

ment to the conditions of settlement in a new country or if members of an ethnic group simply viewed the residential proximity of members from the same group as desirable, there would be voluntary segregation.

Peach (1975: 8-9) said:

The [segregated] pattern is the net effect of two gross forces: the first is the positive self-ascriptive force which makes a group want to segregate itself; the second is the negative proscriptive force of outside society which prevents the segregated group from dispersing.

Such hypotheses, however, overlook the fact that immigrant settlements have resulted from immigration and are subject to the influence of immigration policies. The immigration process itself which is, to a large extent, determined by the destination country's immigration policy often contributes to immigrant concentration. As pointed out by Freedman (1950), Lee (1977), Johnston (1971:48), MacDonald & MacDonald (1964), and Ward (1968, 1971), migrants with similar social characteristics tend to concentrate in common areas because people often migrate in "chains", that is, to places where their friends and relatives have already settled. Lee (1977:27) explained this process as follows:

One of the strongest forces influencing the development of an ethnic concentration is the operation of migration chains. A migration chain is a process whereby migrants from one specific locality in the country of origin are attracted to emigrate by friends or relatives from their own locality who have emigrated. The links between immigrants and prospective immigrants frequently extend beyond the feedback of information and may include financial support for fares, provision of initial accommodation, and even the seeking of employment.

If a country's immigration policy favors chain migration, therefore, a high degree of immigrant concentration in the destination area will be expected. This study looks into the relationship between American immigration policy and Chinese immigrants' choices of residences in New York City. For this purpose, data were obtained from a questionnaire survey which was conducted among Chinese immigrants in New York City in 1980.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO THE U.S.

Following major changes in the U.S. immigration policy, the history of Chinese

immigration to America can be divided into the following four stages: (1) unrestricted immigration between the 1850s and 1882, (2) immigration under the Chinese Exclusion Act during 1882-1943, (3) immigration under the quota system during 1943-1965, and (4) immigration under the 1965 Immigration Act from 1965 to present.

(1) Unrestricted Immigration: the 1850s to 1882

Chinese immigration to the United States began in the 1850s when the Chinese immigrated to California to join the gold rush. During the 1860s, a fair number of Chinese were recruited from southern China to work on the Central Pacific Railroad. The Chinese population in the United States grew from a few hundred in the 1840s to 63,000 in 1870. The majority of the early Chinese immigrants in the U.S. were in California. According to the 1870 census, 49,227 Chinese resided in California, accounting for 78 percent of the U.S. total Chinese population and about 10 percent of California's state population.

The continental railroad was completed in 1869, and by the late 1860s, virtually all gold mines in California were exhausted. The Chinese then worked in various industries, such as domestic servants, laundrymen, and laborers in fishing, farming, ranching, draining ditches and swamp land, construction, cigar-making, shoemaking, and woolen-clothing manufacturing. Meanwhile, the exhausted mines and the completed railroad discharged thousands of American workers. Also large numbers of people were moving out West, taking advantage of the cheap transportation provided by the newly constructed railroad.

In California, however, American workers had to compete for jobs with the Chinese. Americans considered the competition unfair because the Chinese worked for wages that were too low to be acceptable to whites. They tried to oust the Chinese by coercing employers not to hire Chinese laborers and by humiliating, persecuting, and, in several instances, massacring the Chinese (Sandmeyer 1939; Saxton 1971).

In response to strong agitation against them, some of the Chinese in the West returned to China; some resorted to living in Chinatowns; some specialized in occupations which Americans did not care to take, such as Chinese restaurants, groceries, and hand laundries; and some dispersed to the East to look for places where persecution against them might be less severe. The eastward dispersion of Chinese began in 1870 when a few manufacturers tried to recruit Chinese laborers in San Francisco to work in eastern cities (Barth 1964:197). The Chinese "step

migrants" from the West tended to move into big cities, perhaps because of the availability of jobs. Thus, in the 1870s, small Chinese settlements sprang up in big cities in the Mid-West, such as in Chicago, and on the East Coast, such as in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York City.

(2) Chinese immigration under the Chinese Exclusion Act: 1882-1943

As a result of strong anti-Chinese sentiment throughout the U.S., American Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 to (1) prohibit the immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years, (2) allow the entry of only five categories of people from China, i.e., government officials, teachers, students, merchants, and travelers, and (3) forbid the Chinese from becoming naturalized citizens. Later on, the Chinese Exclusion Act was extended until its final repeal in 1943.

The Chinese Exclusion Act successfully curtailed Chinese immigration but also invited a great variety of fraud. Between 1891 and 1940, the Chinese immigrated at an average rate of only 1,000 persons per year. A good proportion of them entered the United States as *bona fide* merchants, students, returning American citizens, and children of American citizens. But large numbers of Chinese laborers or non-American citizens also immigrated with purchased papers, as bogus merchants, and by bribing immigration officials (Coolidge 1909:315-318). Some Chinese immigrated illegally from Canada, Mexico, and the West Indies, or into American ports as "jumped-ship" sailors.

(3) Chinese immigration under the quota system: 1943-1965

Upon the abolition of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943, the Chinese were allowed to immigrate at a quota of 105 persons per year. The quota system was established in 1924 under the National Origins Act. Under the system, immigration quotas were assigned for peoples of different nationalities according to their proportions in the U.S. population as recorded by the 1920 census. Since the Chinese had long been excluded from immigration, the Chinese population in the U.S. in 1920 was small. Consequently, the quota assigned to the Chinese was also small. Nevertheless, due to the abolition of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Chinese in America were granted the right to naturalization.

After World War II, American Congress passed several laws which both directly and indirectly helped increase the number of Chinese immigrants to more than 105 persons per year. The 1945 War Brides Act and the 1946 G. I. Fiances Act enabled women in foreign countries who were married or engaged to American servicemen

during the war to immigrate. The 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act) granted non-quota status to spouses and children of American citizens. Two special acts were passed in 1953 and 1962 to authorize the admission of about 15,000 Chinese refugees who had fled from Communist China since 1949. Thus, during 1944-1960, the Chinese immigrated at an average rate of 2,500 persons per year, and during 1961-1964, 4,800 persons per year (*INS Annual Reports 1944-1964: Tables 9*).

(4) Chinese immigration under the 1965 Immigration Act: 1965 to present

The most significant change in the pattern and volume of Chinese immigration to the U.S. occurred in the mid-1960s. In 1965, American Congress passed an Immigration Act which abolished the quota system and allowed the entrance of up to 20,000 immigrants per country per year, a total of 290,000 persons per year from all countries. Also, the 1965 Immigration Act granted preference to the admission of American citizens' family members and people with skills that were in short supply in the United States. Between 1966 and 1977, a total of 205,014 people immigrated from Mainland China and Taiwan, at an average rate of 17,000 persons per year. During the same period of time, another 56,605 people, primarily Chinese, immigrated from the British colony of Hong Kong, at an average rate of 4,700 persons per year (*INS Annual Reports 1966-1977: Tables 9*). After the U.S. government reestablished diplomatic relations with Mainland China in 1978, American Congress voted in 1981 to allow the Chinese to immigrate with a ceiling of 20,000 persons per year from Mainland China, with another 20,000 from Taiwan (Lindsey 1982: 29).

Historically, San Francisco was Chinese immigrants' favorite destination in the United States. Since the mid-1960s, however, more Chinese immigrants have preferred to settle in New York City. During 1965-1974, 22.4 percent (32,513 in number) of the immigrants from Mainland China and Taiwan intended to live permanently in New York City, whereas 12.0 percent (17,417) of them intended to live in San Francisco. During 1975-1977, 19.6 percent (14,379) of the immigrants from Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong intended to live in New York City; while 11.0 percent (8,077) of them intended to live in San Francisco (Table 1). In 1970, New York City surpassed, for the first time in American history, San Francisco in the number of Chinese residents and became the city with the largest Chinese population in the United States (69,324 in New York City and 58,696 in San Francisco, according to the 1970 census).

Table 1. Chinese Immigrants by City of Intended Residence: 1965-1977
(Cities with the largest reported numbers only)

	New York City	San Francisco	Los Angeles	Honolulu	Total Ch. immigration
1965	800	706	257	90	4,057
1966	3,271	3,181	852	303	13,736
1967	4,518	2,883	1,282	294	19,741
1968	2,949	1,643	765	220	12,738
1969	3,209	2,205	919	369	15,440
1970	2,699	1,605	732	385	14,093
1971	2,938	820	786	242	12,908
1972	4,190	1,434	903	334	17,339
1973	4,129	1,483	889	410	17,297
1974	3,810	1,447	1,237	362	18,056
Sub-total	32,513	17,417	8,622	3,009	145,405
1975	5,233	2,413	1,360	659	23,427
1976	4,112	2,934	1,161	722	24,589
1977	4,034	2,730	1,466	660	25,396
Sub-total	14,379	8,077	3,987	2,041	73,412
Total	46,892	25,494	12,609	5,050	218,817

Note: For 1965 to 1974, immigrants from China and Taiwan. For 1975 to 1977, immigrants from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

Source: Immigration & Naturalization Service, *Annual Reports*: Table 12A (Table 12B for the year 1970).

CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN NEW YORK CITY

In 1870, the census recorded only 19 Chinese in Manhattan and Brooklyn, New York. Three decades later, the Chinese population in New York City grew to 6,321 in 1900, accounting for merely 0.2 percent of the city's total population. During the long period of time when Chinese immigration was severely restricted by the Chinese Exclusion Act and the quota system, the Chinese population in New York City remained rather small. Rapid increase in the city's Chinese population occurred only recently. It began in the 1950s and accelerated in the 1960s due to post-war changes in American immigration policy, particularly the enactment of the 1965 Immigration Act, which permitted more Chinese to immigrate. By 1980, the Chinese population in New York City had grown to 124,764, accounting for 1.8 percent of the city's total population (Table 2).

Table 2. Chinese Population in New York City:
1870-1980

Census year	Chinese population	New York City population	Percentage Chinese
1870*	19**	1,338,391	0.01
1880*	870	1,772,962	0.05
1890*	2,648	2,321,644	0.11
1900	6,321	3,437,202	0.18
1910	4,614	4,766,883	0.10
1920	5,042	5,620,048	0.09
1930	8,414	6,930,446	0.12
1940	12,753	7,454,995	0.17
1950	18,327	7,891,957	0.23
1960	32,831	7,781,984	0.42
1970	69,324	7,894,862	0.88
1980	124,764	7,071,639	1.76

Note: *For Manhattan and Brooklyn only.

**According to the 1870 census, 133 people in Manhattan and Brooklyn were born in China, but only 19 of them were Chinese.

Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

When the pioneer Chinese arrived in New York City, they settled in a slum area in Lower Manhattan, probably because of the availability of cheap accommodations there. They soon established their cultural and economic bases in the locality, such as voluntary and self-help associations, groceries, stores, and boarding houses. These establishments facilitated the in-migration of additional Chinese into New York City and the area where such activities were concentrated was generally known as Chinatown.

In 1898, Beck delineated New York's Chinatown as a small triangular area bounded by Bowery, Mott, and Pell Streets (Fig. 1). He estimated that about 4,000 Chinese lived there (Beck 1898:11-12). By the early 1960s, Chinatown had grown into an eight-block area bounded by Bowery, Worth, Mulberry, and Canal Streets (Fig. 1).

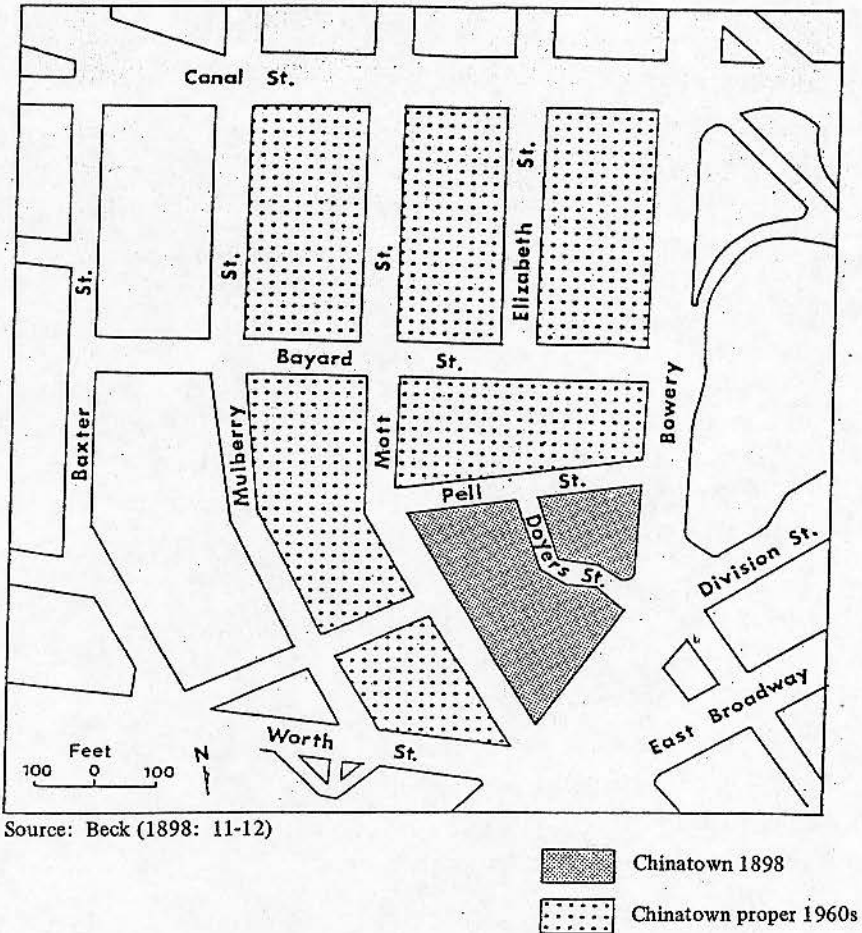
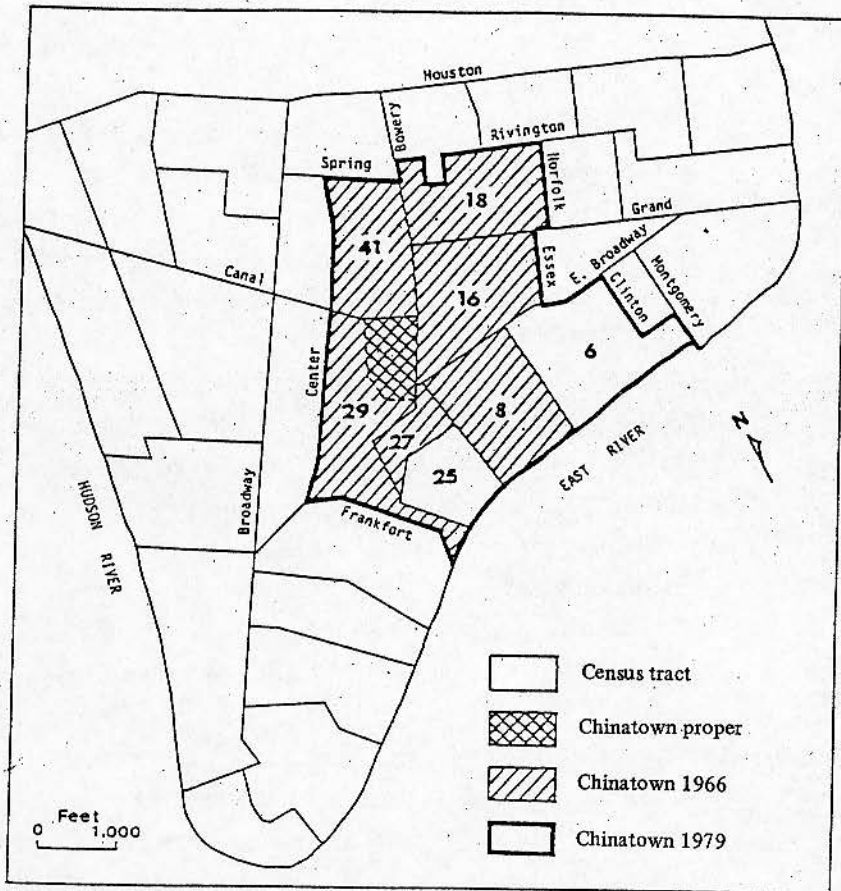


Fig. 1. New York's Chinatown: 1898 and 1960s

In 1966, Yuan (1966) defined New York's Chinatown as a territory with six census tracts for the 1960 census (No. 8, 16, 18, 27, 29, and 41). According to the 1960 census, 10,604 Chinese lived in this area, accounting for 32 percent of New York City's total Chinese population (32,831). In 1979, the New York City Department of City Planning (1979) defined Chinatown as an area with eight census tracts for the 1970 census, adding two more tracts (No. 6 and 25) to those chosen by Yuan (1966) (Fig. 2). The 1970 census recorded 25,142 Chinese in this eight-census-tract area, or 36 percent of the city's total Chinese population (69,324).



Source: NYC Dept. of City Planning (1979), Yuan (1966)

Fig. 2. New York's Chinatown: 1966-1979

As shown above, for a long period of time before the mid-1960s, New York's Chinatown had a small territorial size. Beginning from the mid-1960s, however, together with the rapid increase in the Chinese population in New York City, Chinatown has grown in its Chinese population and territorial coverage. At the same time, more and greater varieties of Chinese economic activities have been established in Chinatown.

Ever since its inception, Chinatown has not only been a residential area for the Chinese but also the greatest concentration of Chinese cultural and economic activities in New York City. As in many neighborhoods in the "transitional zone" of big cities, land use in New York's Chinatown is a mixture of residential, commercial, and industrial. Nowadays, the majority of the buildings in Chinatown are four-to six-story walk-up tenements built in the late 19th century. Most of them are for both commercial and residential use. The first floors, some of the second floors, and the basements of these buildings are for commercial use; the upper floors are residential. In the midst of these structures are other kinds of buildings, including non-residential lofts for garment factories and warehouses. According to a directory published in 1946, for instance, 316 Chinese shops and offices were located in New York's Chinatown (Chen 1946). Such Chinese economic activities included general stores, groceries, noodle factories, barbers, laundries, laundry supplies, Chinese restaurants, and offices for herbalists, physicians, dentists, lawyers, and accountants.

Since the mid-1960s, the most noticeable development in the local economy of New York's Chinatown has been the growth in the number of Chinese-operated garment factories. Historically Jews and Italian immigrants dominated the clothing industry in Lower Manhattan. In the 1950s, the Chinese owned only five garment factories in the vicinity of Chinatown, employing about 200 workers (Chinese Garment Makers Assoc. of Greater N. Y. 1980:20). By the late 1970s, the Chinese operated over 400 garment factories around Chinatown, employing about 20,000 workers (Chinese Garment Makers Assoc. of Greater N.Y. 1980:17; Wang 1981). In May, 1981, the weekly payroll for garment workers in New York's Chinatown was estimated at \$4 million (Wang 1981).

In 1980, the directory of a Chinese trade guild listed over 1,400 Chinese commercial and industrial establishments in the environs of New York's Chinatown (Chinese American Restaurant Assoc. 1979-1980). These establishments included Chinese restaurants, groceries, bookstores for Chinese newspapers, books, and magazines, curio shops, department stores for Chinese products, travel agencies,

and offices of professionals such as Chinese herbalists, physicians, dentists, lawyers, and accountants. Almost all major banking corporations, such as the Chemical Bank, Chase Manhattan, and Citibank of New York, have branch offices in Chinatown, employing large numbers of bilingual workers to serve the community. Some foreign banks, such as the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and Hang Seng Bank of Hong Kong have also established branch offices in New York's Chinatown. The Chinese themselves have also accumulated enough capital to establish three banking corporations and two credit unions there by the late 1970s.

The development of New York's Chinatown has been closely related to the size of the city's Chinese population which to a large extent is determined by the U.S. immigration policy. During the time when Chinese immigration was severely restricted by U.S. immigration laws, New York's Chinatown remained a relatively small neighborhood. Since the post-war years, particularly after the 1965 Immigration Act was enacted, the U. S. has relaxed the restriction against Chinese immigration and has allowed larger numbers of Chinese to immigrate. Meanwhile, New York's Chinatown has grown rapidly in its Chinese population, territorial size, and number and diversity of economic activities. The relationship between recent changes in the U. S. immigration policy and the expansion of New York's Chinatown deserves, therefore, close examination.

IMPACTS OF IMMIGRATION LAWS ON CHINATOWN

The 1965 Immigration Act allows an annual quota of 20,000 immigrants per country within the worldwide ceiling of 290,000 per year. It also sets up a preference system which specifies the proportional distribution of eight categories of immigrants as follows (Congressional Research Service 1979:89):

- First preference (unmarried sons and daughters of U. S. citizens): 20 percent of the over-all limitation of 290,000 in any fiscal year;
- Second preference (spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence): 20 percent of over-all limitation, plus any numbers not required for first preference;
- Third preference (members of the professions or persons of exceptional ability in the sciences and arts): 10 percent of over-all limitation;
- Fourth preference (married sons and daughters of U. S. citizens): 10 percent of percent of over-all limitation, plus any numbers not required by the first three preference categories;
- Fifth preference (brothers and sisters of U. S. citizens 21 years of age or over): 24 percent of over-all limitation, plus any numbers not required by the first four

- preference categories;
- Sixth preference (skilled and unskilled workers in short supply): 10 percent of over-all limitation;
- Seventh preference (refugees)*: 6 percent of over-all limitation;
- Nonpreference (other immigrants): numbers not used by the seven preference categories.

Thus, under the provisions of the 1965 Immigration Act, the majority (74 percent) of the allowable 290,000 immigrants per year are family members of American citizens and permanent residents (under the first, second, fourth, and fifth preferences). Additionally, immigrants who are the immediate relatives of American citizens—"defined by the law to include the children and spouses of U. S. citizens, and the parents of U.S. citizens aged 21 or over"—are exempt from numerical restriction (Congressional Research Service 1979:85).

The current immigration law, therefore, encourages "chain migration," a form of migration in which new migrants move into destination areas to join relatives and friends. Findings of my questionnaire survey in New York City also reflect the practice of chain migration among Chinese immigrants. The majority of the 121 Chinese immigrants who answered the questionnaire reported that they immigrated under the sponsorship of close relatives (53.7 percent) or as children with parents (13.2 percent); a few of them immigrated as refugees (12.4 percent) (Table 3). Among the 118 respondents who answered the question on initial residence, over half (53.4 percent) of them had initial residences arranged for or provided by relatives, and another 33.1 percent by friends (Table 4). This pattern of Chinese chain migration helps reinforce the persistence of New York's Chinatown and contributes to its expansion. Because New York's Chinatown has long been the largest Chinese cluster in the city, when new Chinese immigrants immigrate to New York to join family members, many of them tend to settle in Chinatown.

Moreover, the current immigration law discourages immigrants from seeking public assistance in the United States. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 denies the admission of prospective immigrants who are:

"[L]ikely at any time to become public charges" (Sec. 212(a)(15); 8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(15)). It also provides for the deportation of an alien who has become a public charge within five years after entry, unless the reasons for this are affirmatively shown to

* "Eligibility for seventh preference entry is limited to refugees who have fled from Communist countries or the Middle East because of persecution or who have been uprooted by natural disasters." (Congressional Research Service 1979:89).

Table 3. Initial Status of New Chinese Immigrants When Moving to the U.S.

Initial Status	No.	Percentage
Sponsored by a close relative	65	53.7
Came as a child with parents	16	13.2
Refugee	15	12.4
Sponsored by unrelated persons or organization	8	6.6
Had a job offer	5	4.1
On student visa	9	7.4
Illegal alien	2	1.7
Others	1	0.8
Total	121	99.9

Source: Field work.

Table 4. Sources of Information Through Which New Chinese Immigrants Acquired Initial Residences in New York City

Source of information	No.	Percentage
Relatives	63	53.4
Friends	39	33.1
Chinese newspapers	5	4.2
English newspapers	4	3.4
Real-estate agents	3	1.7
Social service agencies	2	1.7
Others	2	1.7
Total	118	100.0
(No answer)	(3)	

Source: Field work.

have arisen after entry (Sec. 241(a)(8); 8 U.S.C. 1251(a)(8)). (Congressional Research Service 1979:94)

The law, therefore, has the effect of urging immigrants to acquire immediate employment upon their arrival in the United States. To those who lack proficiency in English, the best chance to become gainfully employed is to engage in ethnic occupations and to live in immigrant enclaves where such occupations are most readily available.

Of course, the provisions of the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act are not meant to prohibit immigrants from seeking public assistance. The U. S. government acknowledges:

Alien eligibility requirements for participation in the major Federal public assistance programs are set forth in the laws and/or regulations establishing and governing those programs, rather than in the Immigration and Nationality Act. Aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence and refugees are eligible for most major public assistance programs, including the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDA), Medicaid, and the food stamp program. (Congressional Research Service 1979: 94-95).

Nevertheless, during the process of screening intended immigrants,

In order to establish that he is not likely to become a public charge, an alien seeking admission may be required to provide assurance of financial support, in the form of an affidavit of support, from a resident of the United States. (Congressional Research Service 1979: 94).

The American resident who furnishes the affidavit of support has, however, to reveal his income to the Immigration and Naturalization Service and to document that he can financially support the intended immigrant. If the American resident himself is currently, or was previously, on public assistance, the application would likely be declined (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1980: 40).

To minimize the risk of having their applications for the immigration of family members declined, the Chinese in New York City try not to seek welfare even if some of them are low-income and are eligible for certain public assistance programs. The Chinese are, therefore, willing to take whatever jobs are available to them. Although some new Chinese immigrants in New York are professionals or have received education in English prior to immigration, the majority of Chinese

newcomers do not speak English. Often, the non-English-speaking Chinese have to look for jobs in the restaurants, small businesses, and garment factories in Chinatown.

In my questionnaire survey, over half of the 107 Chinese immigrants who reported their initial occupations worked in restaurants and garment factories (36.4 percent and 18.7 percent respectively). The others had different occupations, ranging from cashiers to professional workers (Table 5). Moreover, the majority of them acquired initial occupations with information provided by friends (44.9 percent) and relatives (19.6 percent) (Table 6). The tendency for the Chinese to seek ethnic occupations and to rely upon the information provided by friends and relatives for jobs helps reinforce the persistence of New York's Chinatown. On the one hand, such jobs are most concentrated in Chinatown. On the other hand, to look for jobs within the ethnic group, the Chinese have to depend heavily on personal connections, and it is easier for them to develop such connections if they live within the community.

Table 5. Initial Occupations of New Chinese Immigrants in New York City

Initial occupations	No.	Percentage
Restaurant workers	39	36.4
Garment factory workers	20	18.7
Office clerks	12	11.2
Technical & engineering workers	9	8.4
Cashiers and sales clerks	8	7.5
Social workers, teachers, librarians	7	6.5
Truck drivers, delivery workers	3	2.8
Tailors	2	1.9
Accountants	2	1.9
Physicians	1	0.9
Others	4	3.7
Total	107	99.9
(No occupation or never worked)	(14)	

Source: Field work.

Table 6. Sources of Information Through Which New Chinese Immigrants Acquired Initial Occupations in New York City

Sources of information	No.	Percentage
Friends	48	44.9
Relatives	21	19.6
Chinese newspapers	11	10.3
Employment agents	7	6.5
English newspapers	6	5.6
School placement centers	5	4.1
Immigrant service agencies	3	2.8
Self-employed	2	1.9
Others	4	3.7
Total	107	100.0
(No occupation or never worked)	(14)	

Source: Field work.

As a result of the interaction of the factors mentioned—the provisions of immigration laws which favor family reunification and discourage immigrants from seeking public assistance, and the tendency for the Chinese to rely upon relatives and friends for information about initial housing and jobs—large numbers of new Chinese immigrants settle in New York's Chinatown. Current U.S. immigration laws, therefore, have the effect of sustaining the Chinese enclave in New York.

CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the provisions of immigration laws have strong impacts on immigrants' choices of destination areas. Since the current U. S. immigration law favors family reunification, it promotes chain migration and induces new immigrants to move to places where their friends and relatives have already settled. Moreover, that the U. S. immigration law discourages immigrants from

becoming public charges has the effect of inducing recent immigrants to seek ethnic occupations and to settle in ethnic communities.

Existing hypotheses which emphasize the causal relationship between racial discrimination against minorities (involuntary segregation), non-assimilation of immigrants (voluntary segregation), and the formation of immigrant enclaves cannot, therefore, adequately explain the dynamics that have contributed to the development of such communities. Better understanding of immigrant communities has to be based on knowledge of how immigrants react and adapt to changing situations in their external environment (W. Chow 1976; C. Chow 1984). In this context, immigration laws make up an important component of the environment to which immigrants must adapt.

This article has traced the relationship between U. S. immigration laws, Chinese immigrants' choices of initial residences and occupations in New York City, and the recent expansion of New York's Chinatown. For better insight into the development of Chinatown and other ethnic communities, however, additional research is required to look into how the minorities concerned behave in response to other components of the environment, such as the socio-economic-political conditions of American society.

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美國移民政策、中國移民及華人在紐約市之聚居

周鎮城

(中文摘要)

美國是一個移民衆多的國家。移民大多在各大城市聚集，構成移民社區。現存的文獻一般認為種族歧視和移民未能同化於美國文化是這些社區形成的主要原因。本文根據作者于1980年在紐約市的問卷調查，就華人移民美國及紐約市的過程說明美國移民法例實與華人在紐約唐人街之聚居有明顯的關係。美國移民法例鼓勵家庭團聚，促成連鎖式人口移動(chain migration)，同時美國移民法例又壓抑移民申請公共援助的機會，使移民傾向於在移民社區內建立及尋求與本族裔文化有關的行業，遂使移民社區日益擴大，因此，種族歧視和同化並不足以完全地解釋移民社區的建立過程。移民法例及移民為適應這些法例而作出的行動也是造成移民社區建立及發展的主要因素。