Cooperation, Conflict and Integration among Sub-ethnic Immigrant Groups from Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates how immigrants from Taiwan who share a common place of origin but not the same sub-ethnic affiliation create social lives for themselves in southern California’s vast areas of urban sprawl. With affluence, the first generation of immigrants has become increasingly able to socialise exclusively with others who share similar cultural and political backgrounds. There is less need to maintain ties with outsiders for the sake of survival and adaptation as immigrants. Today, few older Hoklo Taiwanese keep up relationships with non-Taiwanese. The community organisations in which they participate have predominantly Taiwanese members who speak Hoklo when they are together. They are connected to similar groups because they have members in common and are therefore part of a cluster of Taiwanese organisations. Older immigrants emphasise sub-ethnic differences more than most people in Taiwan itself. In contrast, the interaction patterns of younger first-generation immigrants from Taiwan depend on their self-identification and degree of participation in the ethnic community. Ethnographic fieldwork for this paper was conducted in Orange County, California, in 1997 and 1998.

Keywords: Taiwan; immigration; sub-ethnicity; urban sprawl; social networks; ethnic community

INTRODUCTION

The characteristics of immigrants to the United States have changed drastically since the introduction of the Hart-Celler Act of 1965. For the first time, immigrants from various regions in Asia were allowed to enter the US in large numbers (Bernard, 1998). Many immigrants arrived with high levels of education and white-collar skills acquired in their home country or at graduate schools in the US (Waldinger, 1996). Consequently, they were more likely to have good English skills and much more frequently used advanced means of communication and transportation to keep in frequent contact with people in their home country (Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Portes et al., 1999). Affluent immigrants no longer resided in ethnic enclaves within close vicinity of other co-ethnics, instead choosing dispersed settlement in suburbs or large metropolitan areas characterised by extensive urban sprawl and the absence of noticeable city boundaries or public spaces (Gottdiener, 1985; Massey and Denton, 1985).

The new metropolitan areas are different from the classic core–periphery structure of city centres and surrounding suburbs. These wide-ranging spaces are not subordinate to a central city. They are an end in themselves. Administrative areas such as Orange County in southern California consist of a multitude of planned subdivisions and gated communities without any hierarchy of place (Kling et al., 1991; Sorkin, 1992; Soja, 1996). Nevertheless, this urban sprawl is similar to suburbanisation in its reduction of

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community involvement and cohesion. In his seminal book, *Bowling Alone*, Putnam made the claim that ‘metropolitan sprawl appears to have been a significant contributor to civic disengagement’ (Putnam, 2000: 214). Settlement in areas of vast urban sprawl increases the amount of time residents need to drive to work and run errands. This results in fewer opportunities to feel a sense of community boundedness within a given space. It also intensifies social segregation and social homogeneity, with fewer bridges between people from different cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Research from the field of social network analysis confirms both the reduced sense of community boundedness and the increase in social homogeneity. People continue to be surrounded by a community of friends and family members, but these communities are not tied to a specific geographical location. Instead of tightly bounded relationships between familiar individuals, residents of vast metropolitan areas engage in relationships that are only loosely connected. Interactions with a variety of people in a small number of unrelated social contexts have replaced frequent meetings of friends and neighbours in a large number of related contexts (Wellman, 1999). However, the urban way of life also causes people to keep their distance from anything ‘unknown, socially dissimilar, and potentially threatening’ (Fischer, 1981: 315). Urbanism guarantees continued innovation and change, but rarely reduces boundaries between subcultures or barriers to integration.

Traditionally, immigrants from east Asia settled in ethnic enclaves located in urban centres (Nee and DeBary Nee, 1972; Wong, 1982; Kwong, 1987; Zhou, 1992; Lin, 1998). Starting in the early 1970s, economically well-to-do immigrants left the enclaves to move to the suburbs (Palinkas, 1988; Chen, 1992; Smith, 1995). In addition, many newly arrived immigrants settled directly in the large metropolitan areas around major cities such as Los Angeles (specifically the San Gabriel Valley), greater Washington DC, greater San Francisco, Toronto and Vancouver. Although immigrants do not move into adjacent houses within the same street or even the same subdivision, some housing tracts in metropolitan areas have higher concentrations of members from one specific ethnic group than others. While not comparable to ethnic enclaves that represent a residential concentration of immigrants, these settlement patterns indicate the emergence of ‘ethnic communities’ (Logan et al., 2002: 300). In these communities residence within the proximity of other immigrants is based on choice and preference rather than need. This is particularly evident among affluent first-generation immigrants (Sanders, 2002).

Earlier studies of immigrant settlement in metropolitan areas point out the existence of a strong ethnic goods and services sector in these areas, which in this sense therefore continued to be similar to the older ethnic enclaves. This phenomenon inspired the creation of such terms as ‘suburban Chinatown’, ‘satellite Chinatown’, and ‘ethnoburb’ (Fong, 1994; Wong, 1998; Li, 1999). In contrast, this article describes immigrant communities that have developed independently of existing ethnic enclaves, specifically in metropolitan Orange County, California. Unlike Los Angeles County, there is no core–periphery structure of city centre and surrounding suburbs in Orange County. Furthermore, in the particular environment of mostly upper middle-class residents, there are no extensive ethnic Chinese shopping areas or landmarks, which provides a marked contrast with, for example, the suburbs in the San Gabriel Valley of Los Angeles County.

Therefore, the main question of this research is: what is life like for new immigrants in these vast areas of ethnically non-specific urban sprawl? Do immigrants look for others with similar ethnic backgrounds independent of their residential location, or do they socialise with their immediate neighbours, who may come from a variety of ethnic backgrounds? The focus of this study is on the social relationships among immigrants from Taiwan to the US. Since Taiwan is home to several ethnic and sub-ethnic groups, as introduced in detail below, additional questions emerge. Does the experience of life in affluent areas of urban sprawl make sociocultural divisions between people from Taiwan disappear or prevail? Does interaction with other immigrants from Taiwan take place regardless of their previous identities that were linked to language and place of origin, or do immigrants prefer to keep friendships only within their own sub-ethnic group? Might shared interests matter more than common sub-ethnic affiliations? And finally: is there more than one community of immigrants from Taiwan in Orange County?
To answer these questions, this study explores the social relationships between immigrants with different sub-ethnic affiliations by looking at their participation in recreational activities, religious groups, clubs and associations. At the individual level, I studied the personal networks of immigrants from Taiwan to understand the nature and extent of interaction between members of different sub-ethnicities. At the group level, I analysed the network of ethnic community organisations to look for evidence of single or multiple cohesive ethnic communities among immigrants from Taiwan.

FROM TAIWAN TO THE UNITED STATES

Taiwan is an island of immigrants that has been settled by four distinct groups of people who differ in terms of time of arrival, size and language. From the sixteenth century onwards, non-Han Chinese aborigines faced large numbers of Han Chinese immigrants. Hoklo-speaking Chinese originated from the coastal areas of southern Fujian province. Hakka left northeastern Guangdong province and the hilly interior areas of southern Fujian province. Several centuries later, mainland Chinese fled from various parts of China between the end of the Second World War in 1945 and the end of the Civil War and subsequent Communist Party victory in 1949. Today, this last group constitutes 14% of the total population of Taiwan (Copper, 2003). They are called waishengren, which means: people from outside the province. This label is used in contrast to bendiren, the Chinese term for locals.

Before 1949 Taiwan had already been a colony of Japan for 50 years, bringing Taiwan higher economic growth, better healthcare and a more advanced education system than existed on the Chinese mainland. Although many Taiwanese resented the discriminations and restrictions under Japanese rule, they acknowledged that this period had promoted urbanisation and the emergence of a middle class, in turn giving rise to a growing sense of Taiwanese nationhood (Roy, 2003).

At the end of the Second World War Japan gave the island back to China. The Nationalist Party then established a new government in Taiwan as part of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). The new rulers declared standard Chinese, and not Hoklo or Hakka, to be the official language. At first the Taiwanese welcomed the return of Chinese rule, but soon became disillusioned. Feelings of resentment culminated in a short uprising on 28 February 1947. The violent manner of its suppression strengthened the separation between local Taiwanese and Mainlanders, which was further enhanced by the declaration of martial law on the island after the Communist victory in 1949. With the eventual return to democratic rule, government in the 1980s was rapidly politicised. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) represented Taiwanese rather than Mainlander interests. The increasing dominance of local Taiwanese has forced Mainlanders in Taiwan to re-evaluate the meaning of being Chinese in Taiwan (Gates, 1987; Wu, 1997).

Immigrants from Taiwan arrived in the US in several waves. At first immigrants were mainly students who started to arrive in the mid-1950s in pursuit of graduate degrees. Most of these early arrivals decided to stay and work in the US. The implementation of the Immigration Act of 1965 enabled larger numbers of immigrants to come. While the influx of students from Taiwan continued, many other immigrants used the newly created opportunities to enter as relatives of citizens and permanent residents. More Mainlanders than Hoklo or Hakka Taiwanese became facilitators for immigration of members of their extended family. Having left China only two decades earlier, many Mainlander families in Taiwan did not feel particularly attached to Taiwan. After the normalisation of diplomatic relations between the People’s Republic of China and the US in 1979, many people worried that the Communist Party of China might take over Taiwan. In response, an even larger number of Mainlander families pursued immigration in their quest for stability and security. The intention of these immigrants was to settle in North America for good.

However, in the mid-1980s the economic downturn in the US created major occupational and visa obstacles for immigrants who had just graduated from American universities. New immigrants from Taiwan had to re-evaluate their plans and options for the future. Overall, Hoklo and Hakka students were more likely to return to Taiwan than Mainlander students (Chang, 1992). At the same time, the economy in Taiwan had been on a steady upswing, creating many
well-paid jobs. Migrants who took job offers from Taiwan often returned without their wives and children, despite the fact that many had only recently settled in the US. This created the widespread phenomenon of so-called ‘astronaut husbands’, who work in east Asia and send remittances to wives and children living in the US (Ong, 1999). Both Taiwanese and Mainlanders continue to be attracted by the better quality of life in the US with more open space, less air pollution, affordability of large houses and educational opportunities for their children.

Not all migrants from Taiwan automatically think of themselves as Taiwanese or are seen as Taiwanese by others. People from Taiwan living abroad claim several different associations with places of origin and cultural groups that at times overlap (Ng, 1998; Fung, 2002). Some strongly identify with Taiwan as the place of their ancestors. Others identify with China as their ancestral home. Some only think of themselves as Taiwanese. Yet another group of immigrants from Taiwan practise dual identification as both Mainlanders and Taiwanese. In addition, some descendants of Mainlanders have begun to refer to themselves as Taiwanese, because they were born in Taiwan, or are the children of a mixed marriage (Corcuff, 2002). These fluid boundaries of self-identification among people from Taiwan are based on language ability (i.e. speaking Hakka, Hoklo and/or standard Chinese), their history of settlement in Taiwan (which unites Hoklo and Hakka speakers and separates them from Mainlanders) and political attitudes regarding the future of their homeland.

Immigrants interviewed for this research were aware of differences and were able to identify who was Hoklo, Hakka or a Mainlander among the members of their social networks. However, in their comments on social life in Taiwan and California in general, all informants grouped Hoklo and Hakka people together, referring to them as native Taiwanese (bendiren). On the other hand, descendants of Mainlanders in the US described themselves as Chinese people and were labelled Mainlanders by the so-called native Taiwanese. Nevertheless, all immigrants from Taiwan share common experiences. They spent some portion of their lives in Taiwan exposed to a similar cultural environment. This article investigates the impact of these shared backgrounds on the social cohesion among immigrants with different sub-ethnic affiliations. One expectation is that, while differences in language, power and occupation set the stage for ethnic divisions within the Republic of China, clear sub-ethnic distinctions in the US have become merely a function of age and personal experiences over time. Another expectation is that many differences between Taiwanese and Mainlander immigrants might have been reduced to vague historical memories.

THE RESEARCH SITE

Orange County, California, is a large metropolitan area with more than 2.8 million people. Approximately 40,000 immigrants from Taiwan have settled throughout the area at the time of research (State of California Department of Finance, 2000). The majority of settlers from Taiwan in Orange County arrived in the mid-1980s. They are socio-economically homogeneous, have fairly high incomes, and prefer the central and southern parts of the county. This area contains a large number of recently built master-plan communities. Housing prices are above average for the region as a whole, with prices for individual houses that started at US$300,000 at the time of fieldwork in 1998, and have by 2005 built up a value of US$700,000 and more. Orange County is characterised by vast urban sprawl. While its subdivisions are aggregated into administrative units that are called cities, there are few visible city boundaries or city centres. In addition, although the number of immigrants has grown significantly since the 1980s, there are no distinct geographical areas with an ethnic concentration of affluent immigrants in these areas.

Irvine, the biggest city in the southern part of Orange County, is home to the largest proportion of immigrants from Taiwan. Irvine also has the most room for further expansion and the construction of additional subdivisions. Originally, the large strip of land between the Pacific Ocean and the foothill mountains was called the Irvine Ranch. It was first owned by the Irvine family and is now operated and administered by the Irvine Company. This company wanted to avoid the mistakes of the merchant builders who created urban sprawl. They enlisted architects to create self-contained residential areas, so-called master-plan communities, with a diversity of
Traditionally, residents of a neighbourhood are a community of people who usually provide each other with opportunities for social and emotional support (Young and Willmott, 1957; Wellman, 1999). This no longer captures the reality of life in the extensive urban spaces of southern California. Instead, members of any person’s personal network offer each other social and emotional support independent of their location in space.

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Ethnographic fieldwork took place between April 1997 and April 1998. Participant observation in various social groups and ethnic organisations offered opportunities to find informants for semi-structured and structured interviews. These groups included Mainlander and Taiwanese Christian churches, Buddhist prayer groups, folklore dance troupes, ballroom-dancing lessons, choir meetings, public seminars on financial planning, and several other cultural, political, professional and alumni associations (Avenarius, 2004). Interviews were generally carried out in standard Chinese unless informants, usually men, felt more comfortable to speak English with me, a German graduate student with Chinese language skills obtained in Beijing.

The overall sample of first-generation immigrants in this research included 112 informants. In addition to 19 unstructured background interviews and 60 structured network interviews, there were 3 key informants and 30 informants who were asked to verify preliminary findings with the help of semi-structured interviews. The majority of informants held occupations in professional fields as doctors, as structural or computer engineers, or as educators. A smaller group of informants owned businesses either in the area of computer hardware or import/export activities. A few informants worked as real estate or insurance agents. Female informants were either homemakers or employed as professionals. In 90% of the informants’ households, the main breadwinner had a college or university degree from Taiwan, while 50% of all primary earners earned an additional graduate degree in the US.

In terms of distribution of informants by ethnicity, 45% of informants were Hoklo, 8% Hakka and 47% Mainlanders. At the time of fieldwork...
in 1997 and 1998, the proportion of immigrants from Taiwan to Orange County that identified themselves as Hakka was very small. In addition, there was no visible organisation of Hakka people in the county. The nearest association of Hakka was in Chino, Los Angeles County. The low profile of Hakka in Orange County at the time stands in stark contrast to the increasing visibility of Hakka people in Taiwan in recent years, where Hakka have gained recognition for their differing political and cultural orientations (Martin, 1996; Tu, 1998). Given the small number of Hakka informants in the sample and the common practice of all immigrants from Taiwan to group both Hoklo and Hakka together under the label ‘native Taiwanese’ (*bendiren*) as introduced above, I aggregated Hoklo and Hakka informants in the analysis. Accordingly, the sample of informants in this study includes 47% Mainlanders and 53% Taiwanese. Table 1 introduces a breakdown of the numbers of informants by sub-ethnicity and gender.

All of the organisations that I visited served immigrants from Taiwan. However, similarly to any other community organisation in Orange County, they were open to people from all ethnic backgrounds, including European Americans and other Asian Americans. Nonetheless, very few rosters of ethnic community organisations featured any members from mainland China or from Hong Kong or places in Southeast Asia, although this is partially explained by the fact that only a few Chinese from these places of origin resided in the area. Immigrants from Hong Kong, mainland China and Chinese communities in Southeast Asia were more likely to settle near San Francisco (Tseng, 2001).

The characteristics of personal networks introduced in this article are: the size of a network measured in number of relationships (i.e. ties) between a person and his or her network members, the composition of a network by social roles and types of support relationships (i.e. emotional assistance, socialising assistance and instrumental assistance) and the strength of these ties. If two people are connected to each other in more than one function or social setting, their relationship is considered strong. Moderately strong ties are defined as linkages between people who meet in only one specific context, for example a choir, but interact frequently with each other in this social environment. Relationships between loosely connected people who have only a singular interest in common are considered weak. In those cases, interaction is infrequent and often instrumental in nature (Granovetter, 1973; Wellman and Wortley, 1990).

To learn about the characteristics of communities among immigrants from Taiwan, I looked at the membership lists of organisations and social groups (Borgatti and Everett, 1997). Specifically, I studied how overlap between members of different groups creates bridges between organisations and weaves a cohesive network. This approach is based on a relational rather than a spatial definition of community, which suits the reality of life in southern Orange County.

Furthermore, there are network features that are useful to indicate the level of constraint to interaction between members of different sub-ethnicities. Both personal network structures and community network structures pose low constraints to interaction if they are extensive, diverse and heterogeneous. Networks are extensive if they are large in size. They are diverse if they consist of people with various ethnic and sub-ethnic affiliations. They are heterogeneous whenever network members have varying educational and occupational backgrounds (McAllister and Fischer, 1983; Marsden, 1988). Using these indicators, I learned about the size of networks and the proportion of members in personal networks who are affiliated with the other sub-ethnicity. I gathered information on political opinions and evaluations of joint interests and attitudes. Finally, I determined the proportion of community organisations that are not dominated by any sub-ethnic group, and the degree of connectivity (i.e. cohesion) between these groups.

**PERSONAL NETWORKS**

The networks of native Taiwanese and Mainlander immigrants in southern Orange County are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic affiliation</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taiwanese</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainland Chinese</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Number of informants by ethnic affiliation and gender.
equal in size. Together, the 60 informants reported a total of 787 ties. On average, the size of each informant’s network was 13 people to whom they were linked through strong and moderately strong ties. They said that they had fewer friends in southern California than in Taiwan.

‘In America, life is simple and everyone just cares about themselves. Yet, in Taiwan, life is more complex and there is often too much trouble with relatives and other relationships. But there is one advantage, so to speak, of living here. You have fewer relatives here, and fewer friends. Therefore you don’t have to attend many social events. In Taiwan, on the other hand, it is most likely you have a lot of relatives, a lot of friends. Then there is that person marrying, and that one is having a birthday. Every day you are busy to the nines. Taiwan can be very exhausting.’ (Informant 34, Taiwanese)

Although this is difficult to verify, literature on social life in Taiwan does hint at a generally large number of interaction partners among Taiwanese citizens, both in rural and urban environments. On the island of Taiwan, more than three-quarters of the population live in cities of 50,000 people or more (Gallin, 1978; Greenhalgh, 1984; Marsh and Hsu, 1995; Zimmer et al., 1998). Compared with southern California, residents in Taiwan live in closer proximity to one another because of the higher population density. On the other hand, the size of personal networks among immigrants from Taiwan is about equal to or even higher than the average number of people in the networks of other Americans in the US. Schweizer et al. (1998) reported that the European Americans in their sample of residents in Costa Mesa, California, had about 11 ties and Hispanic immigrants had 8.7 ties in their core networks of strong and moderately strong relationships. The General Social Survey (GSS), an annual survey of randomly selected English-speaking residents of US households, asks informants to recall people with whom they discuss important matters. Its researchers conclude that Americans have on average 3.1 strong ties in their networks (Burt, 1984). Despite the fact that these data are difficult to compare, it implies that immigrants from Taiwan seem to have sufficient opportunities for interaction with people of various backgrounds. However, very few of their personal networks contain a substantial proportion of members who are not from Taiwan.

Overall, most immigrants from Taiwan find their social life in the US rather uneventful and with few opportunities to socialise:

‘When it comes to myself, I do have no problems here. But when it comes to friends, that’s a problem. It’s not easy to find friends here. Everybody is so busy. This makes this place very boring.’ (Informant 42, Mainlander)

A look at social roles reveals that members of both sub-ethnic groups have more ties to former classmates (13.5% of all 787 ties mentioned) than to extended family members. Since most extended family members were left behind, family members represent only 9% of all ties. This means that, on average, any of the 60 informants have 1.8 classmates and 1.2 relatives in their networks.

‘My best friends are not in the [. . .] association. They are from school and college. Same high school, same college, and then they came here to the United States as well. Now we are very close. We are still together. High school and college friends are my best friends here.’ (Informant 58, Mainlander)

Although not as important as relationships to former classmates, the majority of ties link immigrants to people they meet through their recreational activities (22% of all 787 ties mentioned) and to co-workers or business partners (16.5%). They also have faith-related contacts to members of the same Christian church congregation or Buddhist prayer group (13%). In addition, they have relationships with fellow parents who meet at school events or during the joint outings of their children (7%). They are also related to members of joint associations (6%), such as the Chinese American Chamber of Commerce and the Taiwanese Medical and Dental Association of Orange County, and people who meet at training events, for example, the adult school (4%). A few informants mentioned friends of friends and friends of other alumni of one’s alma mater back in Taiwan, who are subsumed in the role category of ‘other’ (4%). A small proportion of network members are neighbours (3%).

‘Even with Chinese people who live nearby, there is not much contact. Look at [. . . ]. She
also lives in our neighbourhood, but I never bump into her. Over the last seven, eight years, I never ran into her. But ever since I started dance class, I see her all the time. Very strange indeed. Maybe I was too busy at work. There was just work and home. If the social circles are different, then you also don’t bump into each other. You definitely need to be in the same circles.’ (Informant 62, Mainlander)

Types of Support and Sub-ethnic Affiliation

Another component of social network studies is the analysis of the quality and functional content of relationships, specifically different types of support. Among immigrants from Taiwan, the providers and recipients of emotional support are linked by very strong ties and are usually members of the same sub-ethnic group. Informants rarely mentioned a confidante who was associated with a different sub-ethnic group than their own. Former classmates, along with extended family and kin group members, are the main providers of advice on personal matters and consolation in times of emotional distress. The importance of former classmates in immigrants’ personal networks has also been noted in previous studies on immigrants from Hong Kong (Wong and Salaff, 1998).

Socialising assistance or social support is also predominantly exchanged between people who belong to the same sub-ethnic group. Socialising assistance is defined as recreational activities, association meetings and social events (fundraisers of associations, Chinese New Year celebrations), or meeting at for instance a restaurant or at each other’s home. Taiwanese socialise mainly with fellow native Taiwanese; Mainlanders spend their free time primarily with other Mainlanders.

‘We met because we took the same dance class. And we are all Chinese, so we chat and find out and “oh . . .” So we go to lunch together. Our husbands are all doctors. One became my family doctor and his kids are at […] university, and now my daughter is at […] university, too. It’s really interesting. And we really keep ties. We are very, very close.’ (Informant 59, Mainlander)

‘Oh, okay, […] I knew him already 20 years ago. At the time there were not many Chinese people here. So at that time we had a kind of Taiwanese toastmaster. We talked Taiwanese during the meetings. That’s how I know him. Now they have different chapters. Back then it was all for the older people. We spoke Taiwanese, not Mandarin, and we practised to do speeches in Taiwanese. The present toastmaster group is now for young people.’ (Informant 38, Taiwanese)

However, these findings have to be differentiated by social roles. Sub-ethnic exclusivity is more likely to be present when people interact with classmates, family and kin group members, joint members of recreational groups, core members of associations (e.g. president(s), board members, treasurers, etc.) and faith-related contacts. In contrast, neighbours, association members that are not board members, fellow parents and co-workers do associate with people who belong to a sub-ethnicity different from their own.

Clearly, sharing common interests does not draw many Mainlanders and native Taiwanese together. In the areas of recreation, the inner circles of associations and religious congregations, people associate mainly with those of the same sub-ethnic background. Joint interests and common backgrounds mainly bring together members of the same sub-ethnic group. Shared interests do not integrate those from different ethnic backgrounds. Having come from and having been brought up in Taiwan are not sufficient commonalities to bring immigrants with different sub-ethnic affiliations together in their new place of settlement.

Settlement Location and Sub-ethnic Affiliation

Data from the random sample drawn from membership lists reveal no distinctive geographical concentrations of members of either sub-ethnic group. Taiwanese and Mainlanders seem to settle in almost equal proportions within the city limits of Irvine, Tustin, Laguna Hills and other places in southern Orange County. Nevertheless, among all the municipalities in this region, Irvine stands out as the city with the largest population and the most space to grow, as a result of annexation of surrounding unincorporated areas. At the time of fieldwork, in 1998, the city of Irvine had a population of 129,294. By the completion
of the 2000 Census it had grown to 143,072 people and in 2005 it registered with 180,803 inhabitants (US Census Bureau, 2006).

It is therefore not surprising that Irvine also has the highest concentration of immigrants from Chinese-speaking countries in the region. Most official population statistics do not differentiate between native Taiwanese and Mainlander immigrants, but group both together under the term ‘Chinese Americans’. According to the US Census Bureau (2002), Chinese Americans in Irvine accounted for almost 12% of the total population. Given the high cost of living in Irvine it is safe to assume that the majority of people counted for the 2000 Census were actually immigrants from Taiwan. All other cities in the southern part of Orange County are both smaller in total population size, namely between 30,000 and 65,000 people, and have a much smaller proportion of Chinese Americans than Irvine.

This slight geographical concentration stands in marked contrast to the prominent agglomeration of Chinese Americans in a cluster of municipalities in northeast Los Angeles County (Zhou and Tseng, 2001). Along the San Gabriel Valley corridor there are ten cities with a Chinese American population that constitutes between 20% and 45% of the total number of residents. Although, with the exception of Monterey Park, a city with a total population of 160,051, the other municipalities were on average only 60,000 people strong according to the 2000 Census, this particular region features clearly visible ethnic clusters, also called ethnoburbs (Li, 1999). The same cannot be said about Irvine and the southern part of Orange County. The ethnic concentration is much lower, it is singular in the area, and the upper-middle class character of the population in combination with the particular zoning laws of the Irvine company prevents the displays of large billboards and architectural design of store fronts as a means of advertising that would alert to a strong ethnic presence (Schiesl, 1991).

At the same time, the role of Irvine as a focal point for Chinese and Taiwanese activities is undeniable. As the largest municipality in the southern part of Orange County, Irvine also offers the most opportunities to socialise exclusively with either other Taiwanese or other Mainlanders in public. Organisations and associations with meeting spaces in Irvine serve as a magnet for many people, including residents of the surrounding cities. By 1998, many informants already had their own views about sub-ethnic clusters in the area. Many perceptions about sub-ethnic concentrations hovered around the city of Irvine.

‘Somebody who is in a social group in Irvine has much more of an active life and much more opportunities. It’s an environment with lots of frequent interaction with other fellow Chinese.’ (Informant 49, Mainlander)

In fact, there were many informants who stated that they considered Irvine a centre for native Taiwanese activities. Several families reported that they had based their choice of settlement location on this perception and decided against settling within the borders of the Irvine municipality because of the perceived domination of very affluent Taiwanese people. Additional data on the actual geographical distribution of a sufficiently large sample of both Mainlander and Taiwanese residences is needed to verify these assumptions.

Religious Orientation and Sub-ethnic Affiliation

Orange County is home to several different ethnic religious congregations of Christian, Daoist and Buddhist faith with varying sizes and spheres of influence. These religious groups provide immigrants from Taiwan with an ethnic forum for socialising as well as an arena for the display of status differences because of wealth and level of engagement. The interaction with fellow ethnic-group members also provides stability for immigrants in times of change and adaptation (Palinkas, 1988; Yang, 1998). As a result, religious activities often become more important markers of identity in the new environment of the US than they were at home. However, not all immigrants participate in religious groups. While 64% of informants in this study claim they are followers of a particular faith, only 33% reported their involvement in regular group meetings. Christians are more likely than Buddhists or Daoist to belong to a particular religious organisation. At the time of fieldwork, immigrants from Taiwan had established eight Christian churches of various denominations in southern Orange County.
County. Yet, as time passes, new churches are founded and others disappear or merge. In this respect, immigrant churches are not much different from other Christian congregations in North America (Nagata, 2003). Four of the churches were Mainlander churches with services held in standard Chinese. One even offered additional services in Cantonese for elderly immigrants who had arrived from Guangdong province via Taiwan. There were two churches that exclusively served Hoklo speakers. One of them was the largest immigrant congregation in the area. The two remaining churches were frequented by both native Taiwanese and Mainlanders, with services given in standard Chinese. In addition, one person had tried to start a church for Hakka speakers, but met with little interest among his fellow immigrants. There were also several church communities that catered for a mixed group of second-generation immigrants from Asia who prefer to listen to services in English instead of attending the ethnic churches of their parents’ generation.

A prominent characteristic of ethnic Christian churches is that for many active practitioners, their congregation becomes the most important activity and social circle in their lives. Active membership in a church can be an all-consuming experience.

‘My work keeps me so busy from eight to five. I have not much time for anything else. And then the church keeps me busy. Sometimes we have quite a lot of events. There is couples fellowship, then there is youth fellowship and Chinese language classes to organise. And then I have to go and visit new members, or pay visits to people in need on Fridays. Usually I go to church in the evenings for fellowships. On Sundays, there is church and then there is practice of the choir after the joint meal. It goes until 3:30 in the afternoon.’ (Informant 22, Mainlander)

Indeed, church activities often include outreach activities in the form of charity work for elderly citizens and educational programmes for children such as Chinese language classes and summer camps. Churches with an emphasis on native Taiwanese culture and Hoklo language instead of standard Chinese particularly attract members who want to support the perpetuation of Taiwanese culture rather than the religious teachings. For many affluent donors, a church congregation is simply an alternative to political and professional associations in their quest to promote Taiwanese culture among immigrants from Taiwan and their offspring.

As stated above, very few Buddhists and Daoists participate in study groups of Buddhist or Daoist scriptures with other practitioners. In 2002 the second largest Buddhist temple in California, the Pao Fa temple, was inaugurated in Irvine. Although most visitors usually worship there individually or take one of the many educational courses the temple offers, they do not consider themselves to be part of a tight-knit group.

There are two other religious organisations in Orange County worth mentioning. Similar to the Christian churches in the area, they engage in charity work and youth programs. The Yiguan Dao movement teaches ‘the way of pervasive unity’ at their temple in Orange County (Bosco, 1994; Clart, 1996). The majority of its members are Mainlanders. The group offers courses in classic Chinese texts, including the teachings of Confucius, Mencius, Laozi and so on, for children.

The Buddhist organisation with the largest number of members and the most visibility is the Orange County branch of Tzu-Chi (Ciji), the Buddhist Compassion Relief Merit Society. Tzu-Chi is the largest formal association in Taiwan and is registered as a non-profit organisation. It has five million members worldwide and branches in many different countries. The organisation is basically a charity with a mission to practise ‘engaged Buddhism’ (Weller and Huang, 1998; Huang, 2002: 2). Other than traditional Buddhist organisations, which focused mainly on meditation and prayer, members of this group are asked to give both their time for volunteer work and their money to alleviate other people’s suffering. The Irvine branch of the Tzu-Chi organisation includes both a fundraising arm and a volunteer station. Many people involved with Tzu-Chi in southern Orange County are native Taiwanese, but not exclusively so. The majority of volunteers in the Irvine branch are female, which is not surprising given that the association was founded by women. In 1998, the Tzu-Chi branch of Irvine started their own Chinese language school, called the Tzu-Chi Academy of Irvine, as an alternative to the Irvine Chinese School sponsored by
the South Coast Chinese Cultural Association (SCCCA). The school promised not only to teach children Chinese language skills, but also to instruct them about compassion, respect and gratitude.

**Political Attitudes and Sub-ethnic Affiliation**

People from Taiwan are either pro independence of Taiwan or pro reunification of Taiwan with mainland China. More prefer to stall the decision and favour ‘the status quo of neither independence nor unification’ (Rigger, 1999/2000: 538). In Taiwan itself, there is by no means a clear association between political attitudes and ethnic identity. Although Hoklo and to some extent Hakka Taiwanese are more likely to call for an independent Taiwan than Mainlanders, not all Taiwanese reject the prospect of eventual reunification with the mainland. In addition, many Mainlanders have undergone ‘Taiwanisation’ and are not necessarily always interested in the unification of Taiwan with mainland China.

However, it seems that the divisions are more apparent in the diaspora, where the political future of Taiwan continues to divide immigrants. Although the majority of first-generation immigrants from Taiwan to southern California left prior to the political changes in Taiwan, their political attitudes have been influenced by some of the shifts in the discussion on national identity since the mid-1990s. As discussed earlier, members of all sub-ethnic groups in Taiwan make use of their choice to claim either ‘Taiwanese identity’, ‘Chinese identity’ or ‘double identity’ (Ho and Liu, 2002: 39).

In Orange County most immigrants from Taiwan are familiar with several organisations which promote a political stance that favours the eventual independence of Taiwan. The Orange County Taiwanese Association (OCTA), which is part of the Taiwanese Association of America, was originally a forum to promote political change in Taiwan (Shu, 2002). There is also the Orange County branch of the Taiwanese American Citizens League (TACL), which mainly aims to get second-generation native Taiwanese immigrants involved in American society. Then there is a branch of Taiwan’s DPP in Los Angeles County. One of the branch’s major objectives is to support and advocate self-determination for the people of Taiwan and any related issues, including those of sovereignty.

Because of the recent changes in political leadership in Taiwan and the ongoing identity discussions, these political groups are not automatically a medium for native Taiwanese immigrants anymore. While individual chapters of the Taiwanese Association across the US were not open to Mainlander members in the 1970s and 1980s, they now allow them membership. Indeed, some children of Mainlander families have joined the Orange County chapter. In addition, the use of language at association meetings is not restricted to Hoklo. This shows a slight move away from an emphasis of sub-ethnic differences towards an identification based on political positions similar to developments in Taiwan (Hsu and Lee, 2002).

Immigrants from Taiwan who continue to differ in their political attitudes in accordance with sub-ethnic affiliations are those who were born before 1955 and who have settled in the US prior to the lifting of martial law in 1987. They prefer to talk about political ideas only with others who share the same sub-ethnic background as themselves. To most others, however, their level of political activism appears to have declined since the end of the state of emergency in Taiwan. Many informants of this study claimed that they avoid discussing the politics of Taiwan, presumably to evade volatility and tensions among close friends. Conflicting views over the likelihood and preference of either independence of Taiwan or reunification with mainland China are considered to spoil any social gathering. Even the members of ethnic political associations in California would rather get together for social activities and self-help seminars than stage political rallies.

‘We used get together as Taiwanese to form enough voices and to speak out in the United States at protests in DC, New York, Chicago, LA. Always when there was a major event in Taiwan, when the Kuomintang suppressed people. They were quite effective, those protests. Democratic pioneers in Taiwan were not sentenced to death, only arrested. Eventually there were enough voices to have the DPP allowed. Now we get together for entertainment, picnics in the park and at the beach, tennis tournaments, and so forth. And we hold
seminars about medical information, finances, tax investment. One activity per month.’ (Informant 14, Taiwanese)

However, despite their relaxed attitudes to differing political opinions, many people specified that sharing the same political opinion is a requirement for their closest network members, those who give and seek personal advice (i.e. emotional support). They considered it more likely that people of the same sub-ethnic background have similar opinions than people with different sub-ethnic affiliations. In general, the establishment of the DPP in Taiwan and its subsequent assumption of power has eased the political struggle between sub-ethnic groups, both in Taiwan itself and amongst Taiwanese in the US. Political divisions are mainly a generational issue. Older native Taiwanese self-identify more strongly as Taiwanese than their offspring, while many children of Mainlanders prefer ‘double identity’ or ‘Taiwanese identity’ over ‘Chinese identity’ (Ho and Liu, 2002: 39). Nevertheless, Taiwanese in the US continue to be more ethnically divided, because the majority of first-generation immigrants in Orange County still belong to the older generation.

Sub-ethnic Integration

Network analysis reveals that ethnic and sub-ethnic relations play different roles in the lives of Taiwanese immigrants. Figure 1 summarises the general characteristics of immigrant personal networks, including types of ties, social roles, and sub-ethnic affiliation of network members. The figure illustrates the fact that strong and moderately strong relationships usually connect a person with someone who shares a similar sub-ethnic affiliation. In contrast, immigrants with different sub-ethnic affiliations are only weakly connected. The social arenas for meeting these

Figure 1. Model of average personal network composition among immigrants from Taiwan.

○ (not filled) = network members may have different sub-ethnic or ethnic affiliations

● (filled) = network members share the same sub-ethnic affiliation
others are the workplace, schools, and the annual meetings of larger associations.

In Orange County, the workplace, having children, the ability to speak Hoklo and community organisations bring members of both sub-ethnic groups together. Of all these, the workplace is the most important. Many informants stated that they find themselves interacting more frequently with other immigrants rather than with local residents at their place of work.

Yet, socialising outside the workplace only takes place if people have interests in common, such as playing golf or ballroom dancing:

‘When I used to work, I worked for an American firm. There were a lot of Mexicans and one woman from Thailand whom I was a bit closer to. With the others, there was not much interaction. My husband has a lot of Chinese colleagues, but we don’t have much private contact with those Chinese colleagues either. If the interests don’t overlap, there is not much in common. Those who play tennis or golf – they only hang out with their likes. He can only go and be with those who golf since he golfs as well. That’s ok, he does that. He goes out with those. But his other colleagues, none of them dance or like karaoke.’ (Informant 64, Mainlander)

School-age children frequently bring parents of both sub-ethnic groups together. Parents meet at parent–teacher organisations (PTOs) of the regular schools and at extracurricular Chinese language schools. At the time of fieldwork, some immigrant parents had established additional Chinese PTOs at a few high schools in Orange County. The purpose of these organisations was to facilitate the relationship between parents and teachers by assisting parents, predominantly mothers, with poor English language skills. They also lobby for the acceptance of Chinese language as a fulfilment of the foreign language requirement in school curricula.

However, the secular Chinese language schools are the biggest forum for interaction of parents from different sub-ethnic backgrounds. There are also a few religiously oriented language schools at Christian churches, the Yiguang Dao temple and the Tzu-chi Buddhist Compassion Relief Merit Society. But with the exception of the Tzu-Chi Academy of Irvine, they are much smaller and restrict enrolment to members of their religious group. Non-religious Chinese language schools are typically organised by parents. Such schools have a relatively large number of pupils, and offer further extracurricular activities such as calligraphy, folk dance and martial arts. Parents meet when bringing and picking up children, as classroom volunteers and at school fairs. There are also opportunities to engage with one another by participating in adult arts and crafts activities that some Chinese language schools organise for waiting parents.

All Chinese language schools in Orange County offer instruction in standard Chinese (Mandarin). There are no Hoklo or Hakka courses. Informants explained that children of Taiwanese parents learn Hoklo or Hakka at home and that there are no qualified instructors of Hoklo or Hakka. They also pointed out that the main purpose of sending their children to Chinese language classes is to provide them with foreign language skills, specifically the ability to speak, read and write one of the leading languages in the world.

As we saw earlier, many organisations of immigrants from Taiwan have rather high proportions of either Mainlanders or Taiwanese, but members also accept the other sub-ethnic group. This is particularly the case with recreational groups. As a result, at least part of any activity is held in standard Chinese that all can understand. At the same time, the specific language of each sub-ethnicity provides people with a feeling of closeness. Thus, a choir or dance group is most likely to follow instructions in standard Chinese, but after practice, small subsets of members form that may speak only Hoklo or only standard Chinese. Finally, while official interactions at recreational gatherings and meetings of professional and cultural associations are often conducted in the inclusive standard Chinese, communication in specific religious and political settings may take place exclusively in Hoklo.

**Organisation Membership and Sub-ethnicity**

At the group level, is there one single community of immigrants from Taiwan? Or are there several independent communities based on location of settlement or sub-ethnic affiliations? Here, network analysis reveals connections that are not directly apparent. I examined this issue by looking at the connections between various
ethnic community organisations. The degree of connectivity (i.e. cohesion) between individual organisations within the network of affiliations tells us about the existence, size and characteristics of any ethnic community in the area. Community cohesion is visible in overlapping membership of community organisations. Whenever the registers of two organisations list the same person as a member, there is a connection between the two groups. These links are considered weak ties since they mainly inform about the potential for future interaction. Data for this analysis was based on the membership lists of the 62 organisations.

We have already seen that there are several types of community organisations. There are cultural, political and professional associations, alumni associations in reference to colleges and universities in Taiwan, and religious organisations such as Christian churches, Buddhist prayer groups, the Tzu-Chi Buddhist charity foundation and the Yiguan Dao movement. In addition, there are Chinese schools and recreational groups.

Many of these ethnic community organisations have uneven proportions of Mainlanders and Taiwanese in both their leadership and their general membership. Only a few groups, specifically the South Coast Chinese Cultural Association, the Chinese Senior Citizens Club, the Irvine Chinese School, the Chinese Lions Club, three alumni associations and two Christian churches, include a roughly equal number of members from both sub-ethnic groups. Table 2 provides a comparison of the types and numbers of community organisations by sub-ethnic affiliation. The type of organisation does not particularly distinguish or predict the sub-ethnicity of its members. This points to an important conclusion. Membership of ethnic organisations reveals that southern Orange County is home to a single community of immigrants from Taiwan. However, this community of immigrants from Taiwan is only weakly connected. I found that there is no completely isolated organisation in the community: each organisation is related to at least one other organisation by at least one joint member. However, connection does not go much beyond this: more than half of all ethnic community organisations are connected by only one single member. Conversely, only 12% of the total number of organisations has three or more members in common.

Furthermore, there is a low degree of connectivity (i.e. cohesiveness) between the various groups. Clusters of organisations in the matrix are distinguished by sub-ethnic affiliations. Some clusters include only organisations that are dominated by Taiwanese members, while other clusters feature groups with mainly Mainlander memberships. Recreational organisations are most likely to include some, but only a few, members that belong to a different sub-ethnicity than the majority of group members. Political and religious organisations are least likely to have multi-group members.

Social groups with predominately Taiwanese members form clusters that have a higher density of connections than clusters with Mainlander dominance. Here, density is defined as the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of organisation</th>
<th>Dominated by</th>
<th>Dominated by</th>
<th>Equal shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taiwanese</td>
<td>Mainland Chinese</td>
<td>of influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural associations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political associations</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional associations</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alumni associations</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious organisations</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child-related organisations</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreational organisations</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational organisations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (n = 62)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
number of ties actually existing within a network divided by the number of ties that would be present if every member in a network was connected to all other members. A network is most dense if every member is connected to every other member of the network (Borgatti and Everett, 1997). In this sense, Taiwanese community organisations are more connected than Mainlander organisations. This is partly because of the larger number of Christian churches that Mainlanders have established. Christian churches have the tendency to involve their members in a multitude of activities that leave little time for membership of other organisations.

The few community groups listed in the last column of Table 2 serve as bridges between the clusters that represent groups with either one or the other sub-ethnic affiliation. These particular organisations feature equal shares of influence by people from both sub-ethnicities. While separate sub-ethnic circles exist, the groups that function as bridges play an essential role in the network of community organisations among immigrants from Taiwan. They bring people with different sub-ethnic affiliations together.

DISCUSSION

The objective of this article was to investigate how immigrants from Taiwan who share a common place of origin but not the same sub-ethnic affiliation create social lives for themselves in southern California’s vast areas of urban sprawl. With affluence acquired over time in the US, the first generation of immigrants has become increasingly able to socialise exclusively with others who share similar cultural and political backgrounds. Gradually, there is less need to maintain ties for the sake of survival and adaptation as immigrants. Today, few older Hoklo Taiwanese keep up relationships with non-Taiwanese. They interact mainly with other Taiwanese. However, the situation among immigrants at the time of research is certainly subject to change. Two specific possible future scenarios can be anticipated. In the first, an increase in the number of immigrants from Taiwan may foster a clearer separation of identities, while in the second, a generational shift among immigrants may lead to a shift toward more inclusive identities. The continuing sprawl of new subdivisions in Orange County and the subsequent population increase, particularly the increasing number of immigrants from Taiwan, might further the division of sub-ethnic groups among immigrants. According to Fischer, social groups separate and maintain their distinction once their size has reached a ‘critical mass’ of people (Fischer, 1975: 1325). This is already evident in their memberships in distinct ethnic community organisations.

On the other hand, the flow of immigrants from Taiwan has slowed since the quality of life in Taiwan has increased and the job market in the US holds less promise, not to mention recent events in immigration policies resulting from the 9/11 crisis. This suggests that the scenario of a generational shift is more likely to unfold in the future. Future immigrants from Taiwan who settle in Orange County will primarily have been born after the 1950s. The political and historical sprawl confirm some but not all of Putnam’s (2000) assumptions about the effects of these environments on civic engagement, community boundedness and social homogeneity. The number of community organisations that immigrants are involved in might not be high according to mid-twentieth century American standards, but they are higher than in present-day Taiwan (Marsh, 2003; Weller, 1999). The number and range of organisations in southern Orange County has provided immigrants with a sense of belonging, including a degree of regional attachment. They consider themselves to be different from the Chinese and Taiwanese immigrant communities in the San Gabriel Valley, Los Angeles Chinatown, and even northern Orange County.

Orange County is home to many immigrants from Taiwan, and finding others with a similar background has become quite easy. Mainlander immigrants may choose to mingle exclusively with Mainlanders, and Taiwanese immigrants may choose to interact mainly with other Taiwanese. However, the situation among immigrants at the time of research is certainly subject to change. Two specific possible future scenarios can be anticipated. In the first, an increase in the number of immigrants from Taiwan may foster a clearer separation of identities, while in the second, a generational shift among immigrants may lead to a shift toward more inclusive identities. The continuing sprawl of new subdivisions in Orange County and the subsequent population increase, particularly the increasing number of immigrants from Taiwan, might further the division of sub-ethnic groups among immigrants. According to Fischer, social groups separate and maintain their distinction once their size has reached a ‘critical mass’ of people (Fischer, 1975: 1325). This is already evident in their memberships in distinct ethnic community organisations.

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realities they experienced in Taiwan was more than likely to have influenced their identification as a person from Taiwan, as a Taiwanese, even if their parents considered themselves to be Mainlanders. Since there is also a growing number of new immigrants coming directly from mainland China to southern California, a division among immigrants is most likely to occur between immigrants from mainland China who call themselves Chinese and immigrants from Taiwan who call themselves Taiwanese, thus rendering the distinctions amongst people originating in Taiwan increasingly obsolete.

Sub-ethnic affiliation is not fixed but subject to change over time. Personal experiences influence the process of identity formation more than cultural ideas or ancestry (Brown, 2004). The results of this research have shown that when given the opportunity, immigrants from Taiwan stress their specific identities rather than hide or overlook them. The large number of immigrants from either sub-ethnic affiliation living in southern California facilitates a large pool of potential relationships with people who share the same sub-ethnic background. In addition, the dispersed settlement patterns in US metropolitan areas enable immigrants to be very selective in their personal relationships. Network members do not see each other on a daily basis in their respective neighbourhoods, and only meet at specific community organisations of their choice. There are few occasions for chance encounters. Similarly, the current crop of affluent immigrants has less need to seek help from others to adjust to a new environment.

NOTES

(1) These figures are based on the 1998 and 2005 editions of the local real-estate magazine, New Homes Magazine.

(2) The proportion of all Asian Americans in Irvine, including people whose ancestors lived in countries of the Middle East, India, Pakistan, Southeast Asia and South Asia, was 22% in the year 2000 and 29% in 2005 (US Census Bureau, 2002, 2006).

(3) These cities include Alhambra, Arcadia, Diamond Bar, El Monte, Hacienda Heights, Monterey Park, Rowland Heights, San Gabriel and Temple City. There are more cities in the county that have Chinese American populations. However, their rate is below 20%.

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