# **"From South China to North America:** New Perspectives on Chinese American Transnationalism"



1931 Kwong Kow Chinese School Graduation ceremony, Boston Chinatown



Kaiping diaolou, overseas Chinese home villages, designated as World Cultural Heritage.



San Francisco Chinatown contemporary Apartment Building mural

# International Conference at the University of Hong Kong Council Chamber, Meng Wah Complex June 9-10, 2010 Co-organized and sponsored by:

# School of Modern Languages and Cultures, University of Hong Kong Hong Kong-America Center

## Post-conference workshop to be held in China, June 11-13, 2010 Sponsored by Institute of Overseas Chinese Studies, Jinan University, Guangzhou Guangdong Qiaoxiang Culture Research Center, Wuyi University, Jiangmen

The study of Chinese diaspora and transnationalism is a growing field in Chinese American Studies, historical anthropology of south China, and global and interdisciplinary perspectives of overseas Chinese. The Asian American historiography has undergone a level of maturity and growth over the past few decades exploring various paradigms of exclusion, identity formation, transnational resources, and political culture (see the four volumes edited by Sucheng Chan) in understanding Chinese American experience especially during the Exclusion Era and the Cold War. Cultural Studies have placed Asians in the Americas in both an historical and contemporary global disaporic framework which focuses on hybridity and multiplicity of identities that challenge the hegemonic discourses of assimilation and nationalism. On the other hand, organizations such as the Association for Asian American Studies, the International Study of Chinese Overseas, and other academic endeavors of international migration and ethnic studies have witnessed increasing collaborations among scholars in presentations and publications. Meanwhile scholars from universities in Hong Kong, the Pearl River Delta, Fujian as well as Southeast Asia have also established academic institutes and joint research projects for the study of emigrant communities (qiaoxiang) in China. Yet the American-based scholars and the Hong Kong-South China based scholars have mostly worked on Chinese American diaspora from their own vantage points without reconsidering the various nodal points of border crossing and transnational histories.

This conference, organized by the American Studies Program from the School of Modern Languages and Cultures (SMLC) at the University of Hong Kong (HKU), will bring together some of the leading scholars from the US, China, and Hong Kong in the field of Chinese American transnationalism and diaspora studies. The participants would consider new patterns and themes of scholarship in Hong Kong, the Wuyi (five counties) region and in North America about the important flows of people, resources and ideas between South China and North America over the past two hundred years. These historians, anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and literary and cultural critics will examine a host of topics relating to Chinese American identities in the United States and the globalization process in southern China. The conference hopes to generate dialogue and cross fertilization between scholars who are trained in different paradigms of Chinese American studies and overseas Chinese or diasporic perspectives. We envision a collected volume to be published as a result of the conference in the near future.

### List of Participants:

Dr. James K. Chin (Center of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong) Prof. Cindy Chu Yik-Yi (Department of History, Hong Kong Baptist University) Prof. Louise Edwards (Modern China Studies, University of Hong Kong) Dr. Staci Ford (Department of History, University of Hong Kong) Prof. Evelyn Hu-Dehart (Director, Center for the Study of Race and Ethnicity, Brown University) Prof. Madeline Hsu (Department of History, University of Texas at Austin) Prof. Gray Kochhar-Lindgren (Fulbright Scholar, UW-Bothell and University of Hong Kong) Ms. Heidi Kong (Ph.D. Candidate, University of British Columbia) Prof. Robert G. Lee (Department of American Civilization, Brown University) Prof. Philip Yuen-sang Leung (Department of History, Chinese University of Hong Kong) Prof. Li Jinzhao (American Studies Center, Beijing Foreign Studies University) Prof. Haiming Liu (Department of Ethnic and Women Studies, Cal Poly Pomona) Dr. Liu Jin (Guangdong Qiaoxiong Culture Research Center, Wuyi University) Prof. Long Denggao (Institute of Economics, Tsinghua University) Prof. Andrea Louie (Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University) Prof. Kam Louie (Dean of Arts, University of Hong Kong) Dr. Nicole Newendorp (Degrees in Social Studies, Harvard University) Prof. David Pong (Fulbright Scholar, University of Delaware & Chinese U of Hong Kong) Prof. Jay Qian Suoqiao (Department of Chinese, Translation & Linguistics, HK City University) Prof. Edward Rhoads (Department of History, University of Texas at Austin - retired) Prof. Priscilla Roberts (Department of History, University of Hong Kong) Dr. Glenn Shive (Director, Hong Kong-America Center) Prof. Elizabeth Sinn (Center of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong) Prof. Chee-Beng Tan (Department of Anthropology, Chinese University of Hong Kong) Ms. Tan Jinhua (Guangdong Qiaoxiang Culture Research Center, Wuyi University) Prof. Wing-kai To (Fulbright Scholar, Bridgewater State College & University of HK) Prof. Wan Xiaohong (Department of Political Science, South China Normal University) Prof. Wu Jinping (American Studies Center, Jinan University) Prof. Hon-ming Yip (Department of History, Chinese University of Hong Kong) Prof. Zhang Guoxiong (Guangzhou Qiaoxiang Culture Research Center, Wuyi University)

## When and Where:

International Conference at the University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 9-10 (Wednesday-Thursday) June 2010. Post-conference workshop at Jinan University, Guangzhou, Wuyi University, Jiangmen and villages in Kaiping and Taishan, 11-13 (Friday-Sunday) June 2010.

## Session Format:

The conference will consist of 40 minutes sessions during which time a participant will present his or her paper and discuss the essay with the group. Each panel will consist of two or three papers. We ask that each conference participant submits a draft of his or her paper in English by 3 June (Thursday) 2010 to Wing-kai To [wingkto@hku.hk]. The essays will then be distributed to the fellow participants before the conference begins.

## Publications:

We hope to publish the conference proceedings in English as a book collection. Contributors will be asked to submit their final essay for purposes of publication by 1 December 2010/

## Deadlines:

For submitting a draft of the paper for distribution to fellow conference participants: 3 (Thursday) Jun 2010

## Contact Person:

Please correspond with <u>Wing-kai To</u> at [wingkto@hku.hk ]. For conference logistics, please contact Ms. Christy Ho at [chhirsty@hku.hk].

## Conference Program, 8-13 June, 2010

## 8 June Tuesday: Participants arrive in Hong Kong (accommodations at the Ramada Hotel)

7 p.m. Reception in the evening. (sponsored by Hong Kong-America Center)

## DAY 1, 9 June, Wednesday: Opening of Conference, the University of Hong Kong, Council Chambers, Meng Wah Complex

## 9 am: Welcome and opening remarks:

Professor Kam Louie, Dean of Faculty of Arts

Dr. Glenn Shive, Director of the Hong Kong-America Center

Professor Wing-kai To, American Studies Programme, University of Hong Kong

Professor Zhang Guoxiong, Wuyi University

## Session 1: 19th Century Chinese American Networks and Images

9:50-

11:10: Chair: Professor Kam Louie, Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Hong Kong

Professor Elizabeth Sinn, *University of Hong Kong* "Early Hong Kong-California Trade and the Rise of Gold Mountain Firms"

Professor Robert G. Lee, Brown University "The Chinese Workingman's Body: Race, Historical Memory and Identity"

#### 11:10- Session 2: Debating Chineseness and Americanization

- 12:30:
- Chair: Professor David Pong, Fulbright Visiting Professor, Department of History Chinese University of Hong Kong

Professor Edward Rhoads, *University of Texas at Austin* (retired) "The Americanization of the Chinese Educational Mission Students in New England, 1872-81"

Professor Wing-kai To, Bridgewater State College and University of Hong Kong
"From Cultural Anxiety to Social Mobilization: The Making of a Chinese American Community in Boston, 1870s-1930s"

12:30-2: Lunch (on your own)

#### 2:00- Session 3: Border-Crossing and Transnationalism

4:00

Chair: Professor Cindy Chu Yik-Yi, Department of History, Hong Kong Baptist University

Professor Evelyn Hu-Dehart, *Brown University* "Chinese on the US-Mexico Borderlands: Strategic Transnationalism During the Exclusion Era"

Professor Hon-ming Yip, *Chinese University of Hong Kong* "Charity and Transnationalism: The Tung Wah Coffin Home and the North America-Hong Kong-South China Network"

Professor Long Denggao, *Tsinghua University* "Transcultural Growth Beyond Ethnic Communities: Chinatown Bus in America"

- 4-4:15 Coffee and tea break
- 4:15- Session 4: Qiaoxiang and Transnationalism
- 6:15

Chair: Dr. James K. Chin, Center of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong

Professor Zhang Guoxiong, *Wuyi University* "Sources for the Study of Qiaoxiang and Chinese Transnationalism: Examples from the Zhou Yunzhong Family Documents in Kaiping"

Dr. Liu Jin, *Wuyi University* "A Family's Survival and Career Network in the World: Correspondences of the Chen Yilin Family from Kaiping County in 1920s as a Case Study"

Ms. Tan Jinhua, *Wuyi University and the University of Hong Kong* "The Evolution of Kaiping Local Housing and Associated Village Structures: Longxing Village in Kaiping County as a Case Study (1920s to 1930s)"

6:30 Dinner, Senior Common Room 15<sup>th</sup> Floor, KK Leung Building (Hosted by the pm: University of Hong Kong)

## DAY 2, 10 June, Thursday: Sessions at HKU begin at 9 am and run throughout the day.

## 9am- Session 5: Chinese American Politics and Culture

11

Chair: Professor Priscilla Roberts, Department of History, University of Hong Kong

Professor Philip Yuen Sang Leung, *Chinese University of Hong Kong* "Fong Koo-Sec Between China and America"

Professor Madeline Hsu, *University of Texas at Austin* "Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Inc (ARCI) and U.S. State Department Outreach in Asia"

Professor Haiming Liu, *California State University, Pomona* "Food Migration, Collective Memory and Transnational Culture: Chinese Hunan Cuisine Made in Taiwan"

11-11:15 Coffee and tea break

## 11:15- Session 6: Chinese American Identity and Diaspora

12:35

Chair: Professor Chee-Beng Tan, Department of Anthropology,

Chinese University of Hong Kong

Professor Andrea Louie, Michigan State University "Reassessing Chinese American Identities: How Adoptees and American Born Chinese (ABCs) Negotiate Chineseness"

Professor Li Jinzhao, Beijing Foreign Studies University "Rethinking Diaspora Through a Chinese-American Tour to China"

12:35-2: Lunch (on your own)

#### 2 pm- Session 7: Migration and Transnational Culture

- 4:00
- Chair: Dr. Staci Ford, Department of History, University of Hong Kong
- Ms. Heidi Kong, University of British Columbia and Sun Yat-sen University "The DongNanXiBei of Chinese Overseas: A Perspective on Transnational Geography"

Professor Wu Jinping, Jinan University

"A Social Survey and Analysis to the Characteristics of Chinese-American and

Chinese-Canadian New Generation"

Professor Jay Qian Suoqiao, City University of Hong Kong "Chinese American Literature: Transcending National Boundaries"

4:00-4:15 Coffee and Tea Break

#### 4:15- Session 8: Contemporary Chinese American Transnational Lives

5:35

Chair: Professor Gray Kocchar-Lindgren, Fulbright Visiting Professor, University of Washington-Bothell & University of Hong Kong

Dr. Nicole Newendorp, *Harvard University* "Migrating Seniors and Mobile Emotions: Chinese Family Life Between the Pearl River Delta and Boston, Massachusetts"

Professor Wan Xiaohong, *South China Normal University* Asian Americans' Political Participation: A Case Study of Local Elections at MA in 2007

- 5:35- Concluding Remarks and Discussion:
- 6:15

Chair: Wing-kai To, University of Hong Kong Professor Robert Lee, Brown University, Professor Madeline Hsu, University of Texas at Austin, Professor Elizabeth Sinn, University of Hong Kong, Professor Jinzhao Li, Beijing Foreign Studies University, Professor Selia Tan, Wuyi University.

## DAY 3, 11 June, Friday: Morning depart for Guangzhou by morning train

Morning train from Hung Hom to Guangzhou Lunch at Jinan University, Guangzhou

Afternoon Workshop with the Institute of Overseas Chinese Studies, Jinan University

Exchanges about Historiography of Chinese American/Overseas Chinese Studies: Tour Campus and Library collections, Jinan University

Evening travel from Guangzhou to Jiangmen and check-in hotel.

## DAY 4, 12 June, Saturday: Jiangmen and Wuyi University, travel to Taishan

Morning visit Guangdong Qianxiang Culture Research Center, Wuyi University Visit Wuyi Overseas Chinese Museum in Jiangmen

After lunch, travel to Kaping city by bus and visit diaolou and Overseas Chinese communities

Overnight in Taishan

# DAY 5, 13 June, Sunday: Tour of Overseas Chinese Historical Sites in Taishan and Kaiping

Tour of Taishan in the morning and lunch.

The conference in Hong Kong and workshop/field trip in China will adjourn on Sunday afternoon. Ferry from Jiangmen will take participants back to Hong Kong for Sunday evening.

# Participants and Abstracts: (in order of presentations)

Professor Elizabeth Sinn, University of Hong Kong.

"Early Hong Kong-California Trade and the Rise of Gold Mountain Firms"

Early Hong Kong-California trade and the rise of Gold Mountain firms (jinshanzhuang 金山莊) Gold Mountain trading firms (jinshanzhuang 金山莊) occupy an iconic position in the transpacific and transnational connections between China and the United States. This paper examines their emergence in the second half of the 19th century, coinciding with Chinese emigration to California during the gold rush and railroad construction periods. Their activities, including import and export, shipping, insurance, banking, and remittance, immigration and other services, were all closely tied to Chinese migration. Embedded in a vast and intricate network of family, personal, intra-firm and inter-firm relationships, the Gold Mountain trade was not only financially and commercially significant, but also had far-reaching social and cultural ramifications on both ends of the Pacific.

#### Professor Robert G. Lee, Brown University

# "The Chinese Workingman's Body: Race, Historical Memory and Identity"

How did Chinese workingmen narrate the history of their migration to the United States?<sup>1</sup> It is commonplace in American historiography to accept that Chinese workingmen in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century America life are without history because they left little in the way of a written archive of their experience. In this paper, I take a cue from Maxine Hong Kingston's claim that historical memory might be narrated on the body.<sup>2</sup> I argue that in the face of the racialization of the Chinese immigrant as "the coolie," the embodiment of unmanly cheap labor, Chinese workingmen performed an alternative narrative of migration and masculinity that refused their representation in American culture as a corrupted body.<sup>3</sup> I will show how Chinese workingmen in America performed a counter-narrative of displacement and social violence in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Guangdong and America through the practice of secret society ritual, training in martial arts, and the staging of public parades.

This paper rests on a reading of two related texts which might be called hidden transcripts, a catechism dedicated to the deity *Guandi* and a handwritten *hongmen* handbook, the largest and most powerful secret society among American Chinese.<sup>4</sup> I argue that these texts and the practices associated with them served as key "sites of memory",<sup>5</sup> through which Chinese workingmen in America gathered a collective memory which sutured a rupture between their Chinese past and American present. The veneration of *Guandi* can be understood as a central symbolic/ideological field that sanctioned the hierarchical class structure of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Chinese America. Membership in *Hongmen*, whose myth of origins was itself a tale of diaspora,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the history of American labor the term "workingman" has been reserved for White workers, while (as recently as the 1990's Chinese workers have been characterized as coolies, Celestials, or simply "the Chinese"). I use the term "Chinese workingmen" to recuperate the term "workingman" as a designator of class and not race. I use the term here to denote Chinese immigrants (overwhelmingly male) who worked for wages (as distinct from merchants). These workingmen included a wide range of occupations from agricultural workers, to railroad workers, to domestic service, including self-employed service workers such as laundrymen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Maxine Hong Kingston, *Woman Warrior, Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghost*, 41. On the broad question of historical memory see, David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985), 211 and Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*(Cambridge, 1989),6-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> On the coolie as a racial construction in the US see for example Robert G. Lee, *Orientals, Asian Americans in Popular Culture*, chapter 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts,* (Yale, 1990)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Pierre Nora, Between History and Memory: Les Lieux d' Memoire, *Representations, 26, Spring 1989, 7-24* 

provided protection and economic advantage through ritual rebirth and a system of fictive kinship. I consider the practice of martial arts, particularly the *Hung gar style* of boxing associated with Guangdong and the *Hongmen*, as a mnemonic device for remembering the economic dislocation and social violence in the wake of the Opium War, in particular, the Red Turban rebellion (1955-1857) and the Punti-Hakka wars (1856-1867).

# Professor Edward Rhoads, *University of Texas at Austin* (retired) **"The Americanization of the Chinese Educational Mission Students in New England, 1872-81**"

Beginning in 1872, as part of the Self-Strengthening Movement, China sent 120 young boys – thirty a year for four consecutive years – to live and study in New England. They were dispersed to mostly small towns and villages throughout Connecticut and western Massachusetts and assigned to American families, who were responsible for teaching them English and getting them ready for American schools. Typically, two boys were assigned to a family, with no more than one family per community.

According to the original plan, the boys were to stay abroad for fifteen years. But in 1881, only halfway through the original plan, the Qing government abruptly recalled the entire mission. The ostensible reason for the recall was excessive cultural assimilation on the part of the students. Indeed, an iconic photograph of the CEM dating from 1878 shows nine senior boys, members of the Orientals baseball club, dressed in Western attire, holding baseball and bats and posing self-assuredly in front of the CEM headquarters in Hartford.

This paper, based on extensive research in local newspapers and archives in New England, examines the degree to which the CEM students had become Americanized during their six to nine years in New England. It argues that while Americanization had proceeded apace, it was by no means complete.

# Professor Wing-kai To, *Bridgewater State College and University of Hong Kong* **"From Cultural Anxiety to Social Mobilization: The Making of a Chinese American Community in Boston, 1870s-1930s"**

Boston's Chinatown, while small in comparison to New York's and San Francisco's, has maintained a rich history as a vibrant commercial and residential community in the same locale since its initial settlement in the late 1870s. Its continuity in preserving some of the traditional architecture and streetscape, as well as its enduring character of family and community life, distinguishes Chinatown in Boston as a more coherent community than most others in the United States. The lack of natural catastrophes such as earthquakes and epidemics might have accounted for the stability in the settlement patterns of Boston Chinese. Yet in contrast to the violent anti-Chinese movement in the frontier West, the different roles of merchants, students, workers, and women in relation to the local economy and culture have also allowed Chinese Americans to become more integrated with other communities during the Exclusion Era (1882-1943).

This paper will explore the development of transnational resources and local culture in shaping the roles of Chinese American community in Boston from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> centuries. By utilizing both western accounts in the press and missionary writings as well as local Chinese records, it reveals that Chinese in Boston were able to develop their own school and community associations after an initial period of exclusion. The paper will compare several historical accounts and episodes of Boston Chinatown in 1892, 1905 and 1931 in examining the evolution of the perceptions and roles of their community. Instead of addressing the more conventional legal and political perspectives of exclusion, I argue that the local Chinatown utilized both traditional Chinese and modern American networks in enhancing their community resources and social capital. These community building efforts allowed local Chinese to build coalitions and stage protests to withstand the challenges of social exclusion and environmental degradation in the process of urban renewal. This paper builds on the author's previous work on the photo history of Boston Chinese and discusses part of his larger study of Chinese American history in New England.

#### Professor Evelyn Hu-Dehart, Brown University

# "Chinese on the US-Mexico Borderlands: Strategic Transnationalism During the Exclusion Era"

When the United States passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, specifically targeting Chinese laborers for denial of entry and consequentlyseverely curtailing Chinese immigration and activities in the United Statesfor well past World War II, Chinese began pouring into northern Mexico and settled along the 2000-mile U.S.-Mexico border from California to Arizona to Texas, and quickly created a presence in the cultural and economic space historians now call the borderlands. There they coexisted and mingled, in peace and in conflict, with Anglos (white Americans), Mexicans and Mexican-Americans and black Americans, as well as European immigrants and adventurers, taking advantage of new opportunities for work and business that arose with mining, railroad building, commercial agriculture and accompanying urbanization, as well as the massive social upheaval of the Mexican Revolution that originated in and engulfed much of the borderlands.

The Chinese who settled in the border states of Mexico formed close relationship with their compatriots on the other side of the border; most of them came from the same villages in Guangdong province and sometimes from the same families. It soon became apparent that for the Chinese, the border between the United States and Mexico offered a strategy to circumvent the limitations posed by the Chinese exclusion policy of the United States. Co-ethnics and co-villagers, fathers and sons, brothers and uncles, and occasional wives, daughters and sisters, formed relationships across the border. They established myriad business partnerships and

created innovative business models that straddled and transcended the border. Chinese community leaders in San Francisco and Los Angeles Chinatowns devised and sponsored smuggling schemes across the laxly patrolled border. Some Chinese utilized their status as citizens in the US or Canada to invest in Chinese businesses in Mexico, and some Chinese in Mexico took Mexican citizenship in order to cross the border as Mexicans, as did their mixedrace children of Mexican mothers. Chinese investors and entrepreneurs in California signed contracts with the Otis-Chandler family (owners of the Los Angeles Times and major landowners in California's Imperial Valley as well as its extension across the border in Mexicali) to recruit and organize Chinese laborers directly from China to Mexico to open up their land in Mexicali for cotton cultivation. Other Chinese entrepreneurs operated opium dens and casinos in the Wild West environment of the Mexican territory of Baja California a short drive from San Diego. Even the great Chinese reformer Kang Yu-Wei and his Chinese Reform Society of the Americas (headquartered in Vancouver, Canada) invested heavily on the Mexican border. Chinese shopkeepers proliferated across the borderlands, to the point of monopolizing small retail businesses in some border states, much to the consternation of Mexicans who took note of the extraordinary success of these noticeably different immigrants. By remaining politically neutral, Chinese businesses prospered during the long decade of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) by provisioning revolutionary armies of all factions.

My paper will explore the phenomenon of what I call "strategic transnationalism," whereby Chinese immigrants--laborers and entrepreneurs--expanded their sphere of activities and economic influence on the borderlands of the U.S.-Mexico border during the exclusion era, at a time when this border was largely porous and remarkably open for border crossers in both directions. In so doing, they not only circumvented the tightest restrictions imposed by the Chinese Exclusion Act, but in fact enlarged opportunities for immigrants from South China who found their passage to Mexico not denied. But they also paid a heavy price, for the violent attacks on Chinese persons and businesses on the Mexican borderlands were arguably the most intense in the Chinese diaspora of the Americas.

#### Professor Hon-ming Yip, Chinese University of Hong Kong

## "Charity and Transnationalism: The Tung Wah Coffin Home and the North America-Hong Kong-South China Network"

This paper is a pilot study of the amazing phenomenon of transporting coffins/bones from all over the world to China through Hong Kong especially since the establishment of the Tung Wah Coffin Home which might be the only organization of such a scale that covered most cases of this peculiar charitable service from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Taking the opportunity of compiling a collection of selected archival materials of the Coffin Home for the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, I have had access to the voluminous relevant archives stored at the Tung Wah Museum and discovered the uniqueness of this kind of service

and its great significance in the history of Hong Kong, China, and the world. As a pilot study, this project's focus will be on Hong Kong's pivotal role in networking charity between north America (especially the first "gold mountain" for Chinese from Guangdong) and hometowns for overseas Chinese from south China. To supplement the rich archival documents concerned, other information from Hong Kong has been solicited and field research in Guangdong and north America, conducted. These efforts to trace the footprints of Chinese at home and abroad provided the researcher with perceptual and empirical evidence of global connections as well as native Chinese institutions and practices. Related issues include even the ethnic politics of Chinese Americans centering round the transformation from "sending my bones back to China" to "burying my bones in America." It is hoped that this project can herald a macro study that will shed light on the transnationalization of indigenous Chinese (mainly Cantonese) charities and the global picture of the Chinese diasporic world to which Hong Kong has long been the pivot in one way or the other.

# Professor Long Denggao, Tsinghua University

## "Transcultural Growth Beyond Ethnic Communities: Chinatown Bus in America"

Many Diasporas are able to establish niche markets within and from the ethnic communities and fill the void for the demands of certain services. The intercity bus services between Chinatowns in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington DC offers a perfect example. It started up about ten years ago as "Chinatown buses" operated by various Chinese-American entrepreneurs. It is very cheap and rapid for direct line between Chinatowns. These intercity bus services are not only able to take advantage of the frequent movement of the Chinese population among the nation's major metropolitan areas, but their successful operations have also attracted non-Chinese travelers. As they improve service, the 40-odd Chinatown bus companies are becoming a growing threat to Greyhound Lines Inc. Chinatown bus lines expanded soon to the non-Asian enclaves.

Chinatown bus developed rapidly from the marginal enclave to the mainstream, from chaos to regularization. Moreover, their Innovation brought emulation of Mainstream companies. They dropped its prices, offering a name-brand alternative to the Chinatown coaches. Non-Chinese entrepreneurs bought their own buses and began operating along the Boston-New York-Philadelphia-Washington, D.C. circuit. Then the British entered the act, starting Megabus to service cities in the mid-west.

A competitive marketplace has now created a new, money-saving travel facility for Americans. It is still in the process of integration. Coach USA ,whose operations were sold to Peter Pan in the early 2000s, purchased Eastern In fall 2008, then purchased Today's in 2009, giving foothold in the Chinatown bus market. However, it is difficult to integrate. In August 2009, Coach USA divested itself of Eastern Shuttle operations, and the two lines are no longer affiliated with each other.

It stimulates the need of Americans travelling by bus, and promotes the U.S. industry of bus transportation. More Americans are traveling more miles by bus, and those numbers have been steadily increasing in recent years. According to a DePaul survey, bus ridership has gone up 13 percent since 2006 — the first increase in 40 years.

## Professor Zhang Guoxiong, Wuyi University

## "Sources for the Study of Qiaoxiang and Chinese Transnationalism: Examples from the Zhou Yunzhong Family Documents in Kaiping"

The Wuyi Qiaoxiang in Guangdong China (including Taishan, Kaiping, Xinhui, Enping, Heshan) was the main hometown area of the early emigrants to the United States, Canada and Australia. More than one hundred years ago, this kind of international migration network was shaped and it has been expanded ever since. The Zhou Yunzhong family was one of the cases involved. From the reign of Tongzhi in the late Qing dynasty to 1950s, at least 20 people in this family emigrated from Kaiping to the United States, establishing an international family migration network between China and the United States. In the 1980s, with China's reform and open-up policy, all the remained descendants of the Zhou Yunzhong family in Kaiping emigrated to the United States and Canada. Around 300 pieces of records documented the emigration process. Especially, the letters and coaching books are very useful and valuable for the understanding of the construction of international migration network and the historical development.

## Dr. Liu Jin, Wuyi University

## "A Family's Survival and Career Network in the World: Correspondences of the Chen Yilin Family from Kaiping County in 1920s as a Case Study"

The Chen Yilin family's 400 letters reflected the survival and career network of a transnational family. According to the letters, Chen Yilin had worked overseas and his family network had been shaped when he came back to retire at his home in 1920s. Many descendants of the Chen family migrated to the US, Cuba, the Philippines and Hong Kong. They kept in touch with each other via correspondence. Some of the migrants from the Chen family were engaged in business and some worked as laborers. The letters recorded their life experience and thinking of the time. The cohesiveness of the Chen family bonded one another to seek for a way for the individuals and the family. They cast themselves in different countries. The Chen family's survival strategy was the result of the politics and economy in Guangdong, China and the World in that particular period of time.

## Ms. Tan Jinhua, Wuyi University and the University of Hong Kong

# "The Evolution of Kaiping Local Housing and Associated Village Structures: Longxing Village in Kaiping County as a Case Study (1920s to 1930s)"

The Wuyi Quaoxiang of Guangdong (the Ng Yap area) is close to Hong Kong and Macau, and it is well-known for the high percentage of the natives of the area who left China to make their fortunes overseas. During the 1920s and 1930s, Guangdong was a hotbed of progressive reform. The rich remittances from the overseas Chinese and the direct impact of the emigrants on their return to their native places contributed a great deal to these social reforms. The evolution of the local house-form was one of the many aspects of these reforms, an aspect which tells us a lot about the reforms. This paper will take Longxing Village in the 1920s and 1930s as a case-study, to analyze how the traditional house-form was affected by the new socio-culture of the area.

## Professor Philip Yuen Sang Leung, *Chinese University of Hong Kong* **"Fong Koo-Sec Between China and America"**

This is a study of Kuang Fuzhuo(1869-1938), a native of Taishan(Toishan), in the province of Guangdong in South China who went to America in 1881 and spent twenty three years there where he was known by his English name Fong Foo Sec. Born in 1869 in a Taishan village, Kuang received a traditional Chinese education in childhood learning the basic texts such as the "Three-character classics", "Thousand-word text" and portions of the Confucian classics. Each day he also spent substantive time in the field as a farm boy helping out in the family. He then followed the practice of many members of the Kuang clan from Taishan wanting to go abroad to seek opportunities in the United States. Kuang failed in his first attempt, but managed to get to San Francisco just before the enactment of the Exclusion Act in 1882. The first half of this paper will examine his experience in the new land, first as a young coolie worker in the Chinatowns and then as an Salvation Army officer and college student at Pomona and Berkeley. Armed with a BA degree from the University of California and a Master degree from Columbia University's Teachers College, Kuang was deeply influenced by Christian values and American education, but he decided to return to China in 1906, after spending more than twenty years of his life in the States. The second half of this paper attempts to analyse the life of Kuang in China focusing on his careers as a translator-editor at the Commercial Press in Shanghai, as a leader of the YMCA, the Rotary Club and the Protestant church, and also as a cultural middleman between East and West and advocate of American education in China.

#### Professor Madeline Hsu, University of Texas at Austin

# "Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Inc (ARCI) and U.S. State Department Outreach in Asia"

During the cold war era, the U.S. State Department came to view human mobility as more of a strategic tool that could be used to advance U.S. foreign policy agendas. The State Department

interceded in the movements of refugees, students, cultural ambassadors, and experts to further its goals of building alliances; restricting communist access to scientists, technicians, and others with education and training; and promoting the overseas image of America as a racially egalitarian democracy. I explore this project through the State Department-funded, non-profit organization, Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Inc. (ARCI, 1952-1970), which aimed to resettle 25,000 Chinese intellectual refugees from Hong Kong to best advantage of "the Free World." Initially ARCI sought to resettle refugees in Taiwan--in support of Chiang Kai-shek's quest to retake the mainland--but changed course in 1954 with the loss of faith in Chiang's leadership, passage of refugee legislation permitting entry to the U.S., and State Department efforts to promote America's humanitarian outreach to Asians. Channeling human resources became another means of waging the Cold War by directing educated, technically and scientifically trained intellectuals to build up the economies and defense capacities of the U.S. and its allies and away from the communist bloc. These political agendas mapped unevenly onto the aspirations of tens of thousands of Chinese intellectuals and refugees, about 2,500 of whom and their families came to the United States, a small migration stream that I argue nonetheless contributed to broader changes in immigration legislation and racial ideologies leading up to the transformative 1965 Immigration Act.

#### Professor Haiming Liu, California State University, Pomona

## "Food Migration, Collective Memory and Transnational Culture: Chinese Hunan Cuisine Made in Taiwan" Authenticity in Chinese Food Tradition

In 1974, the local ABC news station in New York did a segment on Peng Yuan Restaurant. Reporter Bob Lape visited Chef Peng in the kitchen and taped how he made General Tso's chicken, a famous dish in Hunan cuisine. After the segment ran, about fifteen hundred people wrote in and asked for the recipe. The enthusiasm of New York residents in this dish reflected a new trend in Chinese restaurant business in America. Following the arrival of immigrants from Taiwan since 1965, Americanized Chinese cuisine based on Cantonese food tradition was no longer the only food flavor in Chinese American restaurant business. Chop suey or chow mein gradually lost their historical charm. Many Chinese restaurants in America began to label their food not just as "Chinese" or "Chop Suey House" but as Hunan, Sichuan, Mandarin, or Shanghai restaurants. By 1990s, when people of New York City went out to eat Chinese, they had to decide which regional flavor they would pick up.

However, few people realized that those Hunan, Sichuan, Mandarin or Shanghai-flavored restaurants were brought over to America by immigrants from Taiwan instead of mainland China which did not have diplomatic relationship with the United States and could not send immigrants until after 1979. When the 1965 Immigration Act became effective, the first wave of Chinese immigrants came mainly from Taiwan and Hong Kong. It was their arrival that initiated changes in Chinese restaurant business in America and made it more diverse in culinary content.

The historical and social background of Taiwanese immigrants deserves special attention as we try to understand the changes in Chinese restaurant business in America. Many Taiwanese immigrants or their parents were originally from mainland China. When the Communists defeated the Nationalists, nearly two million people fled to Taiwan to join an estimated 6 million Taiwanese already there. It was probably the largest human migration in Chinese history. More significantly those immigrants did not come from one region as previous Chinese migration movements often did. The Nationalists and their followers came from a variety of different provinces in mainland China and their influx took place within a few months after the Communist troops won several decisive battles across the country in the late 1940s. Their arrival brought different regional cultural traditions to Taiwan including food. The influx of the Nationalist followers greatly changed the social landscape of Taiwan. Beginning from the late 1950s, restaurant business began to grow and prosper in cities like Taipei and featured all kinds of Chinese regional flavors. When Taiwanese immigrants entered the United States after the 1965 Immigration Act, Chinese regional cuisines followed them again, though this time to a different country. For many Taiwanese immigrants, their arrival in the United States was a remigration experience, and the Chinese regional cuisines they brought over were somehow different from their counterparts in mainland China.

General Tso's chicken, for example, was a famous dish in Hunan cuisine in Taiwan but few people had heard of it in mainland China. Hunan cuisine in America was an interesting piece of transnational culture because it illustrated the development Chinese regional cuisines in Taiwan and their remigration to the United States. A food tradition spread out of its native place following human migration. Such cultural transmission needed legend of its origin, collective memory of the immigrants who carried the tradition, and the consumers' recognition and endorsement. As Chinese food tradition passed on from one generation to another and from one place to another, it constantly experienced modification and reinvention in order to meet the need of new market and the taste of new customers. This was especially true of Chinese food overseas. For nearly half a century since 1949, there was little social contact, cultural exchange or communication between Taiwan and mainland China due to the political rivalry between the Communists and the Nationalists. Regional Chinese cuisines in Taiwan were actually made according to the collective memory of those mainlander Chinese who left China for Taiwan in 1949. During this process of cultural reproduction, some classical dishes were modified; others were lost. Still others may bear similar names of their counterparts in mainland China but could be slightly or considerably different in ingredients or cookery. Some new dishes such as General Tso's chicken were also invented. Local conditions and taste undoubtedly impacted the flavor of Hunan cuisine in Taiwan. Cultural preservation and reproduction became simultaneously cultural invention.

The social origins of Taiwanese immigrants, their remigration experience and ability to use different layers of their Chinese identity played a crucial role in introducing and promoting Chinese cuisine as a global food. Though representing Hunan, Sichuan or Shanghai flavor, those Chinese regional cuisines in America were in fact developed or even re-invented in Taiwan. As they replaced chops suey and other Americanized Chinese foods as authentic Chinese cuisines, their own authenticity had been constructed in a specific historical context and their Chineseness defined by a specific location and space. While chop suey was made in New York, General Tso's chicken of Hunan cuisine was invented in Taipei. Neither of them was originated from mainland China though they were probably the two most famous Chinese dishes in the United States. This phenomenon posed an interesting question on the authenticity of Chinese cuisine as it has become a global food and on the meaning of Chineseness in transnational studies. In probably any metropolitan cities in the world today, there could be a few Chinese restaurants assumed by local customers as more authentic than others. But the flavor and cookery of their dishes could be considerably different from their counterparts in China. We often assume a tradition as ageless and unchanging. But in reality, a food tradition would continuously change and reinvent itself. Reinvention was often a necessary process to invigorate it as the immigrants carrying the tradition constantly adapted it to the new environment. Authenticity in Chinese culinary tradition was in fact a fluid concept and a flexible validity.

The culinary identity of Hunan (or other regional) cuisine in America and remigration of Taiwanese immigrants asked us to examine Chinese American food culture beyond national boundary and used a more immigrant-centered rather than a nation-based approach. History of Hunan or other Chinese regional cuisines did not necessarily begin in China nor ended in the United States. Chinese American food culture is often an intersection of Asian and American studies. The most useful paradigm in Chinese transnational research is to employ a de-nationalist perspective on the migration pattern and focus on the dynamics of contemporary Chinese American community as a flexible global network and their culture as a global phenomenon. To examine Chinese food history from a transnational perspective is not a simple rejection of American-centered approach. Nor does it not imply a China-based position in Asian American studies. The transforming power of transnationalism is its immigrant-centered perspective.

#### Professor Andrea Louie, Michigan State University

## "Reassessing Chinese American Identities: How Adoptees and American Born Chinese (ABCs) Negotiate Chineseness"

This paper draws upon both my past research with American Born Chinese Americans youths, and my newer research with U.S. families who have adopted from China. While the two cases differ in many important ways, including the fact that most adoptees are raised not by Chinese Americans, but rather by white American parents, there are also significant similarities. Both groups have complex relationships to mainland China as a place of origin, and to the U.S. society to which they are both connected in intimate ways, and from which they are also to some extent excluded and marginalized. I wish to examine the various ways they negotiate their relationship with China as a homeland, and also how they carve out identities and spaces for expression as Chinese American.

Literature on the Chinese identities in the China and the diaspora has acknowledged the multifaceted ways that Chinese identities are formed in response to both homeland and host

country politics and histories. For all Americans, both Chinese and non-Chinese, understandings of China are mediated through transnational flows of goods, media, and popular culture. Various stereotypes of China and Chinese culture in the U.S. media, from Orientalist caricatures to model minority and perpetual foreigner images, shape not only how others treat Chinese Americans, but how they view themselves. In the U.S. context, Asians are neither black nor white, and this ambiguous racial position complicates the ways they define their identities. Their identities are further defined by practices of cultural belonging and exclusion that are part and parcel of U.S. multicultural and racial politics. So for both ABCs and Chinese adoptees, it is essential to consider not only their relationships to China and Chinese culture (to "Chineseness") but also to whiteness.

Examining their identity formation can help us complicate discussions of homeland/diaspora relationships by asking what are the various factors that influence how placebased identities are formed in relation to both China and the U.S.? In what ways is the often assumed coincidence of racial, cultural, and national identities sometimes challenged by these Chinese American identities? In what ways can conceptions of rootedness and belongingness be modified to encompass the complex notions of roots and ancestry that they craft ?

For example, Chinese adoptees are an interesting case study, as they have very direct connections to China, yet these connections are overlaid with issues of abandonment, loss, and unanswered questions about birth families. While they may return to China on homeland tours, their experiences are very different from those of the Chinese Americans searching for roots that I previously studied, as they cannot trace genealogies, nor can they identify an ancestral village or home. However, I will discuss some similarities in the ways that both adoptees and ABCs construct relationships to Chineseness. While their exposure to China and Chinese culture is often mediated through the lens of transnational media and popular culture flows, they also employ aspect of these flows in defining their own specific relationship to Chineseness.

Professor Li Jinzhao, Beijing Foreign Studies University

## "Rethinking Diaspora Through a Chinese-American Tour to China"

What happens to Asian-Americans' perceptions of themselves when they visit Asia? What identity issues will surface through their contact with people in Asia? Do Asian-Americans turn diaspora through their regular tours to Asia?

I will address these questions with my participant observation of the 2002 and 2008 Narcissus Goodwill Tour to China. Organized by Hawaii's Chinese Chamber of Commerce as an extension of their annual Narcissus Festival and Beauty Queen Pageant, the Narcissus Goodwill Tour had lasted for 59 years. It started as a tour to U.S. Mainland, Canada, or South-East Asia; then developed into a three-week-long visit with 60-150 members to Mainland China in recent two decades. The tour in 2002 was composed of 70 people, with beauty queens, Chamber leaders, their family members, friends, and relatives. The tour of 2008 was as small as 43 people. Both tours visited Hong Kong, ancestral hometowns in Guangdong, as well as major cities in mainland China, Taiwan, and Japan.

Using field notes, interviews, and video documentation, I will summarize the major ways the tour members represented themselves and the major changes of perception they went through about themselves during their tour in China. I will then analyze how those changes of selfperception can possibly affect their identification as Chinese-Americans and Asian-Americans. Finally I will use this case to reexamine the meaning of diaspora as well as the power of turning diasporic, which is has been fervently celebrated by some scholars of diaspora studies.

## Ms. Heidi Kong, University of British Columbia and Sun Yat-sen University "The DongNanXiBei of Chinese Overseas: A Perspective on Transnational Geography"

Both *space* and *geography* are key in the studying of overseas communities. I suggest that the primary concerns of overseas populations were simply to navigate a space bounded by the confines of their decisions, interactions, and activities, all of which took place outside of, or in some cases, in defiance of the geographic and political boundaries of the nation-state. As they continued to migrate and expand their activities and spheres of belonging from place to place, their concepts of geographies and space necessarily evolved to correspond to their understanding of the world.

By studying account books and business organizational structures of Chinese overseas commercial communities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this paper will propose a new geography and global imagining of Chinese overseas to reflect their decisions, interactions, and activities which took place in a space without adherence to the geographic and political boundaries of China or the Americas. However, this paper will not ignore the nationstate; instead, it will provide a conceptual and analytical framework for studying global actors whose actions exceed and question dominant assumptions about geo-political space.

#### Professor Wu Jinping, Jinan University

## "A social survey and analysis to the characteristics of Chinese-American and Chinese-Canadian new generation"

Since the reform and opening up policy was introduced, China's overseas Chinese study is, as it were, just unfolding. Throughout these studies there is an obvious flaw: more macro empty talk than micro social survey and empirical research, which leads to many scholars to repeat what others say. The most obvious example is a conclusion: there are tens of millions of overseas Chinese, they all yearn for China. This conclusion is more appropriate to be used to describe the

oversea Chinese during the Revolution of 1911 and Anti-Japanese War or just to be used by some officials as their propaganda speech. As a serious scholar groundless echo cannot be justified. The days when almost all overseas Chinese were unanimously patriotic and hometown-loving were gone, overseas Chinese communities have also been divided: some people still yearn for China; some people are just immersed in their local affairs, unconcerned about, or even hostile to China. The longer I set foot in the overseas Chinese study, the more reason I have to doubt this conclusion's lack of understanding of the reality of overseas Chinese. Thus I had a motivation to investigate the true state of the overseas Chinese and a particular interest in the status of the oversea Chinese new generation. In the fall of 2002 I proposed to the State Council Overseas Chinese-Canadian new generation" and got approved. This survey can just provide some evidence of these concerns.

Owing to limited funds, I could not personally go to America or Canada to do the investigation, so I designed a questionnaire (in English) and did my survey among the local oversea Chinese new generation with the help of my friends in the US and Canada. This paper is based on the results of the survey to Chinese-American and Chinese-Canadian college students. This survey received warm help and support from Dr. Zongli, associate professor of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, Canada and Professor Tan Yalun, the head of Asian American Studies, San Francisco State University, United States. Here I extend my sincere thanks!

This investigation includes a total of 8 questions for undergraduate students. Among the 108 recollected questionnaires, 20 accounts for Canada, the United States 88. Some contents of the survey was multiple choice, therefore the sum number of some sections may be more than the number of respondents. The reason why I choose this group to be the survey respondents is that they are typically educated, the elites of the overseas Chinese new generation(or future leaders) and they will dominate the future overseas Chinese community. In addition, because they are students, their family background and place of residence are different, which servers a better representative. Understanding them is significant to understand the future Chinese-American and Chinese-Canadian societies and their relations with china.

Professor Jay Qian Suoqiao, City University of Hong Kong

#### "Chinese American Literature: Transcending National Boundaries"

Few would disagree today that Chinese-American relation is one of the most important international relations in the world. However, Chinese-American relation is usually seen in economic or political terms, and studied not so much in terms of their intertwined relatedness but rather as separate entities—China on the one hand and America on the other. The study of Chinese American literature—product of the Chinese (post-)immigrant experience in America will offer special insight in our understanding of the Chinese-American relation in their cultural terms and in their interrelatedness, as the Chinese American experience entails the very act of the national border-crossing. But precisely because of the bilingual and transnational nature of Chinese American literature, serious academic attention has long been overdue.

Chinese American literature, conceived as a major component of the Asian American literature as representing the Asian American ethnic group, has attracted much critical attention in American literary studies. Some authors such as Maxine Hong Kingston, Amy Tan or Ha Jin have become major mainstream American writers with both commercial success and critical acclaim. However, so far as Chinese American experience is concerned, there are two Chinese American literary groups in America today: the first group consisting of those writing in English, both American-born and China-born, while the second group consisting of immigrant writers, who write in Chinese and whose works are published and circulated in Taiwan, Hong Kong, mainland China, as well as Chinese American communities, where the majority population are Chinese-speaking or bilingual immigrants. While writers of the first group are getting more critical attention, though far from adequate, little critical study has been devoted to the latter group, or to Chinese American literature bilingually as a whole.

This paper will attempt to outline the main features of Chinese American literature based on my recently compiled Chinese American Literature: An Annotated Bilingual Bibliography. By demonstrating the bilingual nature of Chinese American literature, I will show that the literary practice of Chinese American writers, whether in Chinese or English, is shaped by the transnational forces arising from both American and modern Chinese socio-historical contingencies. Chinese American literature in English and Chinese share the same concerns of claiming America/redefining Chinese and must be understood beyond national boundaries.

Dr. Nicole Newendorp, Harvard University

## "Migrating Seniors and Mobile Emotions: Chinese Family Life Between the Pearl River Delta and Boston, Massachusetts"

Over the past two decades, 30 percent of Chinese migrants to the United States have been aged 60 or older. In this paper, I focus on the example of Chinese senior citizens who migrate to the greater Boston area at (or after) their retirement in China to reflect upon the fluidity of familial forms and emotional attachment in contemporary transnational Chinese life. Current Chinese migration trends to the US share strong connections to historical patterns of transnational and diasporic movement between Southeast China and other world areas; these trends are also linked in significant ways to the increasing mobility of China's post-reform domestic population. What is new in both of these patterns of movement, which are often anchored in and around individual strategies for familial security and economic success, is the significant role played by senior citizens. Chinese seniors migrate to the US for two primary purposes: to help provide care for their American-born grandchildren and to initiate migration chains and the future sponsorship of adult children. As seniors move from the Pearl River Delta

area of China to Boston with the goal of re-joining family from whom they have been separated by periods of (often) a decade or longer, they face a new set of separations from close family members who remain in China. Here, I trace the "ebbs and flows" of emotional attachment that accompany seniors' transnational migration trajectories, along with the intersections and divergences of seniors' transnational practices with family life in Maoist-era China, when individuals' mobility was significantly more controlled than it is today. My discussion of these issues has its basis in the oral history interview and participant observation-based fieldwork I conducted with Chinese-born seniors in Boston's Chinatown in 2009-2010.

### Professor Wan Xiaohong, *South China Normal University* "An Analysis on the Christian Churches by Chinese America in Greater Boston"

The history of Chinese Christianity in America is almost as long as that of the Chinese immigration. The Chinese Christians in Greater Boston came out very early, but the first Chinese Christian church wasn't built until 1946. During the past 60 years, there have been nearly 30 Chinese Christian churches in this area. Now there are nearly 5000 Chinese Christians which is about 5% of the Chinese population locally.

There are a lot of reasons that Chinese Americans became Christians such as the social crisis since 1840s in China, seeking ethnic group belonging and cultural identities, longing for help with substance and spirit, and the propaganda by the Chinese churches. The Chinese churches have some typical characteristics, for instance, the independent organization and conservative in theology, the more and more Chinese new immigrants, the coexistence of mandarin and Cantonese and English, and less or none talk on politics. In addition to supporting religion belief for Chinese America, they have many other social functions, such as strengthening Chinese American's unity, serving Chinese Americans, educating Chinese Americans, assimilating them into the mainstream and keeping traditional Chinese culture, and improving their understanding of democracy in America, etc.

With the expansion of Chinese new immigrants, the Chinese Christians will increase in a great number. This phenomenon is good for the society of Chinese America. The Chinese Christian churches will continue to play an important role in helping unite Chinese America and strengthen their cohesive force. Chinese Christian churches are an important part of Chinese American associations which composes the cultural community of Chinese America together with Chinese newspapers and Chinese schools.