Immigrant Lives in "The OC" and Beyond

An exhibit in the UC Irvine Langson Library Muriel Ansley Reynolds Exhibit Gallery

November 2008 - May 2009

Curated by Daniel C. Tsang Social Sciences Data Librarian and Bibliographer for Political Science, Economics, and Asian American Studies
Foreword

Welcome to the UCI Libraries’ fall 2008 exhibit, *Immigrant Lives in “The OC” and Beyond*.

The exhibit was inspired by research on immigration being conducted by leading UCI faculty who have established the campus as a national leader on the topic. They are taking multi-disciplinary approaches to the study of immigration in its many aspects - legal, economic, social, cultural, political, personal - to understand these complex issues, and assist our communities. I am delighted that we are able to highlight the important work taking place at UCI and showcase the Libraries’ research collections through this exhibit.

We are honored to have Frank D. Bean, UCI Chancellor’s Professor of Sociology and Economics, and Director of the Center for Research on Immigration, Population and Public Policy as the featured speaker for our exhibit opening on November 18th. In his talk, “Immigration: Its Past and Future Significance for the United States,” Dr. Bean shares his research on the nature and extent of integration among immigrants to the United States and illuminates their important role in our society.

I hope you will find that “Immigrant Lives” enhances your understanding of how immigration has shaped our region and will influence its future, while offering you a greater appreciation of the diversity and depth of the immigrant experience.

On behalf of both the Partners of the UCI Libraries and the entire library staff, we welcome you to this exhibit and invite you to return to view others in the future. Many of our exhibits are also available on the Libraries web site at www.lib.uci.edu.

Gerald J. Munoff
University Librarian
In recent years Orange County has become widely known via television and other media portrayals as “The OC,” promoting perceptions of a largely homogeneous and wealthy “white” populace. In reality, our county has experienced dramatic demographic change in recent decades, largely due to the impact of immigrants from throughout the world.

This exhibit depicts the lives of immigrants in our region, with a focus on Orange County, from the late 19th century to the present. Topics include the legacy of an often turbulent past, the changing face of the population, the contemporary debate about immigration, and issues affecting immigrant workers. The exhibit also highlights immigrants’ own stories, the plight of the undocumented, public policy issues, and the role of gender in migration. Numerous books and papers written by UCI faculty authors are included.

According to the Public Policy Institute of California, the state’s immigrant population increased fivefold between 1970 and 2006, from 1.8 million to 9.9 million, including those who were naturalized as U.S. citizens. Today one in four Californians is an immigrant, a higher proportion than in any other state. Most are from Latin America or Asia.¹

The leading country of origin is Mexico, followed in rank order by the Philippines, China, Vietnam, El Salvador, Korea, India, Guatemala, Iran, Taiwan, Canada and the United Kingdom. Immigrants are a majority of residents in Santa Ana and five other cities in the state. In fact, according to UCI sociologist Rubén G. Rumbaut, who served on a U.S. National Research Council Panel on Hispanics, Southern California has the largest concentration of immigrants anywhere in the world.

Thriving immigrant communities have developed throughout Orange County despite the struggles these new residents have faced. Little Saigon and Santa Ana are well known as enclaves of Vietnamese and Latinos, respectively. Persian immigrants have settled in Irvine, as have

¹ “Immigrants in California.” Just the Facts [Public Policy Institute of California] (June 2008).
Chinese. Costa Mesa has attracted Japanese, while Koreans comprise a significant community in Garden Grove. Many Asia-based global enterprises have established their U.S. headquarters in Orange County as well, further adding to its diversity, as the ethnic directories on display (Item 13) attest.

Immigrant Lives in “The OC” and Beyond was curated by Daniel C. Tsang, social sciences data librarian and bibliographer for political science, economics, and Asian American studies in the UCI Libraries since 1986. He writes: “I was born after World War II in the then-British colony of Hong Kong to a Hakka Chinese father and a Chiuchow Chinese American mother. I left Hong Kong in 1967 for California to attend the University of Redlands (Item 1). In moving to the United States, I migrated to a country I had previously visited just once during a short trip in 1957 that included an excursion to Disneyland.”

Most materials on exhibit are from the collections of the Jack Langson Library. Some were generously loaned by the curator, others by UCI faculty authors. Quotations are taken from material on exhibit and from works cited in the “Further Reading” section.
The need for foreign labor led to the first wave of immigrants to the United States from China. Chinese farm workers were hired by German settlers in Anaheim who needed laborers to cultivate grapes on their vineyards in Anaheim in the mid-19th Century. Asian American Studies scholar Patricia Lin notes that the Chinese were not only “expert grape growers and pickers, but they were used extensively in the construction of irrigation ditches, wine cellars, and casks.”

One hundred twenty-five Chinese would later work to extend the Southern Pacific Railroad line from Los Angeles to Anaheim in 1873 and to Santa Ana in 1877. By the 1890s, after Orange County broke off from Los Angeles County (in 1888), anti-Chinese feelings were running high, and shacks belonging to Chinese celery workers were burned down, as was the building of the Earl Fruit Company.

In May 1906 Santa Ana city authorities ordered the fire department to burn down Chinatown on the pretext of eradicating disease (a Chinese man was suspected of suffering from leprosy) (Item 4). The neighborhood had been occupied by about 200 Chinese, who were evacuated before the fire. Calling the fire a “holocaust,” the Los Angeles Times reported, in language reflective of the era, that the “burned-out chinks” would be compensated. But in the end the city refused to pay the displaced residents more than trivial compensation.

Anti-immigrant groups organized around the state to “Keep California White” (Item 2). California began segregating schools: Chinese, Japanese and “Mongolian” children could not go to school with whites.

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iv “Chinaman Heap No Likee. Santa Ana Citizens Refuse to Pay Unreasonable Demands, and Orientals are Squabbling.” Los Angeles Times, June 14, 1906, II, 11.
(Item 3). Despite the law’s focus on Asians, Mexican children also were segregated. This caused Gonzalo Mendez, the father in a mixed Mexican/Puerto Rican family, and four other fathers, to file a civil rights lawsuit in federal court. The resulting 1947 appellate court decision in *Mendez v. Westminster* (Items 5 and 6) found that the three Mendez children and other Mexican children could attend white schools, since the law did not directly apply. The case preceded the landmark 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*—argued before the Court by Thurgood Marshall, later the first African American Justice of the Supreme Court—that ended school segregation by law in the United States once and for all.

During 1950s, an Orange County Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born formed to defend the rights of the “Santa Ana Four,” elderly Mexican immigrants who despite residing in the U.S. for decades, faced deportation.\(^ \text{v} \)

1. Tsang Kwong-Kau, photographer.  
   Daniel C. Tsang boards his flight from Kai Tak Airport, Hong Kong, for California, July 21, 1967. Loaned by Daniel C. Tsang.


3. Henry Yoshitaka Kiyama.  


The earliest European settlers in the territory that would become California were Spaniards who had been granted land holdings by the King of Spain. Their descendants, known as Californios, settled in part in the area that became Orange County, many of them marrying local Native Americans and Mexicans during the era when Mexico controlled the territory.

The 1890 U.S. census listed only 162 Chinese and no Japanese in the area. UCI sociologist John M. Liu has noted that this “definitely undercounts the true number of Chinese,” given the migratory nature of these workers at the time. During the 1880s, “farmers from Tustin regularly went to Los Angeles to hire Chinese, who stayed just for three or four months of the year” while other Chinese were more long-term. The Irvine Ranch, Liu notes, “employed between 40-50 ‘Celestials’ prior to 1887” (China was then termed the “Celestial Kingdom”).

Two decades later, the 1910 U.S. census showed 641 Japanese and 83 Chinese in Orange County. This pattern of Japanese outnumbering Chinese continued until the 1980 U.S. census, when 21,841 Japanese were counted but only 14,575 Chinese. The 1960 U.S. census counted 747 Filipinos, along with 444 Chinese and 3,890 Japanese. The Mexican-origin population also multiplied, especially in Santa Ana, where a second-generation newspaper, The Latin American, written primarily in English, reported on civil rights issues (Item 10). After the fall of Saigon in 1975, Orange County quickly became the center of the global Vietnamese diaspora; our county is now home to more Vietnamese than anywhere else outside Vietnam.

Today immigrants total about 915,000, almost a third of Orange County's population of three million. Their diversity spans many nationalities, including Iranians, Armenians, Koreans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, Filipinos, Cambodians, Laotians, Hmong, Bangladeshi,

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Asian Indians, Indonesians, Sri Lankans, Thai, Japanese, Chinese, and Vietnamese, including many people of mixed heritage. “Whites” are now a minority (Item 16).


10. Orange County Latin American. vol. 1 no. 20 (March 10, 1949).


13. Business directories for immigrant and ethnic communities in Orange County, ca. 19??-200?


Debate

Appeals for fair treatment and justice for the foreign born have coincided with waves of anti-immigrant backlash throughout American history. Anti-Semitic (Item 19) and white power tracts (Item 20) were prevalent beginning in the 1920s and continuing through World War II.

The contemporary debate echoes the historical one, with political commentators inciting fear of a foreign “invasion” that would change the way things are in America, irrevocably and for the worse. For example, Patrick J. Buchanan warned as recently as 2006 about a “state of emergency” facing the U.S. from a “third world” invasion leading to a “conquest” of America (Item 22). UCI anthropologist Leo R. Chavez counters this apocalyptic rhetoric with a deconstruction of the presumed “Latino threat” (Item 23).

Proposition 187, a 1994 ballot initiative (also known as “Save Our State”) that sought to deny social services, health care, and education to the undocumented, was passed by California voters. It immediately became tied up in the courts, and eventually its most punitive provisions were thrown out. In Orange County, Costa Mesa soon became “ground zero” in the immigration debate as the city sought to police and apprehend undocumented aliens. The plan proposed by Mayor Allan Mansoor and endorsed by then-Sheriff Mike Carona (Item 24) led to the city being ridiculed by critics such as Orange Coast Voice editor John Earl as “Costa Migra” (Item 25)—a reference to la migra, the Spanish-language colloquialism for immigration police. On April 1, 2006, thousands of demonstrators converged on Costa Mesa to march in support of immigrants’ rights (Item 18).

Orange County-based anti-immigration groups sprang into action, including Jim Gilchrist’s Minutemen and Barbara Coe’s California Coalition for Immigration Reform. Facing them off were LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) (Item 17) and other civil rights organizations. Other Orange County cities also became embroiled in at times raucous debates over immigration. A mobile service of the Mexican
consulate, which issues identity cards to Mexican nationals—a practice of many consulates—was driven out of the Capistrano School District in south Orange County in early 2008 (Item 26).


    Loaned by Daniel C. Tsang.

    “Welcome to Costa Migra: Minuteman Mayor & Local ‘Gene Purist’
    Agree: No más la cucaracha.” Published in: The Orange County Voice, no. 1 (Sept. 2006).

    “Mexican-Free School Zone.” Published in: OC Weekly, vol. 13 no. 27 (March 7-13, 2008).
Long known as an agricultural center, Orange County owes its prosperity not just to the well-to-do, but also to the sweat and toil of farmhands working the citrus fields in days past (Items 27 and 28). Today, immigrant domestic workers (Items 37 and 38), janitors (Item 31), and groundskeepers (Item 36) labor often unseen and ignored as we go about our daily suburban routines. Throughout Orange County history, many workers have organized for their rights (Item 34).

Indeed, a tumultuous 1936 citrus strike ended the myth of “contented Mexican labor,” according to UCI labor historian Gilbert Gonzalez, who called it one of the “most violently suppressed” labor disputes of the period (Item 32). County sheriff Logan Jackson, himself a citrus rancher, ordered his deputies to “shoot to kill” strikers. His order was emblazoned across the front page of the Santa Ana Register.\(^\text{vii}\) The strike involved almost 3,000 citrus pickers in Orange County, with 400 arrested, most on flimsy charges, according to Gonzalez.

By World War II, citrus growers began to view contract labor recruited directly from outside the U.S. as more manageable. From 1943 to 1964, thousands of such workers were brought to the United States, some 70,000 of them arriving in Orange County. While Mexicans were the majority of these braceros (Item 29), the program also tapped Filipinos, Jamaicans, and Japanese. German POWs also were made to work. At the U.S./Mexico border, long queues of braceros waited to find work; they were not selected until after being forced to strip naked, take group showers, and be fumigated with DDT for lice, according to Gonzalez.

Countywide, labor issues continue today. At UCI a Worker-Student Alliance has focused on improving conditions for subcontracted food service and grounds workers. Even labor issues based in Florida have surfaced in Irvine, where Taco Bell has its headquarters. In 2001 the

\(^{\text{vii}}\) “‘Shoot to Kill,’ Says Sheriff. Gives Orders after Riot in Orchards. 159 Strikers, Agitators Jailed after Concerted Attacks, Bloodshed.” Santa Ana Register, July 7, 1936, 1-2.
Coalition of Immokalee Workers from Florida began organizing a national “Boycott Taco Bell” campaign (Item 35); the organizers met with UCI students and were interviewed on a local radio show, “Alternative News,” that I hosted on KUCI at the time. After a long struggle, the coalition successfully reached a settlement in 2005 for a slight (penny a pound) pay increase for Taco Bell’s subcontracted tomato pickers.

27. Bracero balancing 50-pound crate of tomatoes on his head.
   Sacramento: State of California, Farm Placement Service.

28. Mexican nationals in tomato harvest, Muri Ranch on Roberts Island, San Joaquin Valley.
   Sacramento: State of California, Farm Placement Service.

29. Braceros in dining hall.
   Reproduction of photograph, circa 19??.
   Loaned by Gilbert F. Gonzalez.

30. Cesar E. Chavez and Bayard Rustin.

31. Justice for Janitors: Justicia!

32. Gilbert G. Gonzalez.

34. “*Orange County, Workers and Struggle.*”

35. *Let Freedom Ring ... Boycott the Bell!*
   Loaned by Daniel C. Tsang.

36. Chris Dea, photographer.
   *Jaded* is published by UCI’s Asian Pacific Student Association.

37. Frank Cancian.

38. Frank Cancian, photographer.
   “*Victoria Rua going home after work.*” Published in: *Orange County Housecleaners*, by Frank Cancian. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.
Undocumented

Arrival in the U.S. without proper legal papers is not a recent phenomenon. Because children born abroad to an American citizen parent can acquire U.S. citizenship, in the early part of the 20th Century many Chinese immigrants began claiming “paper” families. This was possible because the 1906 San Francisco earthquake destroyed more than just lives, livelihoods, and buildings; it also wiped out public records. Historians now depict these people’s children as “paper sons” (Item 40). The subterfuge was devised because discriminatory laws, including the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, barred most Chinese and later Japanese from entry.

The plight of undocumented farm workers was first portrayed to a national audience in Harvest of Shame, a 1960 CBS television telecast. In 1977 director Robert M. Young made the film Alambrista (Item 39); the title refers to the term for “tightrope walker,” or wire-croosser, applied to those seeking to cross the international border between the U.S. and Mexico.

In the 1960s U.S. immigration law was further reformed, leading to a new influx of immigrants, especially from Asia. Many Mexicans also entered, sometimes illegally, in search of work to support their families back home. The 1988 Immigration Reform and Control Act provided a path to amnesty for undocumented aliens who were already in the United States, but mandated penalties for employers who hired them.

An anti-immigrant backlash caused California voters in 1994 to pass Proposition 187, which would have denied public education, health care, and social services to the undocumented. For months after the election it remained entangled in the courts; the harshest provisions ultimately were thrown out. More recently many undocumented children who have overcome huge odds to attend schools or universities face a dilemma (Item 42): they cannot legally get a job after graduation. Recent UCI Ph.D graduate Roberto G. Gonzales’ research (Item 43) has been used by public policy institutes in support of the proposed DREAM
(Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors) Act, which would enable these students eventually to obtain permanent U.S. residency.

39. Nicholas J. Cull and David Carrasco, editors. 

40. Estelle T. Lau.  


42. Gale Holland. 
   “Undocumented Students Get Degree of Anxiety.” Published in: *Los Angeles Times*, (July 8, 2008).

43. Roberto G. Gonzales. 
   “Wasted Talent and Broken Dreams: The Lost Potential of Undocumented Students.” Published in: *In Focus*, vol. 5 no. 13 (2007).

44. Justin Akers Chacón and Mike Davis. 
UCI faculty members have been active in researching immigrant lives, not just in the United States, but also abroad. In 2001 this led to the founding of the Center for Research on Immigration, Population and Public Policy, headed by eminent sociologist Frank D. Bean. The Center brings together faculty and students to develop policy-relevant research on U.S. immigration. Their work spans many disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, political science, Chicano/Latino studies, Asian American studies, and criminology, law, and society.

UCI researchers have also been active in conducting social science surveys of immigrants and their families, providing data-based studies aimed not only at scholars, but also policy makers. Many such studies are archived at the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), of which UCI is a member. Each study consists of documentation (codebook and data collection instruments) and the dataset. ICPSR makes both data and documentation available for downloading to facilitate further “secondary” analysis.

The questionnaire for the study, “Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles, 2004” (Item 48), indicates the complexity of identity in such surveys. Respondents of “Other Hispanic” origin (i.e., not Mexican) were asked if they were Salvadoran, Guatemalan, Honduran, Nicaraguan, South American, Spanish-American, Cuban, Puerto Rican or “Other.” Asian or Pacific Islander respondents were asked to indicate whether they were Chinese, Taiwanese, Korean/South Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, Japanese, Asian Indian, Cambodian, Hawaiian, Guamanian, Samoan, Laotian/Hmong, or “Other.”

Topics of research interest span academic disciplines and have included immigrant families, political participation (Item 49), skilled labor (Item 46) and immigrants’ lives over time. In its party platform, the Green Party of California has been among those offering a third-party policy perspective on immigration (Item 45).
45. “Immigration.”
Published in: Green Party of California Policy Directions, 1996.

46. Jeanne Batalova.

47. Alene H. Gelbard and Marion Carter.


49. Louis DeSipio, et al.

50. Claudia Der-Martirosian.
The 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration Act was particularly problematic in how it applied to foreigners attracted to their own gender. The “Red Scare” era of the 1950s was a period of national insecurity about homosexuals, and Congress found a way to exclude “homosexuals and other sex perverts” under the provision banning entry of aliens “afflicted with psychopathic personality.” On September, 15, 1975, while a graduate student at the University of Michigan, I asked Gerald Ford, who was in Ann Arbor to kick off his presidential campaign, why gay people were excluded from the U.S. He promised to have his aides “look into it.”

This anti-gay exclusion (Item 55) remained in effect for decades until the 1990 Immigration Act removed the provision. Non-citizen same-sex partners of U.S. citizens continue to be barred from entry, however, unlike unmarried heterosexual partners.

Lionel Cantú, a UCI doctoral candidate in social relations, focused his research on gay exclusion, funded by the Social Science Research Council’s Sexuality Fellowship Program and the Ford Foundation. His 1999 dissertation *Border Crossings: Mexican Men and the Sexuality of Migration* would later be revised as *Queer Migrations: Sexuality, U.S. Citizenship, and Border Crossings* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005) (Item 54). It was published posthumously after his sudden death in 2002 while he was a faculty member at UC Santa Cruz. A report issued jointly by Human Rights Watch and Immigration Equality in 2006, titled *Family, Unvalued: Discrimination, Denial, and the Fate of Binational Same-Sex Couples under U.S. Law* (Item 51), credits Cantú for his “groundbreaking” research and former UCI sociologist Nancy Naples for continuing his legacy.

Women’s immigration is another vibrant research area, in a field where popular and academic attention often primarily focuses on immigrant men. As sociologist Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo has pointed out, research on gender and immigration has moved from non-existent, to
studying women immigrants, to its current focus on viewing gendered social relations as part and parcel of immigrant lives.\textsuperscript{viii} Studies like those on display seek to document and address the varied and gendered lives of immigrants (Items 52 and 53).


The diversity and depth of the immigrant experience are evident in the stories and memoirs recorded by those who have traversed oceans and borders to come to this country, as well as by their children.

Ranging in tone from humorous to self reflective, these works highlight the contemporary experience of the immigrant in an era of globalization, political and social complexity, and terrorism.

Since 9/11 immigrants have faced increasing challenges, both in our nation and abroad (Item 59). Stereotypes, fears, myths and misinformation combine to form barriers among peoples. Those of particular national, ethnic, or religious origins can become more easily targeted in a period of heightened tension, suspicion, and national insecurity.

Yet this literature gives voice and identity to countless immigrants who have learned to survive--and thrive--by standing up, asserting their rights, building on community ties, and forming coalitions. Their stories offer glimpses into the daily lives of the thousands of participants in ethnic diasporas in which homeland memories and the expression of hope in a better future play a crucial part.

56. Nahlah Musbah. 
“Muslim Women’s Reflections on Wearing Hijab.” Published in: Alkalima: A Newsmagazine Published by Muslim Students at UC Irvine, vol. 3 no. 1 (Nov/Dec 1999).

57. Gustavo Arellano. 

58. Lidia and Denu Lusca. 
59. Nguyen, Tram.  

60. Sangeeta R. Gupta, editor.  
Emerging Voices: South Asian American Women Redefine Self,  
Family, and Community. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 1999.


**FURTHER READING**


“Immigrants in California.” *Just the Facts* [Public Policy Institute of California] (June 2008).


Portes, Alejandro and Rumbaut, Rubén G. *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), 1991-2006*. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 2007. [Dataset and documentation]

FURTHER READING


The primary objective of the UC Irvine Libraries Exhibits Program is to support the research and instructional missions of UCI by interpreting and publicizing the richness, diversity, and unique strengths of the resources of the UC Irvine Libraries.

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