not been for government assistance under the Minority Business Enterprise Programs.

Nevertheless, there are the large numbers who sank in spite of everything, and these cases have been rather discouraging. The failures put the government assistance programs to test and challenge my recommendation that the Chinese reverse the trend away from self-employment. The Chinese, however, have had a long tradition of being their own boss, and cultural tradition has equipped them with the temperament, the industry, the credit concepts, and the kinship support to operate on a miniscule scale. Now it is time for them to expand their vision and move up in scale, not out of small business and self-employment entirely.

What Kinds of Businesses?

The type of business ventures that the Chinese should consider ought to have some of the following characteristics:

1. They should utilize the talents of a highly educated population for its managerial and technical ability, and should complement it with a group that can provide a steady source of labor. The purpose of the latter, of course, is to try to accommodate the recent immigrants who must find employment quickly, but do not have the English facility that would enable them to compete in the labor market. In effect, an attempt should be made to create jobs for other Chinese, if possible.

2. They should diversify into other occupations and industries to broaden the economic base beyond the existing narrow ones of retail trade and service enterprises. Areas for widening should extend to professional services, manufacturing, and even agriculture. An agri-business would be such an enterprise. It would apply modern business practices to agricultural production. Ownership and operation of a hotel would be another area of diversification.

3. They should encourage dispersion of the heavy population concentrated in Chinatowns. One can see immediately the differences in the type of enterprises that exist in Chinatowns and those that are no longer tied to the ghetto. In other words, locate outside of Chinatowns. Create employment opportunities that will pull the

Chinese away, so that they can put aside their crutch after a period of adjustment.

These characteristics are not all inclusive. Perhaps I am adding another difficult dimension (social consciousness and responsibility) to an already difficult task (that of setting up a successful private enterprise). But, if government is seriously trying to address itself to social problems, the private sector must not evade the issues entirely.

CHAPTER XIII
CULTURAL BAGGAGE

Since eight out of nine Chinese are wage or salary employees who at one time or another must look for a job, the question naturally arises: What special problems do they encounter in seeking and finding employment? It is not within the scope of this report to deal with the problems common to all job-seekers, for to most people job hunting is a trying ordeal. Therefore, we will consider only those factors which especially affect the Chinese.

The mere fact that they are physically different from the majority racial stock in the United States sets the Chinese apart, and the fact that they are biculturally rooted in equally strong and competing civilizations compounds the problem. Anthropologists have noted that, when peoples from less developed cultures come into contact with the better developed cultures, the weaker readily yields to the stronger. When both cultures are strong, the conflict is more intense.

Cultural Dissimilarities

Bicultural conflicts pose formidable obstacles to the Chinese looking for jobs--especially those in the higher echelons. For example, the American approach is "to get out there and sell yourself." To do that, one must boast about or even exaggerate one's educational background, personal qualities, experience, responsibilities, and abilities. The applicant must demonstrate that he stands heads above many other applicants and prove that he is best qualified for the job. Such tactics call for aggressiveness and assertiveness, which go strongly against the grain of the Chinese character. To pursue a job in this fashion in China would lower inestimably the employer's opinion of the applicant and mark him as one of uncouth and coarse manners. Humbleness and humility are prized virtues in China, but they are cultural yokes when it

comes to looking for a job in the United States.

According to Francis L.K. Hsu, the noted anthropologist, the American culture is individual-centered; the Chinese culture, situation-centered. The former calls for self-reliance and rugged individualism; the latter, for mutual dependence and accommodation. Hsu's entire book, Americans and Chinese: Reflections on Two Cultures and Their People,¹ points out the cultural dissimilarities in American and Chinese life, and he uses as an example how Americans and Chinese view the plot and drama of the movie version of Marcia Davenport's novel, Valley of Decision.

The plot involves a wealthy industrialist whose son is unhappily married to a woman who sides with her father-in-law in a labor dispute. The son is sympathetic toward the workers, and he falls in love with the family maid. When violence erupts in a labor strike, the industrialist is killed. When order is restored, the son takes over management of the plant and institutes liberalized factory policies. He divorces his wife and marries the family maid.

Hsu wrote:

. . . to the American audience this was good drama, since every conflict was resolved in a way that is desirable from an American point of view. The production conflict was resolved in favor of new views on manufacturing methods over the old-fashioned ones; liberal attitudes toward labor won out in the social conflict with hard-fisted attempts to suppress the workingmen; (and the son and maid were married). . . .²

To a Chinese audience, however, the son was shamefully unfilial. "A son in conflict with his father was a bad son, and a maid who would help such a son in his ventures was a bad woman. Through the same Chinese lens, the daughter-in-law was regarded as an extremely virtuous woman who suffered in malicious hands."³

Hsu gives another example of how cultural baggage interferes with the Chinese in the United States when they should speak up

1. (New York: Doubleday Natural History Press, 1972).

2. Ibid., p. 3.

3. Idem.

for their rights.

The pattern of mutual dependence directs all men-- laborer and businessman, tenant farmer and landowner-- to seek their security and advancement through persons, through the alliance of superior and subordinate. This means that when there is conflict, the tendency is to compromise rather than to adopt a unilateral position.

It is for these reasons that Chinese workers have never been militant supporters of large-scale labor movements and have not, in the Western sense of the term, proved to be good or persevering fighters in an economic struggle. The individual does not fight with the owner and managers for higher wages or better working conditions, but tries to achieve these goals by joining their ranks or influencing them through family connections, friendship, and neighborhood or communal ties.⁴

These tried and tested tactics evolved from an overpopulated society where accommodation oiled the gears of daily life and whose goals were to reduce conflict to a minimum. Taken from its native setting, this reluctance to challenge the status quo can place the Chinese at a disadvantage.

Personality Tests

Many American corporations use personality tests to screen job applicants. These tests are designed to probe the inner recesses of a person's psyche, and they include such devices as the Rorschach Inkblot Test and the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). These tests are not only given as standard procedure to job applicants, but are used to weed out personnel and to check up on people already on the work force.

No matter what tests are given, the interpretation of them is surcharged with dominant American values. For example, Dr. Burleigh Gardner, of Social Research Inc., a giant testing outfit in Chicago, claims to have distilled (from the TAT) the twelve factors that make a good business leader. "The men who still feel strong emotional ties--far more than mere affection--to the mother have systematically had difficulty in the business situation,"

4. Ibid., p. 309.

warns Dr. Gardner. Such men are not executive timber.⁵ Dr. Gardner probably has not read the family history of the Rothchilds, nor a biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt; in both cases, strong-willed mothers ruled the family roosts. The Chinese in Southeast Asia operate huge business enterprises, and they cling to the kinship family of their motherland.

The American standard of emotional maturity, however, is to cut parental ties as soon as possible. Against these yardsticks, how can a Chinese pass the personality tests and be considered for an executive position when he has been taught since infancy that there is no greater virtue than to honor, respect, love, and obey one's parents? In all probability, the values he prizes may work against his interest in getting beyond the personnel officer. Even if he gets in, he will not climb too high unless he forsakes his Chinese upbringing and becomes an unfilial son, or is aware of these cultural discrepancies as they are applied in the United States, and takes measures to protect himself.

Proclivity or Disdain for an Occupation

In every society, there is a social ranking of occupations independent of monetary rewards. For centuries, in Europe, the clergy was the highest calling. In Asia, the monk occupies a very lowly status. In eighteenth-century England, the man of means for leisure wore white gloves to show that he did not have to dirty his hands at any task whatsoever, and he was looked up to and envied. In other societies, he would be considered a use-less parasite.

Movie, stage, and television stars enjoy giddy fame and command astronomical salaries in the United States; actors and actresses are placed near the bottom of the occupational totem pole in China. The samurai, or warrior class, stood directly below royalty and nobility in Japan; the military was at the bottom of the entire heap in China. And so it goes. Each culture judges its occupations according to its own scale of values, but, in moving from one country to the other, the immigrant finds that the yardstick has changed on him. What he once considered lowly or prestigious positions may be completely reversed, and he might have to revise his attitudes and thinking.

From time immemorial, the philosopher and scholar stood at

5. Quoted in Martin L. Gross, The Brain Watchers (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 61.

the apex of the occupation scale in China. Then came farmers, the laboring class, the tradesmen, and, last of all, the military men. The cultural holdover is quite evident in the high educational attainment of the Chinese in the United States and in the heavy concentration of the labor force in the teaching profession. However, if the declining birthrate foreshadows a shrunken student population with less employment opportunities in the educational field, Chinese-Americans will be disproportionately and adversely affected.

What is more difficult for many Chinese to overcome is their attitude toward certain lines of work. From personal knowledge, I detect a high degree of disdain among the foreign-born Chinese for such occupations as religious work, acting, heavy labor, and soldiering. There is a decided reluctance to go into these fields.

The Military

The census of 1970 shows only 2,098 males of Chinese ancestry in the armed forces of the United States (see Table 83), and these few may have been the result of the draft, rather than voluntary enlistment. Now that the draft has ended, the numbers may be fewer yet. That is why I hesitated to include the military as an employment possibility for the Chinese. But, after I interviewed Air Force Maj. Jung K. Chung, I felt that a few of his comments from his personal experience were worth mentioning.

TABLE 83

CHINESE MALES IN ARMED FORCES
IN UNITED STATES, BY AGE GROUP, 1970

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Number</u>
Total 16 Years & Over	2,098
16-19 Years	175
20-24 Years	1,039
25-34 Years	480
35-44 Years	244
45-64 Years	147
65 Years & Over	13*

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 21.

*An unlikely number and perhaps attributable to Bureau of the Census allocation formula.

Major Chung feels that the armed forces at the officer's level today offer more of an opportunity to break into the management level and administrative work. Having been employed in private industry in a technical capacity and having gone as high as he could in that respect, he found himself up against a stone wall in trying to get into management. As an officer in the air force, Major Chung, who is still a young man, will gain invaluable administrative and leadership experience that will stand him in good stead should he go back into private industry.

The branch of the armed forces that he knows best, the air force, is a highly technical outfit. Men and women trained in the air force have marketable skills for the private sector. When these people return to civilian life, they enhance the economic strength of the nation. According to the Department of Labor, one out of every six civilian craftsmen or technicians received his initial technical training in some military school.

The air force is the first branch of the armed services to promote a person of Chinese descent to the rank of brigadier general. Gen. Dewey Kwoc-Kung Lowe was born in Oakland, California. He graduated from the University of California at Berkeley, and he has a law degree from the San Francisco Law School. The general is a much-decorated command pilot with the Legion of Merit and the Distinguished Flying Cross among his many awards and honors.

The military is a conduit for training and experience, but I doubt if it holds any appeal whatsoever to the Chinese. Soldiering has been such a despised occupation for the Chinese for too long.

These few examples of cultural divergence give some inkling of the tremendous adjustment which the Chinese undergo and which affects, directly or indirectly, their employment situation. There are innumerable other instances that would take too long to recount here. We have repeatedly mentioned the most important cultural barrier of all--that of the language. Now, I would like to point out why the foreign-born Chinese-speaking person encounters greater difficulty than a European immigrant, for instance.

From Ideogram to Alphabet

The language difficulties cannot be stressed enough. Every person concerned with the employment of the Chinese in the United States emphasizes and reemphasizes this one hurdle. The problem ranges from the bewildered soul, who can hardly pronounce yes and no, to the distinguished professor, perfectly fluent in written and spoken English, but who is denied reappointment because he has

a heavy accent.

Why is language any more of a hurdle for the Chinese than it is for other immigrant groups? There are several reasons.

Most Western languages are based upon an alphabet, which serves as a key to pronunciation and writing. Many words in French, Spanish, Italian, or German are quite similar to the English. Thus, a European would have less difficulty making out that teléfono (Spanish) or téléphone (French) or telefon (German) is the telephone than would a Chinese, who is accustomed to a totally different form of writing and speech. In Chinese, the characters for telephone are 電話, which literally translated means electric talk.

The Chinese language consists of monosyllabic characters of pictographs, ideograms, and phonetic compounds representing words, things, or concepts. Each character is squarish-shaped and is written from top to bottom and from right to left--the exact opposite from English or any of the Occidental languages, which are written from left to right horizontally. The characters below are a sample of Chinese writing. To get some idea of what the transference involves, I would suggest that the English-reading person of this report take a pencil and try to copy some of the characters from this excerpt. Undoubtedly, the exercise will heighten appreciation for the Chinese immigrant's language problems.

全 華 兔 選 續
美 埠 年 美 誌

Apart from syntax or customary usage, Chinese has no inflection of number, case, person, tense, or gender. It is not bad Chinese to say, "I go yesterday," "I go today," "I go tomorrow," or "I would have go last week." For a Chinese to have to break down a verb into various forms depending upon the time of the action imposes a new rule in language to which he or she is not accustomed.

To further add to the complications, there is no equivalent of feminine or masculine gender in the nouns and pronouns in modern

Chinese. Everything is neuter. That is why so many Chinese use he or him for both sexes, not realizing that such usage creates an unfavorable impression upon a potential employer.

Chinese words can be used freely as different parts of speech. Some English words can be used as noun, verb, adjective, or adverb without being labeled bad English, but the Chinese language is more flexible, and a word can be any part of speech, depending upon its word order in the sentence.

The Chinese language is very economical in its use of words. Correct Chinese does not mandate saying, "He is very poor," when it is perfectly clear to say, "He very poor."

The number of Chinese characters ranges as high as 50,000, although the telegraphic code lists only 10,000. However, there are less than 600 sounds for all these characters in Mandarin. The author of the article on Chinese language in the Encyclopedia Americana, Prof. Y.R. Chao, whimsically demonstrated how one sound can represent many characters. He wove a story of 53 different characters, all pronounced yi, around "Aunt Yi's Pancreas." The difference between the characters is deduced from the tone, or the inflection, or the word order. For example:

"Mā, ni hao?" means "Mother, are you well?" but "Ni mā hao," means either your mother (mā) is well, your horse (mā) is well, or your flax (má) is good, depending upon the tone, the inflection, or the context.

There are certain sounds in English that are nonexistent in Chinese. For instance, the lack of an r in the Chinese language causes much embarrassment for Chinese waiters who say, "fled lice." Final consonants are another headache. Pencils are pronounced pensou. Lend and lent, bad and bat, place and plays are indistinguishable.

Many of these troublesome areas make it extremely difficult for the Chinese to learn English readily. Even when they can commit their thoughts to paper without grammatical error, they are still confronted with vocal difficulties of speech and pronunciation that employers tend to interpret as handicaps or indications of an inferior education.

Dialects Galore

To complicate matters, spoken Chinese is not uniform. Fortunately, the written language is. Although the majority of Chinese

7.

in America come from an area in and around Canton, the Chinese population in the United States is becoming more diverse, as immigrants come in from northern, western, and central China, and the island of Taiwan. Most of the immigrants from the areas outside Canton speak a common dialect based upon Mandarin. There are local variations in the speech but, by and large, the people can understand one another.

Mandarin is quite different from Cantonese, and both are mutually unintelligible. The gap is not as great as that between Chinese and English, but the difference is great enough to create a boundary between these two major dialect-speaking groups. The Cantonese-speakers will identify more with the Chinatown community and its institutions, whereas the Mandarin-speakers generally feel like intruders when they go into Chinatown. They are not as likely to cluster together and will reach out into the larger community for employment opportunities. In a way, this nonacceptance of the Mandarin-speaking groups in Chinatowns may be a blessing in disguise. Personally, I think there is a significant correlation between higher mobility for the Mandarin-speaking group than for the Cantonese-speaking one, although no studies have been conducted on this score.

In sum, the language barrier is the greatest hurdle that the immigrant Chinese must scale. Even though he may master the written language, he may never speak without an accent, and this will inevitably be a handicap to him in all of his dealings, both economical and social.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. The mere fact of being Chinese does pose special employment problems for the group.
2. Oftentimes, the widely disparate cultural values of two strong civilizations create bicultural conflicts that the Chinese must resolve. Examples of these are the competitiveness and aggressiveness of the West in contrast to the humbleness and accommodation of the East. Another is the strong emphasis on parental ties, which is valued in China, but looked upon as a weakness in the United States.
3. Psychological tests, commonly used today in hiring, retaining, and promoting, are highly value-oriented against the Chinese.
4. Cultural attitudes in favor of or against certain lines of work limit the occupational options for many Chinese.
5. Learning English is a more difficult task for the Chinese because of the wide disparity of the two languages. English is based upon a Romanized alphabet and has a highly structured grammar. Chinese is a pictorial and ideographic language with little grammatical construction. To complicate matters, spoken Chinese varies considerably according to local dialects. A Shanghai Chinese cannot understand a Cantonese Chinese, and vice versa. The Cantonese Chinese tend to identify with Chinatowns, whereas the non-Cantonese, alienated from the community, tend to reach out more into the larger society.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The melting pot theory in this nation of immigrants has already been debunked. Lip service has been paid to cultural pluralism in which diversity of cultures is fully accepted, but it is not yet a reality. The "stranger," as Prof. Elliott Skinner⁶ labels the outsider, is never completely accepted. The West has presumed its own superiority for so long that it has disdained to even look at the Eastern cultures. That mistake was already committed by China centuries ago when the Celestial Emperors thought China was the center of universe and there was no need to deal with the barbaric white man. Not until the same blasted such ideas with their gunboats and carved the Chinese empire into foreign spheres of influence did the rulers revise their thinking.

The gunboat tactics worked against the Chinese in the nineteenth century, but are backfiring in the twentieth. The technological culture of the West has reached its zenith, but its social culture lags far behind. We see this in the disintegration of the family, the generation gap, the alienation of the individual from society, labor strife, crime-ridden cities, and the escape through drugs.

Take American competitiveness, which is so highly valued and is the key to upward mobility in the United States. Again, to quote Dr. Hsu: "American competitiveness . . . never brings men together because its basis is 'each for himself'. One individual's gain invariably means some degree of loss to others. . . . The more successful need the inferiority of the less successful to make their triumph more absolute."⁷

As for untying the paternal apronstrings so highly touted as a special characteristic of the top-notch executive, Dr. Hsu has this to say: To the Chinese, "the parent-child ties are permanent rather than transitory. It is taken for granted that they are immutable, and so are not subject to individual acceptance or rejection."⁸ It is precisely in the primordial relations of the family that the Chinese find continuity, permanence, and personal security. That is why some values cannot be compromised. They cannot and should not be given up for a bowl of porridge. Conversely

6. "Theoretical Perspectives on the Stranger," paper presented at Columbia University, Cultural Pluralism Seminar, 1974.

7. Op. cit., p. 305.

8. Ibid., p. 111.

the West could take a few lessons from the East in the sphere of societal precepts. A Chinese sage questions seriously the alleged superiority of Western civilization, which he thinks destroys fathers and sons together.

In your land, power can do nothing. Your politics consists in changes of heart, it leads to general revolution and then to reaction against revolution, which is another revolution. Your leaders do not lead, your free men are forced to labor, you are afraid of your slaves, your great men kiss the feet of the crowd, worship children and depend on everybody.

. . . You have neither the patience that weaves long lives, nor a feeling for the irregular, nor a sense of the fittest place for a thing, nor a knowledge of government. You exhaust yourselves endlessly rebeginning the work of the first day. So your ancestors are twice dead, and you are afraid of death.

. . . We men of these parts feed by continual millions in the most favorable valleys of the earth, and the depth of this immense sea of individuals has kept the form of a family in an unbroken line from the earliest days. Every man here feels that he is both son and father, among thousands and tens of thousands, and is aware of being held fast by the people around him and the dead below him and the people to come like a brick in a brick wall. He holds . . .

Think of the web of your race and tell me, you who cut your roots and dry your flowers, how is it you still exist? Will it be for long? (Italics mine.)

In spite of such admonishment, the cultural values of China's great heritage are loosening their hold on Chinese-Americans. The fallacy of this line of thinking is that to adjust to living in the United States, one must embrace the American way in sum total and cast off the Chinese heritage like an out-grown garment. This tendency is becoming increasingly prevalent, at great psychological damage to those who are the farthest removed from their ancestral culture. I recommend that all Chinese-Americans pause in their

9. Quoted in Paul Valery, "The Wisdom of the Orient," New York Times 25 March 1971 (p. 39).

tracks toward Americanization, and be a little more selective about what is accepted. At the same time, let us study our cultural heritage to see what is superior and can be retained. This way, there will be give and take of the best from both civilizations.

Technological Aids for Language Learning

Where American technology could be put to good use is in the area of language learning. Since Chinese is so radically different from those languages based upon a Roman alphabet, greater time and effort must be devoted to its mastery. Since most immigrants come to the United States full grown and after their formal education has been completed, attending classes poses a formidable hurdle, especially if there are family responsibilities that take on first priority.

In Chapter II, I recommended the establishment of more English language classes for adults. In addition to the classes, which in all likelihood can only be established where there are large concentrations of Chinese, I would recommend that the state education departments or the Federal Office of Education fund the preparation and recording of cassette tapes in English language instruction for Chinese. These tapes should be prepared by linguists versed in the teaching of English as a second language. The Chinese dialect used to explain the terms and the lesson should be Cantonese, rather than Mandarin. There are a number of records and tapes now available for the Mandarin-speaking person, but little for the Cantonese speakers. Yet it is the latter who make up the bulk of the Chinese population in the United States.

These tapes should be made widely available on loan through the public library system to those who do not have time to attend classes. The tapes can be played on any ordinary cassette recorder, so the time and place of their use is flexible. This method of distribution of educational materials does not depart from usual library practice or procedure. Currently, many libraries provide books in Braille for the blind, large-print books for the elderly, and even music records and works of art for music and art lovers. Cassette language tapes could be another service geared to the Chinese who want to learn English on their own.

Ample publicity must be given through the Chinese press and radio to the availability of such tapes. Unless prospective users are informed of the existence and easy accessibility of such tapes, few people will ever benefit from them. Therefore, it is just as important to publicize the tapes as to create them.

CHAPTER XIV

RACISM MODIFIED

Overcoming Stereotypes, Both Good and Bad

As a highly visible and distinct ethnic group, the Chinese in the United States are subject to a number of factors that are not applicable to most other groups looking for jobs or being considered for promotion. One such factor is stereotyping. "Stereotypes are a set of beliefs and disbeliefs about any group of people."¹ Such beliefs or disbeliefs are legitimized as representing classifications of people based on distinctive, easily recognized, and easily articulated criteria shared by members of society. Such attributes, as assigned to a group, may however, be based upon a false impression, a misinterpretation, an outdated characteristic, or a deliberate attempt to disparage a group and relegate it to a disadvantaged social status.

Tied to the Apronstrings of the Mother Country

When will the Chinese-Americans be considered apart from the mother country? Invariably the first question to which any Chinese-American will have to respond when he sits across the desk from an interviewer is, "How long have you been in this country?" Even when the reply is, "I was born here. I've lived here all my life," the presumption is that an ethnic Chinese is a Chinese national forever and ever. He is tied in with the ups and downs of Sino-American relations.

I can wager that favorable or ill treatment of the Chinese in

1. Howard J. Ehrlich, The Social Psychology of Prejudice (New York: John Wiley, 1973), p. 20.

the United States corresponds to the rise and fall of China's international status and her relationship with the United States. Prior to World War II, the Chinese were unassimilable aliens, ineligible to citizenship. During World War II, they were an ally-in-arms, and the Chinese Exclusion Acts were repealed. The Chinese wore buttons proclaiming, "I am Chinese" to differentiate themselves from the Japanese. To have proclaimed, "I am American" would not have served the purpose at all. During the Korean War, Chinese businesses again had to exhibit signs stating, "I am Nationalist Chinese" to disassociate themselves from the Communist Chinese, and J. Edgar Hoover, former director of the FBI, publicly stated that he suspected the entire Chinese-American populace of being potential Communist agents. In 1972, President Nixon's visit to Peking heralded an aura of elevated status and prestige for the Chinese in the United States.

Few other national groups are so irrevocably tied to the apronstrings of the mother country. The Italian never had to answer for the deeds of Mussolini and is never told, when he is critical of some aspect of American life, "Why don't you go back to where you came from?" German-Americans were never incarcerated in concentration camps during World War II. A Russian immigrant is not automatically labeled a Communist. White ethnics were never labelled the "enemy" or "gook," even as they were serving on the front line in the U.S. Army in the Vietnam theater of war, as Asian-Americans were.

An American-born Jew is never asked, "How long have you been in this country?" and he is never complimented on how well he speaks English without an accent. An American black is not associated with any of the African nations. On the contrary Nigerian blacks and West Indian blacks make special efforts to separate themselves from American blacks so that they will be associated with their motherland, but, if they do not wear their native dress and headdress, they are taken for native-born Americans. An ethnic Chinese, however, is taken for a foreigner forever.

"A Foreigner Has No Right to a Job"

When there are many applicants for a job or when a number of aspirants are vying for a promotion, the competition gets keen, and stereotyping serves a very useful purpose for disqualifying potential competitors. If all Chinese-Americans are considered foreign, then patriotism or nationalism can be invoked to place the Chinese-American at a disadvantage: "What right have those foreigners got to take a job away from a full-blooded American?"; "We've got to protect our own."; "Americans first."; and "Those

damned foreigners are taking the bread out of the mouths of our sons and daughters," become the rallying cry.

Somewhere along the line, someone conveniently forgot that this country is a nation of immigrants, and after naturalization, all persons, whether native-born or foreign-born, are citizens and are entitled to all the rights and privileges that such citizenship confers. In an era of declining employment, even third- or fourth-generation Chinese-Americans may be subjected to unpleasantries and hostile stares suggesting that they have deprived "Americans" of their jobs.

Cheap Labor, Hard-Working

The first wave of Chinese immigrants to hit the Western shores over a hundred years ago came as coolies. Coolie literally means bitter strength, and it is true these men had nothing more to offer than their muscles and their labor. They were willing to work at jobs the white man scorned, and they were willing to do it for less. As a result, the Chinese came to be associated with cheap labor.

Stereotypes die hard. More than a century later, the Chinese employee is expected to work for less, and he is offered less than the going rate. Worse yet, it is presumed that Chinese are content with less. The fact that he is earning less than persons with comparable education is documented in Table 64. Some employers may even consider it an affront if a Chinese-American asks for the same salary and working conditions as others of his caliber are commanding.

At the same time, the prevailing belief that all Chinese are hard workers exacts from the Chinese-American an extra toll to live up to the stereotyped expectation. If a Chinese person departs from the stereotyped image of being hardworking, noncomplaining, docile, and quiet, he is told, "You're Chinese, but you don't ACT Chinese," as if all Chinese were alike.

Laundryman, Restaurant Worker

All right, so the predominant occupation of the Chinese in the United States until the 1950s was as laundryman, but, in the year 1975, the Chinese laundryman is fast becoming extinct. Restaurant work is still a very important occupation among the Chinese today, but that does not mean the Chinese are not capable of holding down important jobs or of performing important tasks. Yet, it is rather difficult to get people in this country to accept the fact

that there are Chinese bankers, outstanding Chinese scientists and architects, Chinese presidents of colleges and Chinese presidents of large corporations. Somehow the American mind can not erase the image of the Chinese as mere laundrymen and restaurateurs, and I can safely say that, in the experience of almost every adult Chinese-American, he has been taken at least three times for one or the other or both.

Sometimes it is even hard for the Chinese themselves to accept the fact that some of their kind have penetrated the upper echelon. One day, I noticed a visiting student in my class. After class, she came up to speak to me and she told me that she was from Boston University. I asked her if she knew Calvin Lee.

"I'm a freshman," she replied, "I don't know any of the upperclassmen."

"He's not a student. He was the president." I explained.

"Of the Chinese Student Club? I haven't joined yet."

"No, Calvin Lee was president of Boston University. He left Boston University last year to become Chancellor of the University of Maryland at Baltimore. I just thought you might have known him."

"You're kidding," she said in absolute disbelief. "President of BU! You're kidding!"

On another occasion, a student asked if he could do his term paper on some outstanding Chinese-American. He had come across the name Admiral Chang of the United States Navy, and was extremely curious about how a person of Oriental ancestry ever got to be an admiral of the United States Navy. Chang is a very common Chinese name, and I was every bit as curious as my student to track down this information. To tell the truth, I was quite skeptical. I confessed that I simply could not visualize someone of Chinese ancestry being in such high office in the military command. Fortunately, my negativism did not deter my student. It turned out that, although Admiral Chang was not Chinese, he was an Oriental of Korean descent. Such feelings of inadequacy are symptomatic of a people who have been relegated to an inferior status over a prolonged period of time, and the low self-esteem is a decided drawback to upward mobility of a group highly qualified in other respects.

Favorable Labels

Some stereotypes attributed to the Chinese have been laudatory,

rather than derogatory. Such favorable labels tacked on to the group as a whole are industrious, honest, dependable, intelligent, efficient, and strongly familial. Elsewhere in this report, I have presented anecdotes which illustrate how such blanket labels have aided the Chinese in finding employment. In fact, when business firms are under compulsion to upgrade their minority representation, the Chinese are actively sought by personnel officers who earnestly believe that all Chinese possess these qualities. My nephew, who works for a major oil company, was the first Oriental hired by that firm. Shortly afterwards, the vice-president in charge of personnel took him to lunch and solicited his help in getting more Chinese to work for the company.

I interviewed a recruiter from one of the largest electrical and appliance manufacturers in the country. The question I put to her was: "Do you think racial discrimination is still a factor to contend with for the Chinese job applicant?"

"On the contrary," she replied. "Whenever we see a Chinese name, we flag the application."

A Chinese friend of mine on Long Island runs a home-cleaning service. He owns the business, but he does not do the cleaning himself, nor does he use Chinese help. The business goes under a Chinese name, so my friend was able to quickly attract a long list of potential customers. However, when the workmen showed up to do the cleaning, many housewives called the office in protest. "We thought you were going to send us Chinese workmen," they insisted. "The Chinese are so much more dependable and reliable."

As mechanisms for the reinforcement of prejudice, stereotypes can be irrational and contradictory. The Chinese are at once honest and sneaky; they are cunning and mysterious. "You just can't trust them." They are artistic, but not creative. They are immoral, yet highly civilized. They are good businessmen, and they are Communists. Take your pick. Stereotypes, whether good or bad, are not applicable to every member in the group. The determinants of stereotypes are to be found, not in the target group, but in the environment,² and those characteristics attributed to the Chinese which affect their economic status are to be found in the social setting and the economy of the United States. They change with the international climate and they change with the economic situation. They are applied to the group without allowing for individual differences.

2. Ibid.

Does Belief Lead to Action?

Stereotypes are a set of beliefs about a group. Prejudice is a negative attitude, but discrimination is overt action and prejudice acted out. Today's practitioners of discrimination are no longer openly crude. No one will put a want ad in the newspaper saying, "Chinese need not apply." Laws could never pass legislative bodies today in the out-and-out racist language commonly found in the anti-Chinese statutes of the 1880s. Federal government policy is no longer officially racist. There are even watchdogs in government and private agencies who protect and seek to guard the interests of racial minorities. But that does not mean that prejudice and discrimination no longer exist. Some of it is rerouted. Some are masked and given respectable euphemisms; some are hung on institutional hooks. When accomplished through these diversionary tactics, it is disguised and no longer recognizable.

For example, the first Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 did not have any qualms about naming the Chinese specifically. By 1924, racism had put on silk gloves, and the yellow and brown peoples were redefined as "aliens ineligible to citizenship." The end result was the same.

Law and order means one thing to the whites and another thing to the blacks. To the latter, it means keeping the black in his place. To the majority group and to a naive world at large, it means a legitimate function of government to exercise social control.

"Local experience" is a new term that is frequently encountered by Chinese immigrants looking for employment outside of the Chinatown community. For example, a reservation agent who worked for an international airline for five years in Hong Kong may apply for a similar job in New York. Her experience is discounted, or not counted at all, because she does not have local experience, meaning experience in the United States. In some instances, local experience is important to job performance, but, in most instances, the skills and experience are readily transferrable, given a short period of reorientation. Therefore local experience translates into a "No" that is difficult for an immigrant to overcome.

Inequities and Disadvantages

To what extent is employment discrimination practiced against the Chinese and what form does it take? I think we have touched upon this topic in almost every chapter of this report. It would be redundant to repeat everything here. Discrimination against the Chinese is no longer expressed in outright hostility, but is

grounded more along the lines of inequities and disadvantages stemming from their immigration status or cultural conflicts and dissimilarities.

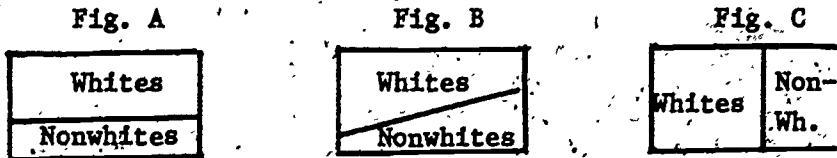
Unfortunately, some of these inequities pose employment barriers that are impossible for large numbers of Chinese to scale through personal effort. Examples of these are such legal roadblocks as citizenship requirements--minimum waiting period of five years--or probationary periods for refugees--minimum waiting period two years. Another solid wall against an ethnic group which has so recently been admitted to these shores after nearly a century of exclusion is state prohibited employment of foreign-trained professionals. The father-son tradition of gaining admittance to the trade union is an area where the Chinese find it almost impossible to effect a breakthrough.

The disadvantages shouldered by the Chinese which are inherent in their cultural differences can be moderated somewhat through personal effort. How? By attending English language classes, by persevering through the period of cultural shock and transition, and by being better or more competitive. There is no question that the Chinese have to try harder to obtain the same or lesser results, and no one can or will dispute the fact that gross inequality exists.

Tilting the Boundary

However, let us recognize that there has been substantial progress in economic opportunities for minorities within the past several decades. The facts and figures bear this out.³ The progress has not been uniformly distributed nor equally applied, but significant changes for the better have come about.

Roger Daniels and Harry Kitano, in their book, American Racism,⁴ depict the change in the models given below.



All whites superior. Most whites superior. No group superior.

3. Bayard Rustin, "Affirmative Action in an Economy of Scarcity," New York Teacher 3 November 1974.

4. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 95.

TABLE 84

MAJOR OCCUPATIONS OF THE FOREIGN-BORN CHINESE, BY YEAR OF IMMIGRATION, NUMBERS, AND PERCENT, 1970

Major Occupation Group	Year of Immigration											Before 1915	Total For.-Born
	1965-1970	1960-1964	1955-1960	1950-1954	1945-1949	1935-1944	1925-1934	1915-1924					
Professionals (Percent)	14,700 30.0	9,500 35.8	7,300 39.5	4,000 29.0	3,800 30.2	1,300 12.5	300 3.9	100 1.5	0 0.0	41,700			
Managers (Percent)	1,300 2.6	800 3.0	1,000 5.4	1,400 10.1	600 4.8	2,400 23.1	1,000 13.2	1,300 19.7	400 30.8	10,300			
Sales Workers (Percent)	2,700 5.5	1,100 4.2	800 4.3	200 1.4	500 4.0	400 3.8	700 9.2	100 1.5	100 7.7	6,600			
Clerical Workers (Percent)	8,700 17.7	5,200 19.6	3,000 16.2	800 5.8	1,300 10.3	300 2.9	800 10.5	500 7.6	0 0.0	20,600			
Craftsmen (Percent)	1,400 2.8	700 2.6	700 3.8	700 5.1	300 2.4	600 5.8	200 2.6	200 3.0	0 0.0	5,200			
Operatives (Percent)	7,200 14.6	4,500 17.0	3,100 16.8	2,300 16.7	2,600 20.6	2,400 23.1	1,500 19.7	1,000 15.2	200 15.4	2,500			
Laborers (Percent)	800 1.6	500 1.9	100 0.5	100 0.7	400 3.2	100 1.0	200 2.6	200 3.0	0 0.0	2,500			
Farm Workers (Percent)	200 0.4	100 0.4	0 0.0	100 0.7	0 0.0	100 1.0	0 0.0	100 1.5	0 0.0	600			
Service Workers (Percent)	11,300 23.0	3,800 14.3	2,500 13.5	4,200 30.4	3,100 24.6	2,800 26.9	2,500 32.9	2,900 43.9	400 30.8	34,200			
Private Household (Percent)	900 1.8	300 1.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	400 5.3	200 3.0	200 15.4	2,000			
TOTAL (100%)	49,200	26,500	18,500	13,800	12,600	10,400	7,600	6,600	1,300	126,200			

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Special Tabulation, Public Use Sample Data (1970).

The authors maintain that American society as presently structured supports a two-category system of stratification in race relations. The whites are equated with the superior and the non-whites with the inferior. The boundaries are maintained by beliefs, attitudes, organizations, structures, institutions, and mechanisms which support the distinction between races. The once horizontal boundary line in Figure A has now given way to the tilting line of Figure B, and may progress to a vertical line, as in Figure C, where no group is superior to the other, but each group coexists side by side without removal of the boundary and loss of group identity.

I believe that the Chinese have tilted the dividing boundary in the manner described by Daniels and Kitano. Some individuals have done better than their white counterparts, but they have not completely touched the top, whereas most are still in the lower half of Figure B.

Some indication of occupational mobility can be gleaned from Table 84. Immigrants who came to the United States prior to 1945 have, by and large, remained in the operatives and service workers category. The percentage in the managerial classification is deceptive. As previously pointed out, most of these people are self-employed managers of their own small businesses. Keeping in mind that the type of Chinese immigrants changed drastically after 1949, we can see that those who had been in the United States for twenty years at the time of the 1960 census have managed to move up into the professional category to the extent of 39.5 percent. At the same time, the service workers category shrank to 13.5 percent.

A smaller percentage of the more recent immigrants in the 1965-1970 column are in the professional group (30 percent), and more are in the service workers category (23 percent). It seems that given time--and the span may be a twenty-year period or an entire generation--upward mobility does occur. The first-generation may not see the fruits of its labor and its struggles, but at least the second-generation may reap or harvest what their parents sowed.

These assertions can be documented from two sources. Tables 71 and 72 show current occupation and occupation five years ago and current industry and industry five years ago of the Chinese. Delineating the largest figure in each vertical column gives us a perfectly diagonal line, showing that the Chinese do not move out of their occupations readily--at least not in a five-year span. Of the 16,400 Chinese males who were service workers in 1965, 14,000 were still service workers in 1970. This immobility in occupation and industry held true consistently.

TABLE 85

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AS REFLECTED IN TWO GENERATIONS
OF CHINESE CCNY GRADUATES' FAMILIES

<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Father's Occupation</u>	<u>CCNY Alumni's Present Occupation</u>
20	Laundrymen	6 teachers, 2 engineers, 1 accountant, 1 manager, 1 scientist, 2 executives, 1 actuary/trainee, 1 computer programmer, 2 clerks, 3 no responses.
15	Restaurant Workers	2 teachers, 2 engineers, 2 managers, 1 executive, 1 computer programmer, 1 hospital investigator, 1 supervisor, 1 field assistant, 2 unemployed, 2 no responses.
3	Engineers	2 engineers, 1 intern
2	Teachers	1 engineer, 1 scientist
1	Accountant	1 consultant
1	Statistician	1 engineer
6	Businessmen	2 teachers, 1 junior executive, 1 actuary/trainee, 1 research assistant, 1 UN worker
2	Clerks	1 patent attorney, 1 clerk
1	Seaman	1 engineer
1	Clergyman	1 teacher
1	Houseboy	1 junior executive
1	Warehouse Worker	1 engineer
1	Adult Education Aide	1 armed forces
1	Manager	1 no response
1	Officer	1 engineer
1	Chinese Association President	1 teacher

TABLE 85--continued

<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Father's Occupation</u>	<u>CCNY Alumni's Present Occupation</u>
7	Retired	3 teachers, 2 lab technicians, 1 businessman, 1 student
3	Unemployed	1 teacher, 1 research assistant, 1 supervisor
5	Deceased	1 teacher, 1 junior executive, 1 lab technician, 1 businessman, 1 technician
7	No Response	3 engineers, 1 computer programmer, 1 consultant, 1 technician, 1 clerk
80	TOTAL	

Source: Survey of City College New York Chinese Alumni (1972).

My Son, the Engineer

However, upward occupational mobility does become a reality for the second generation, if a small sample of the alumni of City College of New York is representative of the lower socioeconomic class of Chinese in the United States. CCNY is a municipal, tuition-free institution of higher learning that has traditionally attracted the sons and daughters of immigrant families in this gateway metropolis. From 1960 to 1972, CCNY graduated 400 students of Chinese ancestry. A questionnaire sent to these alumni netted 80 replies. The occupation of the father was compared to that of the graduate. This information is tabulated in Table 85. Thirty-five of the total respondents gave their fathers' occupation as laundryman or restaurant worker. Others included seamen, clerk, house-boy, warehouse worker, and a scattered few as businessmen or professionals. In general, the fathers held low-level, low-paying jobs. The column to the right gives the occupations of the CCNY graduates. The job titles show that most are in the professions, in business, in technical work, or in administration. The four in clerical work are females. In general the income of these graduates is higher than the median United States family income for 1969.

When asked if they were satisfied with their jobs, 44 of the graduates said yes, seventeen said no, fourteen gave no answer and five were not sure.

What were their chances for advancement? The tabulated figures were: excellent, 14; good, 25; fair, 12; poor, 11; no response, 18.

When queried about what they thought were the main obstacles to occupational advancement, the reasons given were:

Economic conditions	24
No social contacts	22
Inadequate training	19
Language problem	5
Lack of interest or ability	5
Being female	5
Racism	1
No opportunity	1
Laziness	1
No response	19
TOTAL	98 (some alumni gave more than one reason)

The number of responses in this survey is too small to be indicative in any way, but the largest number of those who did

reply felt that economic conditions was the primary factor governing their upward mobility, and a close second was lack of social contacts. Both of these factors merit a little further comment.

1975--Recession Going into Depression

The acid test comes when economic conditions are bad. It is easy to be tolerant and magnanimous when there is prosperity and full employment. And that is what this country has enjoyed, except for minor dips, since World War II. In this favorable economic climate, minorities in the United States were able to push for betterment of their status, and they have succeeded in tilting the horizontal bar as depicted in Figure B above. But as I sit here at my typewriter in 1975, dark clouds shroud the economic horizon. Creeping anxiety and insecurity are gripping the nation. Opportunist politicians are already calling for a crackdown on aliens. Some of the gains from the Civil Rights Movement, Equal Employment Opportunity, Affirmative Action, and Contract Compliance have already been eroded. The black unemployment rate is twice that of the whites. The Bureau of Labor Statistics does not issue separate figures for Asians, so we have no way of knowing how the Chinese are faring.

Heated debates ensue over the question whether seniority provisions are to be modified in favor of minorities. Strong voices are raised against the goals and timetables of the Affirmative Action plans. Will the government ease its pressure on employers to comply with the law on minority hiring if the economic situation worsens?

Seniority

This job security clause is contained in virtually all collective bargaining contracts. But minorities charge that seniority perpetuates discrimination because they were last hired, hence first in line to be fired. Companies caught between the collective bargaining agreements and contracts signed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have asked the courts for a decision. In the Jersey Central Power & Light Company case, the judge ordered the company and union "to work something out consistent with both contracts."⁵ The solution was to set up three seniority lists.

5. Marilyn Bender, "Job Discrimination 10 Years After the Ban," New York Times 10 November 1974.

One for minorities, one for females, and one for all others. Layoffs would come from the bottom of the lists rotating from Column A to Column B to Column C, thereby preserving some of the gains made by minorities and women.

Quotas

In another case, Charles Watkins et al., v. the Continental Can Company and the Steelworkers Union, the judge ordered the reinstatement of seven blacks according to a formula that would help maintain their steady percentage in the work force. Out of a work force of 400, there were originally 50 blacks. In a drastic cutback, the company retained only 149 whites and 2 blacks. The judge held that the blacks' low seniority and the disparate effect the layoffs had on them stemmed from the company's racially discriminatory hiring policies before 1965.

Appeal on the Watkins case is being watched very closely. Many legal minds contend that it cannot be upheld. William J. Kilberg, Solicitor of Labor at the Labor Department said, "It's one thing when people are laid off and there are other jobs in the community. But when you compound layoffs with the knowledge that there are no other jobs and you add to that a racial overtone, you have a serious problem. It shouldn't be handled cavalierly by middle-class white lawyers who are in no danger of losing their jobs. Employment is life. It's food."⁶

Making a distinction between quotas and goals is very difficult. Both are based on percentages, but quotas are fixed, whereas goals are flexible objectives to aim for within a certain time limit.

Reverse Discrimination

Are minorities getting priority consideration for the scarce jobs? Are they being hired over the better qualified white males? "Definitely," assert the whites, and the number of complaints charging reverse discrimination are rising rapidly. Some indication of the courts' stance was expected from the Defunis case, in which a white male said he was discriminated against by the University of Washington Law School because other candidates with lower test scores and lower grades were admitted whereas he was not. By

6. Ibid.

the time the courts came around to hearing the case, the issue was a moot one, and they said as much. Mr. Defunis had been belatedly admitted and had already earned his law degree.

On charges of reverse discrimination, Mr. John Powell, chairman of the Federal EEOC, said, "There might be cases where the expectations of the white majority might have to be modified."⁷ Robert D. Lilley, president of ATT, expanded on this viewpoint by saying, "What the white male is losing is not opportunity itself but the favored place he's held over the years in relation to that opportunity."

It does seem that some effort is being made to hold onto some of the gains made by minorities over the past two decades. Civil Rights, Equal Employment Opportunity, Affirmative Action were not completely abandoned at the first sign of economic setback. However, the decision in the cases cited above were handed down toward the latter part of 1974, just when the recession was beginning to be felt. As the recession deepened and unemployment climbed, Affirmative Action plans came under stronger attacks. Selective hiring giving an edge to minorities was expressly forbidden, and, in the case of the appointment of a school principal in New York's school district No. 4, the job was taken away from a woman of Puerto Rican extraction and given to a white male because of the latter's higher qualifications.

Antidiscrimination Legislation

There is no question that antidiscrimination legislation has been a strong lever in raising the status of minorities, and the Chinese have benefited as much as the blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other ethnics. These laws were strong levers and they were strong crutches. But as Bayard Rustin said, "An affirmative action program cannot find jobs for the unemployed or help the underemployed into better jobs if those jobs do not exist."⁸ Racism and discrimination cannot be dealt with outside the context of the American economy.

Lack of Social Contacts

The other main reason given by CCNY Chinese alumni as the

7. Quoted in Ibid.

8. Rustin, Loc cit.

determining factors of occupational mobility was lack of social contacts. In a speech presented before the Asian-American Conference at Princeton in 1974, Professor James Wei gave a birdseye view of where the Chinese engineers and scientists are at today. Professor Wei, a graduate of MIT, formerly taught at Princeton. He worked for Mobil Oil and Dow Chemical for many years and now holds a chair professorship at the University of Wilmington.

Pointing out that engineering is one of the major occupations of the Chinese male professional, he said that the diversity of jobs held by Chinese engineers today was simply beyond the imagination back in 1950. Chinese engineers tend to go into fields where the technology is changing rapidly, such as electronics, aeronautics, petroleum, and chemistry. These fields are challenging and demanding. Not too many Chinese engineers are in highway construction or the building of schools or public housing, and Professor Wei gave a very plausible reason for their absence. "You need political connections for these projects," he explained.

"If I were to grade the accomplishments of Chinese engineers as a group over these past twenty-five years," Professor Wei continued, "I think I would give them a B in terms of prestige, in terms of numbers in the field, and in terms of income. But in positions of responsibility, they are conspicuously absent. At the management level, you are no longer dealing with concepts or things, you are dealing with people, and upward mobility is determined by socializing and social amenities."

This is precisely the area to which the Chinese must pay attention. They are going to have to attack the bulwarks of private clubs and elitist organizations, and they are going to encounter resistance. As the Chinese reach beyond the middle level, the ascent becomes steeper, the competition keener, and the going rougher. All things being equal, racism may rear its ugly head and reinject itself at the higher levels just as it is being reduced at the lower ones.

Will efforts toward meeting the standards set by the dominant groups eliminate the boundaries between the races? A brilliant colleague of mine advances the theory that cleavages between the races can never be bridged. Once a group in the lower stratum attains the culture, the speech, the values, and the way of life of the upper stratum, the standards will be changed or revised and other impediments put in their path so that the lower stratum will never come up to the expectations of the upper. Hence one group will always feel superior to the other by some imposed criteria.

There is some validity to this line of reasoning, but it is too defeatist and pessimistic an attitude. Without hope, there is no incentive and no reason to go on. I believe that there are remedies or, at least, improvements to problems. I believe that knowledge and understanding of the differences between peoples and the underlying causes of their friction can pave the way toward solutions.

This research and report on the occupational status and economic characteristics of the Chinese in the United States is a means to that end. By looking at their special circumstances and conditions, by finding out where they are at, by assessing the impact of their history in this country, by pointing out the divergence of their culture from American expectations, and by bringing out the inequities and disadvantages shouldered by the Chinese, we obtain the facts with which to come to workable solutions.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. The Chinese are hindered by stereotypes applied to the group.
2. No matter how far back the roots of a Chinese-American go in this country, he is always looked upon as a foreigner, an alien, and a usurper of what rightfully belongs to "Americans."
3. Attitudes toward Chinese-Americans ride up and down from goodwill to hostility, depending upon the foreign relations of the United States and China.
4. It is hard to rid employers of the notion that all Chinese will work harder for less.
5. It is also difficult to shed the laundryman, restaurant worker image.
6. Low self-esteem can work to the psychological detriment of the Chinese.
7. Some stereotypes of the Chinese are laudatory and some are contradictory, which goes to show how illogical they can be.
8. Discrimination is no longer blatant. Some of it is routed. Some is masked, and some is hung on institutional hooks. One must look more carefully to unmask the disguises.
9. Substantial progress has been effected in economic opportunities for the Chinese. Upward mobility is not generally experienced by the first generation. It is the second generation that reaps the harvest of the hardships and toil of the first.
10. With the country facing economic adversity, the gains of the minorities over the past two decades may be eroded and set back.
11. Questions of seniority and quotas versus affirmative action plans and charges of reverse discrimination are being tested in the courts. In the first round, minorities seemed to have held onto some of their gains, but the final round may tell a different story. In sum, the economic health of the nation determines to a large extent the race relations.
12. Lack of social contacts is one of the main roadblocks to upward mobility for the Chinese.
13. Research and reports like this one provide the background and the facts for workable solutions to the problems of the Chinese-Americans.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The language of today's stereotypes is far more positive than the one applied to the Chinese in the early days of the West, but stereotypes are not constant. They change with the economic weather, and they improve or deteriorate according to the relations of the United States with the ancestral land.

Can race relations be improved through education or contact or information? To a limited degree, yes, under the right conditions. Education and information by themselves do not change attitudes. Science has proved there is no innate difference between the races but that does not lessen conviction that some races are inferior to others.

The saying that "No man is a hero to his valet" asserts that close contact does not necessarily reduce prejudice. Eminent psychologists have already established this fact. Southerners were no less prejudiced toward their black mummies, although the relationship may have been one as close as mother and child.

Stereotypes and prejudices are shaped primarily by three dominant influences in a person's life--the family, the school, and the media. Family influence is the strongest and the most lasting, but so far as the government is concerned, the family cannot be the starting point in any attempt to dispel stereotypes and reduce prejudice because it is difficult to reach into individual homes. The variables are too great and the target too dispersed.

That leaves the school and the media, both of which are highly concentrated and centrally controlled. Choice of school curriculum, textbooks, and educational materials are matters of board policies or decisions made by a few school administrators. Over two-thirds of the American population lives in metropolitan areas where a few school boards wield tremendous influence over the educational content of our public schools. These people have the power to influence, for better or worse, the attitudes, the thinking, and even the actions of our future citizens. With compulsory education, all our children are processed, for six hours a day, for ten to twelve years of their formative years, through the schools. This is the vital area in any attempt to ameliorate the pervasive racism that afflicts our nation.

Surprisingly few textbooks contain any reference whatsoever to the role of the Chinese in the early development of the American West and their ignominious treatment and exclusion from this country. I have examined high school history texts 800-pages thick in which only one sentence mentioned the Chinese in the United States in

passing. Most texts I examined had no reference at all.

Art appreciation courses ignore completely the entire spectrum of artistic achievement in the East. The omission tends to suggest that Eastern civilization had little art worthy of appreciation. High school students have at least heard of Shakespeare, Goethe, Hugo, Dostoevski, but have they ever had a chance to see the names. Li Po, Tu Fu, or Ssu Ma Chien in print?

In New York City, only one public school out of 800 offered Chinese language as a course of study prior to the implementation of bilingual education. I doubt if any other city outside of California offers the Chinese language in its public schools at all.

My recommendation is that a special commission be appointed on the national level to review the curriculum and the content of our educational matter for intentional ethnic slurs and stereotyping, not just for Chinese-Americans, but for all ethnic groups. The commission would make recommendations to the secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for the introduction of a more balanced curriculum and for a more diverse study of the peoples and areas of the world. Currently, the course of study in our schools is predominantly European centered, but our dealings with the world are not. Today's newspaper headlines are focused more on Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin American than on Europe. The United States finds itself tremendously handicapped when it knows so little about these vast continents and their peoples. For their own sake and for the sake of the future course of American history, American children must be exposed to and led to appreciate the differences in the varied races, cultures, and languages. If their entire education is lacking in any exposure to these places, people, and things, later contact will only render them suspicious and supercilious toward these strangers. The schools, therefore, are the appropriate place and the most powerful force toward effecting any modification of stereotypes and prejudice.

The Media

At prime time on any given day, 50 million people may be sitting in front of their television sets. In 1969, 95 percent of the households reported that they had a television set, and a third of these reported that they had two sets or more. Radios are even more commonplace, being found not only in the home, but in almost every automobile on the street. Only three television networks and seven radio networks control the airwaves. With such awesome power concentrated in a few hands, television and radio can pretty

much determine the minds of the American people. The medium of print is no less influential in whatever form: books, periodicals, newspapers, advertisements, and the comics. Nor can we omit the movies and records. The media already stands indicted for a host of past sins. The stamp of Fu Manchu, the Dragon Lady, Chop-Chop, the pidgin-English-speaking domestic are still with us.

Can we expect some reform in the future? At the Civil Rights Commission Hearings in New York City on July 1974, representatives from the media all admitted that their consciousness was raised by the testimony presented before the panel. Television and radio stations, advertisement agencies, and representatives from a number of the major newspapers in New York testified that they had review boards to screen for offensive ethnic slurs or material of questionable taste. Yet, when confronted with examples of offensive characterization or commercials, most of the representatives confessed that they had not thought of these commercials as such.

An example given was a pesticide commercial. In the ad, we first see a swarm of menacing insects threatening our homes. With one spray of the insecticide, all the pests meet their doom. The ad is effective in selling insecticides, but it also depicts the insects with slanted eyes and Oriental features.

Another ad sold men's shirts. The scene is one with a slinky, sexy, gorgeous "China doll" admiring the tall, blonde Caucasian man who towers above a group of short, dark Asian men. "I see nothing offensive in that ad," objected an advertising man. "The girl is presented as a beautiful woman, beautifully attired. Any woman would be proud to be her."

"Which goes to prove our point that non-Asians are not tuned in to Asian sensitivity," was the reply. "Why is it that Asian women are always in the role of looking up to white men? Would you have reversed the scene by showing a beautiful white woman admiring a Chinese man with envious Caucasians looking on?"

A recommendation to the media, therefore, is to open their ranks to Asian writers, reporters, editors, producers, cameramen, performers, and actors. According to Alvin Ing, president of the Oriental Actors Association, the number of Asians employed by the media is very grim. There is not one Asian actor on Broadway today. About five years ago, the figures showed only one Asian-American actor on Broadway in three years.

In 1974, a landmark decision was handed down against the Lincoln Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center in New York, finding it guilty of discrimination because "it systematically failed or refused to give

equal opportunity to Asian American actors, particularly as evidenced by the regular awarding of Oriental parts to non-Oriental actors." Black-face⁹ is no longer practiced on the stage or in television, but yellow-face is still quite prevalent. The star of Kung Fu, a popular T.V. show, is a case in point.

Those Chinese-Americans who have entered the media have done great credit to themselves. Connie Chung, who has international exposure on WCBS-TV, is a prime example. In 1971, she was named Outstanding Young Woman of America, and the American Association of University Women awarded her the Metro Area Mass Media citation for outstanding excellence in the field of news reporting. However, the Connie Chungs are rare. At the New York Civil Rights Hearings, the media said it would welcome more applications from Asians. Admittedly, the Asians are apprehensive about their chances. It would facilitate matters if the industry could set up an apprenticeship program for minorities, and pursue a vigorous Affirmative Action plan to tap the hidden reservoir of latent Asian talent.

My last recommendation would be to the Chinese themselves. They have the privilege, the duty, and the obligation to protect their interests and their image from false or offensive representation. That is why organizations such as the Chinese for Affirmative Action in San Francisco are to be commended for their efforts. This organization works actively for the eradication of stereotypes and the expansion of employment opportunities for Asians. Join such organizations or lend them your support. If you cannot be involved directly, contribute to their operating expenses. Inform yourselves of the levers of control in the American system. For example, every three years the radio and television stations come up for review of station performance in the renewal of their licenses. Leverage can be exerted at this time, if not sooner, for some accountability by the stations. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," is a statement attributed to Thomas Jefferson: If the white forefathers had to pay the price then in the founding of this nation, it is no less true now in the preservation of the nation.

9. Blacking a white man's face to enable him to play the role of a black.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study and research was fourfold:

1. To generate a basic statistical body of data from reliable sources about the Chinese in the United States.
2. To zero in on Chinese-American manpower and employment characteristics.
3. To point out areas of cultural differences and divergence which affect the attitude, behavior, and performance of the Chinese in this country in their quest for a meaningful livelihood.
4. To make concrete suggestions for expanding, both vertically and horizontally, the occupational horizon of the Chinese-Americans.

The task that I mapped out for myself was a large one. If it was too ambitious, at least it was a beginning. Now that I am about to put the final period to this report, I fervently hope that this study is but the first of many to come. So much needs to be known about the entire area of social and economic circumstances of an even lesser-known ethnic group that is undergoing tremendous upheaval. That is why the purpose listed first above took priority above all the others. From the data developed, I hope other researchers will take up where I left off.

Basic Statistical Body of Data

As was mentioned in the Foreword and as is quite obvious throughout the report, my data came primarily from the 1970 census. Its limitations already have been stated, but the data did reflect a wide sample at a certain time. Since there is no other comparable data bank as comprehensive as the 1970 census, it was used primarily as a jumping-off place. At least it provided some facts where none existed before. And in years to come the data will be part of the history of the Chinese in the United States.

In my desire to take every advantage of the special opportunity afforded me under the Manpower Administration grant to undertake a special tabulation, I tried to extract as much information as I could

reasonably handle without going too far astray from the main topic of occupation and employment. Although some of the data may not have been used for this report, the statistics were tabulated nevertheless.

Examples of what I am alluding to are three separate monographs put out under the imprimatur of the Asian Studies Department at City College New York on ethnic population by census tracts for eleven major SMSAs. These tables provide a detailed breakdown of minority populations in the major urban centers of the United States. Hopefully, demographers, social scientists, school boards, and government agencies will find these tabulations useful for their particular purposes. Copies were made available to the Manpower Administration, the Census Bureau, and research libraries.

The Census Bureau tabulated and published some data on Chinese-Americans for only five states. I was able to obtain comparable data for the remaining forty-five states. When the tabulations are published, Chinese in all fifty states may obtain figures pertaining to their own area.

Even in the tables used and reproduced in this report, I tried to be more inclusive and detailed rather than abbreviated or concise. This tends to make the tables a little cumbersome and difficult to read, but for the sake of those who need a detailed breakdown, the information will be available. It is possible to add up the parts to arrive at the whole, but the process is not reversible.

There are rich diggings in the statistical information from the tables in this report for other researchers, students, academicians, social scientists, urban planners, community workers, and others. My findings and analyses only grazed the surface. Perhaps others will find different interpretations from the same figures. Maybe the figures will spark other ideas that can be pursued further.

Quite obviously, the 1970 census was not the only statistical source utilized. State and municipal government publications were consulted wherever and whenever possible, and these yielded unexpected findings for our purposes. Once uncovered as sources of information, they can be tapped again and again for future reference.

To relate governmental statistics to what is actually happening in the communities takes a thorough familiarity with the Chinese communities and their leaders in a number of cities spanning the American continent. Through the medium of this report, I have tried to express some of the thoughts, the anxieties, and the suggestions of many working in the field who are concerned and who are ethnically conscious about their place in the larger American scheme. These feelings were garnered through interviews, through correspondence, or expressed at conferences. I hope that I have accurately conveyed

these thoughts.

One area that was not touched upon at all was housing. This was covered by a separate census and a bit removed from occupation and employment. Since time was limited, no attempt was made to deal with this subject, but it deserves priority attention as an area of major concern.

Summary of Findings

Occupation is livelihood which translates into income, food, and survival. Since it is a basic determinant of our daily existence--how we live, our social status, and how we spend the major portion of our waking hours--it is the most logical area with which to begin any study of the Chinese in the United States. The thrust of this report is aimed at the economic characteristics and occupational status of the Chinese with a view toward finding out where and how they stand and to make suggestions for improvement where necessary and feasible.

At the end of every chapter in this report, I listed the findings that had a bearing on employment aspects of the Chinese. To recapitulate briefly, I have set down the more significant factors below:

1. The history of the Chinese in the United States goes back for more than 100 years, but the Chinese have perpetually remained an immigrant group due to the past exclusionary policies of this country.
2. Immigration has increased spectacularly since 1965, when the immigration laws were revised.
3. The new law favors the professional and skilled. Consequently, there has been a shift in the type of Chinese immigrants coming in.
4. The new immigrants are heading eastward--especially to New York City.
5. The 1970 census data do not reflect from one-fifth to one-fourth of the Chinese who have entered the country since that time.
6. This vast increase in immigrants has once again tilted the Chinese population in this country toward a foreign-born one.
7. The foreign-born are handicapped by the tremendous adjustment they have to make, by the language barrier, and by their lack of citizenship.

8. The Chinese population is concentrated along three vertical strips in the United States: the East and West Coasts and the Hawaiian Islands.

9. Ninety-seven percent of the Chinese are found in large urban cities, primarily New York, San Francisco, Honolulu, and Los Angeles.

10. The new immigrants need the security of Chinatowns to help them in their transition. In those cities with large immigrant populations, the Chinatowns are expanding and the problems are more acute. These are the areas of greatest need.

11. As presently constituted, the Chinese population is one of extremes with concentrations at opposite ends of the pole, education-wise and occupation-wise. They tend to be either college graduates or illiterates, and they are in the professions or service work.

12. The Chinese labor force in 1970 was but 190,000.

13. A very narrow range of jobs, such as restaurant work, engineering, and college teaching, are the most prevalent occupations for Chinese males.

14. A phenomenal increase toward the professions is especially evident among the younger generation Chinese-Americans.

15. One-third of the Chinese females have some college education, but they are concentrated in two areas of employment--garment work and clerical work.

16. The proportion of Chinese females in the labor force is greater than that for black or white females.

17. The Chinese female is pitifully underemployed and underpaid compared to either her white or black sisters.

18. The effect of employment on the Chinese-American females has been postponement of marriage and postponement of children, resulting in a birthrate below replacement level.

19. Close to one out of five Chinese in the labor force is in government service.

20. In government, the Chinese are primarily professionals or technicians, and they have attained the middle ranks.

21. In state and local government, they are almost totally

absent from such agencies as the sanitation, fire, or police departments.

22. In the construction industry, where the unions control the hiring and firing, the Chinese are conspicuously absent. The union stronghold has been assaulted but not penetrated as yet.

23. The Chinese family median income is higher than the national average, but the figures in themselves are deceptive.

24. The higher income may be the result of more people in the family working, having more than one job, working longer hours or a longer work week. The Chinese put in long work hours, not so much from choice as from necessity.

25. The substantially lower personal income figures reveal a more accurate measure.

26. In Hawaii, where the Chinese have experienced less discrimination, the median family income is close to \$6,000 higher than that of the Chinese in New York. Substantial differences like these reveal where the troubled areas are.

27. The Chinese concept of income differs from the American, so dollars and cents may not represent a true income picture.

28. The unemployment rate for the Chinese labor force is comparatively low. One explanation may be that the Chinese work at jobs beneath their ability and qualifications rather than be unemployed. Hence, underemployment is fairly widespread.

29. A disquieting factor seems to be the erratic work year; the Chinese are not employed the year round.

30. Whereas the Chinese used to compensate for their disadvantaged position in the labor market by hard work, there is a decided shift in this attitude among the younger generations growing up in the United States.

31. Career motivations are based more upon opportunity for decision-making, doing something worthwhile, and doing what you enjoy doing rather than on the more conventional motives of duty, money, or status.

32. Self-employment or small business enterprises, once the predominant mode of employment for the Chinese, has declined precipitously. In 1970, the ratio of salaried and wage workers to the self-employed was 8:1.

33. The traditional family-operated enterprises, such as laundries, gift shops, grocery stores, and restaurants, are losing ground to occupations in the professions and incorporated businesses.

34. The Chinese have the temperament and background for successful entrepreneurship. At the same time, they have access to limited capital through their habit of thrift and their community credit facilities.

Cultural Anchors and Differences

More than for most other ethnic groups in the United States, the employment pattern of the Chinese is a product of their culture. Their cuisine created for them a field of employment in restaurants and food service that has lasted for more than a hundred years. Their esteem for the scholar and for learning prodded them on to high educational attainment, even when college degrees brought no prospect of occupational rewards. The status of being a government official was prestigious enough to lure one-fifth of the Chinese-American labor force into government. The bonds of the kinship family were so strong that it enabled the Chinese to survive in this country against exceedingly difficult odds. Unemployment never meant being cold and hungry and out on the streets as long as the doors of the family association headquarters were open. What they considered virtues, such as humility and willingness to accommodate, has worked against their interest in upward mobility.

The instances of culturally-based aspects of employment are too numerous to repeat--especially since they have been recounted throughout this report. Why has the culture maintained such a hold on the Chinese when other groups gave up the ways of the motherland soon after they arrived in this country? The main reasons are:

1. American immigration laws compelled the Chinese to remain a first-generation immigrant people with no roots in the United States.
2. Rejected by the larger society, the Chinese turned inward and perpetuated their own ways.
3. The Chinese culture was strong enough to compete effectively against Americanization.
4. The Chinese are physically distinct and easily identifiable as different from the majority white stock in the United States.

Only within recent years have many of the discriminatory laws against the Chinese been repealed, thereby modifying some of the

effects of the above factors. For the first time, we now have a substantial native-born college-age group in the population. The Chinese need no longer live in constant fear of the immigrant inspectors. Civil Rights legislation has pierced some of the barriers erected against minority groups in the past. As evidenced by the statistics in this report based upon the 1970 census, the Chinese have moved forward dramatically. As a result, the hold of Chinese culture is also loosening.

Many Chinese are now experiencing a two-way tug, commonly called an identity crisis. Are they Americans or are they Chinese? Are they to give up their Chinese ways and values completely if such are inoperative in the rugged and competitive American society? Are they to discard their language and turn their backs on the teachings of their parents and ancestors? How can they reconcile the conflict when the values are diametrically opposite?

Even when they become totally American in speech, thought, and action, what happens when they are still looked upon as foreign or alien because their physical features are different? What effect do these new factors have on Chinese-Americans in relation to their occupational choices and the opportunities open to them?

What chances are there that the gains so recently won by the Chinese will continue on an upward course or be consolidated? There is the ever-present possibility that under adverse economic conditions there may be a backslide and a reversion to racial intolerance and prejudice.

Summary of Recommendations

Today, we are accepting more and more the fact that the power of government can be exerted for desirable social change or for the remediation of society's ills. If any doubt lingers that government policy can totally alter and shape the course of our lives, we have only to look back at how American immigration laws dominated, pervaded, and shaped the lives of the Chinese in the United States for nearly a century. Government decreed the make-up of the immigrants whether they were to be male or female, young or old, rich or poor, skilled or otherwise, educated or illiterate, cultured or uncouth. Indirectly, it shaped the family structure and the personalities of the Chinese, and the heavy hand of the laws could be felt in every sphere of activity undertaken.

At the outset of this study, I mentioned that the 1970s will be the decade of redress following a decade of protest. I earnestly hope that the findings from this study can be used as guideposts to show the way toward the prospect of better hopes and a better

life for a long-suffering people.

If the record of the Chinese in the United States appears bright and sanguine from this report, then it is all to their credit that they were able to surmount insuperable barriers and handicaps, not merely to survive, but to try to forge ahead. If they have accomplished, let it be proof that they constitute a valuable human resource that will add to, not detract from, the national store. But those encountering difficulty in making the transition as a result of their uprooting deserve assistance to help them in their resettlement; for the more rapid their adjustment, the more quickly they will become useful members of society.

Let me, therefore, sum up briefly my main recommendations, not only to the government, but also to all Americans and to the Chinese-Americans themselves.

1. Keep in mind that the people whose needs are greatest were not counted in the 1970 census. Additional and on-going studies need to be undertaken to bring the findings up to date.
2. Provide the Chinese with the maximum opportunity to learn the English language.
3. Give the Chinese the same considerations accorded other minorities under the special provisions of the Civil Rights Acts, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, Affirmative Action Plans, Contract Compliance, etc. All too often the Chinese are not considered minorities and are excluded from the provisions and benefits of minority programs.
4. Pass the "Gateway Bill" sponsored by Congresswoman Patsy Mink.
5. Reconsider all laws which purposely or inadvertently shut out large segments of the Chinese work force, either citizenship requirements or licensing stipulations that have no bearing on the ability to perform the job.
6. Encourage dispersion of the Chinese away from the ghettos and large urban centers like New York and San Francisco. Employers in other areas may well consider the desirability and feasibility of hiring Chinese personnel.
7. Give special consideration to the highly disadvantaged position of the Chinese female, who is either highly educated or illiterate but poorly paid, and who is in special need of facilities, such as day-care centers, and special consideration, such as part-time work.

8. Provide opportunities for Chinese females to break out of the molds of garment worker and clerical worker.

9. Expand the occupational horizon of Chinese professionals, who are too highly concentrated in the fields of teaching and engineering.

10. Review obstacles, such as subjective oral examinations or personality tests, that effectively bar the Chinese from upward mobility into the executive ranks or managerial positions.

11. Increase government and private commitment to more manpower retraining and job referral service to the Chinese. Currently, government-funded programs at any level and in any area for the Chinese have been minimal and token, at best.

12. Develop alternatives to hiring and firing in the construction industry if the unions persist in discriminating against minorities.

13. Make more effective use of the Federal Office of Minority Enterprise to encourage a backward look at the advantages of self-employment that has stood the Chinese in good stead over the years.

14. Draw upon the reservoir of Chinese-Americans who are familiar with both China and the United States to bridge the chasm that has separated the nations for a quarter of a century.

15. Use their talents also as middlemen to expand commerce and trade.

16. Restore the facts of the true role and the contributions of the early Chinese to the history and development of this country. It is the task of educators in ethnic studies courses, of publishers of history books, and of the media to correct the mistaken and stereotyped images generally held about the Chinese.

17. Learn to accept the Chinese-American and other national groups with identifiable physical differences as people who have legitimate rights in this country to earn a livelihood and to enjoy equal privileges and protection under the law.

18. Seek to identify and groom leaders or potential leaders in the communities.

19. Support further research on the Chinese, so the true facts will be available to enable the government and the leaders to make rational and constructive decisions.

20. Do not disparage or put down the cultural traits or differences of the Chinese. The American way is not always the

best, and the Chinese way is not always to be discarded. This point is especially directed at those Chinese-Americans who go through a period of self-hatred in their quest to belong and get ahead in American society.

For the Chinese specifically:

21. The best employment insurance for the Chinese is to create a work force or a bank of skills and talents that is not easily replaceable. When accomplished individually, however, as the Chinese have been wont to do in the past, it can never be an effective and collective force.

22. Organize and develop a national organization, comparable to the NAACP or Anti-Defamation League or Japanese-American Citizen's League, that will work for the welfare of the Chinese, that will serve as a watchdog to guard their interests, and that will bring strength and solidarity to the group.

23. Join with other Asian groups that share similar experiences and similar problems and broaden this base with other minority groups to form a coalition for more effective leverage.

24. Become more politicized and tuned in to what is happening on the local and national scene. A democratic form of government demands citizen involvement and participation. If involvement is not part of the Chinese heritage, then special civics classes or literature should be provided to help the Chinese bridge this cultural chasm.

It is quite obvious that I have not confined my suggestions or recommendations solely to what the government can do to help a minority of minorities during this period of tremendous upheaval brought on by the upsurge in immigration and by a heightened ethnic consciousness. The government has the resources and mechanism by which it can facilitate an easier adjustment for the group. If it has extended such assistance to other immigrant groups and minorities, then surely the Chinese are no less deserving. I hope that this study is but the first link in further government attention to Chinese-Americans.

To the Chinese people and communities, I hope that some of these findings will enable them to better understand themselves and to act upon any pertinent data from this research to expand their employment opportunities.

And to all Americans, whether black, white, brown, red, or yellow, let us be mindful that we are a nation of immigrants. We rose to our position as leader of the world of nations through the invigorating

mixture of diverse cultures and peoples. It is the constant infusion of new blood that is this country's source of greatness and wealth.

A P P E N D I X

TABLE 86

CHINESE POPULATION IN THE U.S. BY DECADES, 1860-1970

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Numbers</u>
1860	34,933
1870	63,199
1880	105,465
1890	107,488
1900	89,863
1910	71,531
1920	61,639
1930	74,954
1940	77,504
1950	117,629
1960	237,292
1970	435,062

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population, 1860-1970

TABLE 87

CHINESE IMMIGRANT ALIENS ADMITTED TO THE U.S., BY SEX, 1944-1973

<u>Years</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Annual Total</u>
1944	10	29	24	71	34
1945	20	41	64	59	109
1945	71	31	162	69	233
1947	142	13	986	87	1,128
1948	257	8	3,317	92	3,574
1949	242	10	2,248	90	2,490
1950	110	8	1,179	92	1,289
1951	126	11	957	89	1,083
1952	118	10	1,034	90	1,152
1953	203	19	890	81	1,093
1954	1,511	55	1,236	45	2,747
1955	1,261	48	1,367	52	2,628
1956	2,007	45	2,443	55	4,450
1957	2,487	49	2,636	51	5,123
1958	1,396	44	1,799	56	3,195
1959	2,846	47	3,185	53	6,031
1960	1,873	51	1,799	49	3,672
1961	1,565	41	2,273	59	3,838
1962	1,916	42	2,753	58	4,669
1963	2,297	43	3,073	57	5,370
1964	2,597	46	3,051	54	5,648
1965	2,242	47	2,527	53	4,769
1966	8,613	49	8,995	51	17,608
1967	12,811	51	12,285	49	25,096
1968	7,862	48	8,572	52	16,434
1969	10,001	48	10,892	52	20,893
1970	8,586	48	9,370	52	17,956
1971	8,287	47	9,335	53	17,622
1972	10,437	48	11,293	52	21,730
1973	9,937	46	11,719	54	21,656

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports, (Washington, D.C.: 1944-1973).

TABLE 88

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S. FOR SELECTED SMSAS, BY SEX AND PERCENT, 1970

Age Group	Boston	Chicago	Honolulu	L.A. L. Beach	New York	Sacra- mento	S.F. Oakland	San Jose	Seattle Everett	D.C. Md.-Va.
<u>Male, Total</u>	6,585	6,449	24,533	21,840	41,486	5,307	45,393	4,182	4,030	3,910
Under 5	8.1%	9.4%	7.8%	9.2%	7.5%	6.5%	7.1%	8.8%	7.0%	8.1%
5-14	17.5	16.3	20.9	18.6	17.3	21.5	18.5	19.7	19.8	17.3
15-19	10.6	9.4	10.1	9.3	9.9	14.0	10.9	8.2	10.5	8.7
20-24	11.6	9.2	7.7	10.0	8.2	9.4	9.6	15.1	9.7	6.1
25-29	8.6	8.4	5.8	7.5	5.2	4.0	5.2	7.6	6.7	7.1
30-44	20.0	24.1	18.0	24.5	21.4	19.8	19.9	26.3	21.3	23.1
45-64	17.0	16.9	21.8	16.4	21.9	17.9	20.8	12.6	17.8	22.3
65 and Over	6.6	6.2	7.9	4.5	8.6	6.8	8.1	1.7	7.2	7.2
<u>Female, Total</u>	5,572	5,546	24,364	19,660	35,613	5,150	43,009	3,837	3,671	3,948
Under 5	9.1%	9.3%	7.1%	8.2%	8.4%	8.3%	6.9%	10.8%	9.3%	9.3%
5-14	19.8	18.9	20.7	19.1	18.6	20.2	18.2	20.1	22.1	20.4
15-19	11.4	10.8	9.6	9.6	9.8	13.8	11.0	8.6	10.4	7.2
20-24	11.7	11.1	8.8	12.0	10.7	11.0	11.1	14.1	10.0	9.5
25-29	8.8	9.5	5.4	9.0	7.5	5.7	5.6	11.7	8.7	10.4
30-44	19.2	22.8	18.7	23.7	22.3	20.8	22.0	20.3	19.8	23.5
45-64	15.1	12.8	21.7	13.7	17.4	14.5	18.1	11.5	14.4	14.6
65 and Over	4.9	4.8	7.9	4.7	5.3	5.6	7.0	2.9	5.3	5.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)1G (1970), Table 27.

TABLE 89

SELECTED INDUSTRY OF THE CHINESE IN THE U.S., BY SEX AND PERCENT OF TOTAL, 1970

Selected Industry	Male	Female	Total	%
<u>Total 16 Years and Over</u>	113,929	67,261	181,190	100.0%
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	1,069	393	1,462	0.8%
Mining	277	65	342	0.1%
Construction	3,753	388	4,141	2.2%
Manufacturing	16,038	15,731	31,769	17.5%
Durable Goods	9,907	1,989	11,896	6.5%
Metal industries	663	166	829	0.4%
Machinery, excl. electrical	1,526	236	1,762	0.9%
Electrical mach., equip. & supplies	2,259	369	2,628	1.4%
Transportation equipment	2,944	227	3,171	1.7%
Nondurable Goods	6,075	13,519	19,594	10.8%
Food and kindred products	1,039	878	1,917	1.0%
Canning & preserv. fruit, veg. & seafood	246	564	810	0.4%
Textile mill products	170	377	547	0.3%
Yarn, thread & fabric mills	101	276	377	0.2%
Apparel & other fab. text. prod.	952	10,176	11,128	6.1%
Printing, publish. & allied indust.	1,370	594	1,964	1.0%
Chemical & allied products	1,275	427	1,702	0.9%
Transportation, commun. & other pub. util.	5,367	2,155	7,522	4.1%
Transportation	2,889	1,195	4,084	2.2%
Water transportation	693	79	772	0.4%
Air transportation	804	611	1,415	0.7%
Communications	852	581	1,433	0.7%
Telephones (wire & radio)	643	502	1,145	0.6%
Utilities & sanitary services	713	182	895	0.4%
Wholesale & retail trade				
Wholesale trade	3,451	1,648	5,099	2.8%
Food & related products	748	422	1,170	0.6%
Retail trade	38,973	14,848	53,821	29.7%
General merchandise stores	1,142	2,460	3,602	1.9%
Food stores	7,668	2,728	10,396	5.7%
Grocery stores	6,581	2,359	8,940	4.9%
Gasoline service station	961	21	982	0.5%
Apparel & access. stores, exc. shoe store	343	546	889	0.4%
Eating & drinking places	24,436	6,356	30,792	16.9%
Drug stores	655	334	989	0.5%
Finance, insurance & real estate	4,185	4,685	8,870	4.8%
Banking	1,266	2,137	3,403	1.8%
Security, commod. brokerage & invest. co.	842	340	1,182	0.6%
Insurance	934	1,556	2,490	1.3%
Real estate incl. real est. insur. law off.	765	226	991	0.5%
Business & repair services	3,260	1,177	4,437	2.4%
Business services	1,829	924	2,753	1.5%
Commercial research, devel. & test. lab.	507	0	507	0.2%
Computer programming services	272	141	413	0.2%
Repair services	976	140	1,116	0.6%
Personal services	7,350	4,596	11,946	6.5%
Private households	366	714	1,080	0.5%
Hotels & motels	1,667	732	2,399	1.3%
Laundering, cleaning & other garment services	4,582	1,817	6,399	3.5%
Beauty shops	27	397	424	0.2%

TABLE 89--continued

Selected Industry	Male	Female	Total	%
Entertainment & recreation services	765	489	1,254	0.6%
Professional & related services	21,449	17,482	38,931	21.4%
Health services	4,624	4,608	9,232	5.0%
Offices of physicians	804	411	1,215	0.6%
Offices of dentists	381	245	626	0.3%
Hospitals	2,791	3,222	6,013	3.3%
Legal services	258	359	617	0.3%
Educational services	10,811	9,083	19,894	10.9%
Elementary & secondary schools	1,629	3,577	5,206	2.8%
Colleges & universities	8,871	4,746	13,617	7.5%
Libraries	183	433	616	0.3%
Welfare services	290	417	707	0.3%
Non-profit membership organizations	341	415	756	0.4%
Engineering & architectural services	2,565	310	2,875	1.5%
Accounting, auditing & bookkeeping services	485	386	871	0.4%
Public administration	7,992	3,601	11,593	6.3%
Postal services	1,607	355	1,962	1.0%
Federal public administration	3,780	2,034	5,814	3.2%
State public administration	919	729	1,648	0.9%
Local public administration	1,171	373	1,544	0.8%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Subject Report, PC(2)7C (1970).

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