THE MAKING OF CHINESE SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS

Leisure and Cold War Suburbanization in Silicon Valley, California

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Abstract. This article considers the leisure of US-born and foreign-born Chinese scientists and engineers in relationship to mass suburbanization and Cold War science of the 1960s and 1970s. Drawing on organizational archives, local newspapers, and city records, it considers how the Stanford Area Chinese Club (SACC) established a Chinese community and asserted their sense of full social citizenship in the unfamiliar suburbs of high-technology professionals, affluence, and prestige. In identifying collectively as white-collar professionals, the SACC emphasized a class and geographically distinct notion of Chinese identity characterized by the accumulation and achievement of social and cultural capital. Their investment in leisure signals how their identities drew from exclusionary urban-planning knowledge of high-technology cities that articulated place through colorblind discourses of suburban urbanity and cultural exclusivity. I argue that as much as the SACC intended to create inclusive suburban experiences for educated and affluent Chinese people, their activities relied upon and reaffirmed the cultural logics of race and class exclusion that shaped the development of post–World War II cities.

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INTRODUCTION

Scholarly accounts of the Chinese in Silicon Valley, California, often portray them as a highly educated and highly skilled immigrant community of high-technology professionals, executives, and entrepreneurs. Working within transnational tech industries in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, they are often narrated through professional associations and their economic success.[1] For Chinese technology professionals, entrepreneurs, and executives who choose to reside and settle in middle- and upper-middle-class suburbs, their intentions for where they live and why tend not to be discussed as part of their suburban lives outside of work, and yet they regularly choose to live in certain cities and neighborhoods to reside among one another.[2] They are presented as treating the existing suburban environment as a blank slate in which they are pioneering immigrants who are defining their communities as they go. Without theorizing historically the places Chinese tech professionals prefer to live and create community, the overemphasis on Chinese suburban pioneering obscures the relationships between tech industries, urban planning, and racial segregation that make specific cities in Silicon Valley compelling places to reside.

This article examines how US-born and foreign-born Chinese suburban residents socially and ethnically identified themselves by their professions as scientists and engineers in their pursuit of leisure and suburban racial belonging.[3] In particular, this article focuses on the Chinese high-technology professionals who came together to create the Stanford Area Chinese Club (SACC), a social, cultural, and service organization. From the early 1960s to the mid-1970s—a time of planned regional growth, Cold War science, and civil rights victories and resistance—SACC members invested their time in seeking out and creating recreational activities that enabled them to establish a Chinese community and assert their sense of full social citizenship in the unfamiliar and, at times, racially discriminatory suburbs of high-technology professionals, affluence, and prestige. Highly educated and economically mobile Chinese professionals and their wives established a suburban lifestyle of leisure that cultivated ethnic identity affirmation in wealthy and predominantly white suburbs from which their white work colleagues often socially marginalized them. In identifying collectively as white-collar professionals, the SACC emphasized a class and geographically distinct notion of Chinese identity characterized by the accumulation and achievement of social and cultural capital. Their investment in leisure signals how they constructed their identities from exclusionary urban-planning knowledge of high-technology cities that articulated place through colorblind discourses of suburban urbanity and cultural exclusivity. I argue that as much as the SACC

intended to create inclusive suburban experiences for educated and affluent Chinese people, their activities relied upon and reaffirmed the cultural logics of race and class exclusion that shaped the development of post–World War II cities.

This article draws upon SACC archival materials from the mid-1960s through the 1970s, as well as local newspapers and city records, to situate Chinese identity formation in relation to postwar urban-planning knowledge, Cold War science, and desegregation efforts and opposition. In the two decades following World War II, transnational China politics and US Cold War political agendas would reshape Chinese demographics in the United States to include Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants whose political identities, socioeconomic status, and geographic settlement differed from the predominantly working-class communities of Chinese Americans.[4] However, these SACC documents reveal how leisure functioned as an intentional and collective self-expression of Chinese suburban identity that cohered around the idea that they were a homogenous community of highly educated, cultured, white-collar professionals. Meeting minutes, correspondences, commemorative booklets, and event pamphlets showcase leisure as planned social activities that SACC members sought out and created for each other, their families, other Chinese organizations, and the city of Palo Alto. Their archives illuminate their active pleasure and investments in suburban urbanity as consumers of art and culture, as avid seekers of intellectual exchange with academics and artists, and as leaders in local civic affairs. They also index how existing urban-planning discourses of high-technology exclusivity enabled and constrained the SACC's interpretation of civil rights politics and social movements, such as school desegregation and Asian American studies, in their own lives. That is, their leisure revealed distinctive social meanings of who was included and excluded from their suburban worldview (even when it came to working-class Chinese) and what kinds of political engagement was allowed in it.

Cold War science, urban planning, and leisure are missing areas within the scholarship on the elite, suburban lives of Chinese residing in Silicon Valley. The SACC's archives make visible the "cultural work" of urban planning (i.e., knowledge, values, and practices) and how it enables and constrains how people make cultural decisions about their communities within historical contexts of race, class, and gender.[5] For the SACC, the scientist and engineer existed as "modest witnesses" who are both produced by and are themselves producing allegedly "objective" knowledge of race, class, and citizenship in America's suburbs.[6] In writing about a different context, historian Patrick Vitale illustrates that scientists and engineers were imbued with an "authority" that was "constituted by and constitutive of" technoscientific urban-development knowledge and practices and its epistemological erasure of women and working-class whites and people of color.[7] Along with the built environment, the places and practices of leisure

for scientists and engineers reveal how boosters, corporate leaders, and land developers designed and normalized racially segregated communities based on race-neutral claims of cultural particularity. When applying an urban-history lens to the study of Asian American suburbanization, it is imperative to understand how Asian American professionals in the postwar era intentionally engaged with the politics of race and suburban space, specifically through their cultural landscapes. The SACC provides a window into how the historical politics and discourses of high-tech suburbs shaped and possibly continue to shape how Chinese professionals understand social movements and the connections and distance they establish between their own class consciousness and the more progressive or radical strands of Asian American identity.

The experiences shared in this article broaden our understanding of affluent Chinese high-tech professionals in Silicon Valley suburbs. Social scientists have focused on entrepreneurs, elite transnational families, business networks, commercial development, and cultural retention.[8] Their research explores how the skilled Asian immigrants of the Hart-Celler Act of 1965 have reconstructed suburbs to fulfill their ethnic cultural needs, such as food and groceries. Yet, suburban cities of Silicon Valley are presented as simply the backdrop for "universal" pursuits of good schools, safety, and family friendly environments without considering those desires within the contexts of racialized discourses of urban decline and its impact on the built environment of suburbs. By focusing on urban-planning knowledge, this article reveals how US-born and foreign-born Chinese came together to create community through their strong identification with emergent narratives of the region's robust technology industries, burgeoning affluence, culturally refined lifestyle, and prestigious communities, such as Palo Alto and Stanford University. SACC members' documentation of their decision-making of where to live, who to socialize with, and how to socialize animates the importance of analyzing how racial privileges of elite Silicon Valley cities historically provided a shared and common experience for Chinese identity and community formation.

In addition, the SACC archives expand our understanding of Asian American suburbanization during the Cold War. Scholarship in Asian American studies illuminates how Cold War cultures shaped the ideological formation of the model minority and facilitated the relative acceptance of Asian Americans in white suburban communities in comparison to African Americans.[9] In addition, the literature shows how Asian Americans and elite Asian immigrants appropriated US Cold War cultures of pluralism and participated in suburban homeowner politics in their ascension and aspiration toward securing middle-class life.[10] These stories complicate existing narratives of Asian American suburban exclusion by illustrating how middle-class Asians and Asian Americans intentionally positioned

their racial identity through their investments in the privileges of whiteness that required the residential exclusion and ideological absence of blackness, geographically. The experiences of the SACC add to this literature by allowing us to explore the cultural landscapes of Chinese suburban leisure as important sites in which white-collar, managerial-class Chinese engaged and appropriated racial ideologies in their pursuit of upward mobility and social inclusion.

The remainder of this article is divided into four sections. The first situates the suburban settlement of Chinese scientists and engineers in relation to the suburbanization of science in postwar Santa Clara County. Next, I show the ways that urban-planning knowledge of the scientist and engineer normalized racial and class segregation and privilege through discourses of leisure and urbanity. Social meanings of the suburban lifestyle of elite and affluent professionals aimed to obscure the overt language of exclusion with exclusivity. In the following section, the article traces the cultural rhetoric of urbanity and exclusivity embedded in the formation of the SACC: their distinction as a suburban Chinese community, their social networks, and their interests in arts and entertainment. Lastly, this article explores how the SACC partnered with Palo Alto Unified School District (PAUSD) in developing their "multicultural program." The SACC's participation in creating educational and recreational events, however, follows PAUSD's refusal to address issues of school desegregation and the implementation of ethnic studies curricula.

WEST SANTA CLARA COUNTY: A MIDDLE- AND UPPER-MIDDLE-CLASS CHINESE COMMUNITY EMERGES

What drew Chinese residents to Palo Alto after World War II? Why did members of the SACC focus intently on leisure as their preferred self-representation as a community of scientists and engineers? To understand the social priorities of Chinese professionals requires understanding the role of Cold War science and the uneven industrialization across Santa Clara County.

World War II and post–World War II federal investments in military defense industries in the San Francisco Bay Area reflected national trends in metropolitan growth. In Santa Clara County, which includes Silicon Valley, the US military was what Stuart Leslie called "the biggest angel of them all" when it came to the rise and expansion of aerospace and high-tech industries.[11] In the 1960s, California received 20 percent of all military related contracts of $10,000 or more and 44 percent of all National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) con-

tracts.[12] With the amount of defense contract money flowing into the region, Santa Clara County became home to one of the densest populations of scientists and engineers in the country. In addition to NASA, aerospace contractors such as Lockheed (19,000 workers by 1956), Intel, and General Electric, as well as older research and development (R&D) companies like International Business Machines (IBM) and ITT, were based in the region.[13] In 1950, Santa Clara County had 800 workers in food processing, and by 1980 had more than 3,000 electronic firms, 264,000 manufacturing workers, and 40 billion in annual sales.[14] Between 1950 and 1970, the population in Santa Clara County ballooned from 290,547 to over a million people.[15]

Regional and municipal planning efforts to attract technology firms, skilled labor, and capital unevenly shaped the county's demographics. In the 1950s, Stanford University embarked on a successful land development and revenue generating plan that would become a model for R&D industrial development across the country. They pioneered a model of city planning and economic development in which university and industry partnered together in the training and recruitment of knowledge workers, sharing of capital, and, ultimately, innovation of cutting-edge technologies.[16] A symbol and manifestation of Stanford's vision of university-industry collaboration was Stanford Industrial Park (SIP), which was created in 1951. Within a decade, twenty-five firms had facilities at SIP with roughly eleven thousand workers.[17] Lockheed, Varian Associates, Eastman Kodak, Hewlett-Packard, and General Electric were just a few of the companies that leased space at the SIP. In addition to land development and real estate, Stanford University developed advanced degree programs for existing high-technology professionals, who would bring their knowledge back to their jobs or start-ups.[18] The spatial density and cultural ecosystem of the knowledge industry, or the "community of technical scholars" as one Stanford administrator envisioned for the university, fueled the profits of universities and companies and encouraged the spin-off start-up culture that Silicon Valley is known for.[19] Neighboring cities, such as Mountain View, Cupertino, and Sunnyvale to the south of Palo Alto saw the financial windfall of military defense contracts for city growth and built their industrial parks by capitalizing on their proximity to other companies and Stanford University.[20] By the late 1970s, 50 percent of the county's skilled jobs were located in five cities alone.[21]

The clustering of highly paid technoscientific work within the aforementioned areas also meant that Santa Clara County became the residential destination for many of the valley's white-collar workforce. Starting in the 1950s, the area known as the western foothills became the residential destination for many of the highest-paid entrepreneurs, scientists, and engineers who possessed high-levels of educational attainment. This region also had the highest

percentage of white residents.[22] In addition to employment discrimination and violent resistance from white neighbors, structural conditions such as restrictive municipal zoning laws and racially discriminatory real estate agents and housing developers contributed to the racialized geography.[23] Asian Americans and African Americans regardless of education and employment were often turned away by white renters and real estate agents in western foothill communities.[24] Incorporated towns such as Los Altos Hills had some of the most stringent residential zoning laws in the county, only allowing for the development of single-family homes on minimum one-acre lots. As an exclusively residential town aimed at preserving "rural" character and low taxes, Los Altos Hills' refusal to create higher-density housing skyrocketed existing home values. Cities along the peninsula corridor, from Palo Alto as far south as Cupertino and Sunnyvale, were where high-technology professionals resided. The socioeconomic and racial mix increased the further south and southeast one went across the county. For example, east county cities such as San Jose and Milpitas had significantly higher populations of non-skilled laborers in technology manufacturing, and people of color predominantly occupied these positions.[25] Many were displaced agricultural workers (Mexican and Filipino), as well as Asians and to a lesser extent Black and Indigenous peoples.[26]

The structural conditions of housing discrimination, economic development, and urban planning shaped the possibilities and limitations of Chinese suburban settlement in Santa Clara County. From the 1850s to the beginning of World War II, Santa Clara County was primarily a place of transit for Chinese laborers in regional and seasonal industries, such as railroad construction, agriculture, canneries, lumber, flower growing, fishing, and shrimping. Originally from Guangdong province in China, these laborers found temporary residence and a refuge from anti-Chinese violence in San Jose's Chinatown.[27] However, Sino-American alliances during World War II eased anti-Chinese sentiment and enabled San Jose's second generation Chinese to participate in military efforts abroad and regional wartime industries.[28] Following World War II, the dismantling of anti-Asian legislation (i.e., alien land laws) along with the availability of veteran benefits afforded Chinese increased opportunities for higher education, white-collar employment, and housing in new suburban communities beyond the urban centers of Chinatowns.[29] Santa Clara County's growing population of Chinese residents reflected the national trends of Chinese migration out of urban and rural enclaves and into new suburban developments. From 1950 to 1970, the Chinese and Japanese population increased from 685 and 5,986 to 7,817 and 16,644, respectively.[30]

In 1960, Chinese were less than .5 percent of the total county population, but nearly half of them lived in two cities: San Jose and Palo Alto. Despite having

a quarter of San Jose's population, Palo Alto has a significantly higher per capita percentage of Chinese residents (1.1 percent vs. .3 percent).[31] A comparison of 1960 census data between San Jose and Palo Alto suggests that Chinese Palo Altans were likely to possess more education and higher-paid white-collar employment. The book *Profiles in Excellence: Peninsula Area Chinese* provides some context for understanding who Chinese Palo Alto residents were and how they imagined the Chinese American community. Published in 1980 by the SACC, *Profiles in Excellence* illustrates how the western foothills–based organization chose to define the Chinese American community along geographic lines but also in terms of middle-class achievement of education and career accomplishments. The book contains short biographies of SACC and non-SACC Chinese across Santa Clara and San Mateo Counties that weave their accomplishments in medicine, science, engineering, law, media, municipal politics, service, and art into a coherent story of Chinese American contributions to local history. The Palo Alto Chinese residents profiled consisted of university professors, medical doctors, scientists, entrepreneurs, educators, and flower growers. Of those who came from China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan, several were from wealthy and elite families of government officials, military officers, and industrialists. In addition, they were university educated in China or Taiwan and came to the United States to pursue advanced degrees in science and engineering. For example, Dr. Kao Liang Chow, born in Tienjin, China, in 1918, and the son of an industrialist, attended a PhD program in psychology at Harvard in 1946, became a tenured associate professor of psychology at the University of Chicago in 1960, and began his faculty position as an associate professor of neurophysiology at Stanford University in 1961. His biography is primarily focused on his career achievements and his commitment to advancing the scientific fields of which he was a part.[32] In contrast, the profile of Dr. Eugene Dong, Chinese Palo Altan born in rural Watsonville, California, describes the racial discrimination that he faced living in a working-class and multiracial community and how those experiences shaped his pursuit of fairness and service in his profession as a doctor in the 1950s and beyond.[33]

The book presents a harmonious and coherent portrayal of a Chinese American community that transcends time and place, as differences in country of origin, migration, class, and material experiences in the United States are united through a common thread of achievement, contributions, and leadership in industry, education, and civic participation. The flattening of differences among Chinese people residing in the aforementioned suburbs offers a unique perspective that significantly contrasts to the identity politics of Chineseness in the United States in the decades before and after World War II. As early as the turn of the twentieth century, differences along the lines of class and social

standing created intra-ethnic divisions and conflicts among Chinese within the United States. In the early 1900s, visiting Chinese dignitaries and students who were "the cream of the Chinese educational establishment" often looked down upon Chinese laborers for their marginalized status in American society, as well as for coming from a "lower-class" in China.[34] Described as "uptown Chinese" by Peter Kwong, these Chinese visitors to the United States were often from elite families in China, like Dr. Kao Liang Chow.[35] In their attempts to assert political and economic influence in Asia at the turn of the twentieth-century, the United States implemented international student-exchange programs that enabled privileged Chinese to pursue education at elite private universities in the United States. This was a soft power form of diplomacy, as the United States imagined "highly educated Chinese could speak to Americans in their own language, represent the elegance and allure of China's high culture, and thereby embody the desirability and the possibility of building bridges, rather than walls, between China and the United States."[36] For example, Chinese international students and faculty appeared to seamlessly integrate into university campus life in comparison to American-born Chinese, who they avoided and vice-versa. Chinese homeland politics as well as US global and racial politics created and shaped competing ideas of Chinese identity in the United States along lines of class and capital.

Cold War China politics further complicated the identity politics of Chinese in the United States following World War II. With the 1949 Chinese Communist Party victory in China's civil war, the United States further opened its doors to elite Chinese through refugee legislation. In their attempts to foster strategic alliances in Asia and promote an image of America as a democratic society, the State Department and the executive branch prioritized the entry of thirty-two thousand Chinese with desirable skills and training from 1948 to 1966. Many "stranded students" who arrived in the United States during the Chinese civil war, along with intellectuals, dignitaries, scientists, engineers, and artists, would eventually gain permanent residency status and US citizenship.[37] Similarly, Cold War relations between the United States and Taiwan enabled routes of Taiwanese student migration during the 1960s and 1970s to universities in the United States.[38] As Charlotte Brooks and Wendy Cheng astutely document, the homeland politics of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) and the Kuomintang of Taiwan (also known as the Chinese Nationalist Party) continued to shape the politicization of ethnic identity among Chinese, Taiwanese, and Chinese Americans in US Chinatowns, universities, and suburbs in ways that exceeded the US civil rights discourses that constituted ethnic and racial identity formation.[39] It's certainly possible that twentieth-century politics between China, Taiwan, and the United States played a role in the settlement and ethnic consciousness

of the US-born and foreign-born Chinese who settled in the western foothill communities, such as Palo Alto.

However, the encounters among highly educated, white-collar US-born and foreign-born Chinese in postwar Palo Alto seemed to reflect the imaginary of ethnic harmony that *Profiles in Excellence* claimed. That is, these encounters did not seem to be marred by conflict and transnational political difference, but rather involved cooperation and ethnic sameness. It was at the Palo Alto Chinese School (PACS) that US-born and foreign-born Chinese began having discussions about establishing their own Chinese organization. Up until then, the Chinese American Citizens League of Santa Clara County (CACL)—a service organization—financially supported the PACS as well as another Chinese school they started several years prior in East San Jose.[40] Although there were several Chinese organizations in the Santa Clara County suburbs that focused on providing cultural education, community service, and ethnic community for children, the parents of PACS children, wives and their husbands who worked in the high-technology industries, desired autonomy to govern their Chinese school and also establish a social organization that prioritized recreational activities for "adults."[41] They expressed at their initial meetings that they were going to be a brand-new organization and not a local chapter of an existing one. Within a few months, they officially established the SACC.

As the SACC embarked on establishing themselves as a Chinese community in the western foothills, their members were clear that leisure was a priority. For this group of male scientists and engineers and their wives, to what extent were leisure and place factors in not only defining themselves as a community but also in their decision to differentiate themselves from other Chinese in the Bay Area? To what extent was leisure a significant part of their ethnic identity formation as affluent suburban residents? In the following section, I situate their leisure within Cold War urban-planning knowledge and practices. I trace the ways that scientists and engineers became an object of knowledge of exclusionary mass suburbanization and regional industrial development.

SUBURBAN LEISURE: SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS AS OBJECTS OF KNOWLEDGE

After World War II, the cultural knowledge of scientists and engineers emerged to shape the conversations and intersections of Cold War science and mass suburbanization. During and after World War II, national defense efforts propelled the idea that the intellectual labor of scientists and engineers were

part of the greater good of the United States. The development and deployment of the atomic bomb in establishing America's reputation as a global power of technological advancement meant developing science beyond military defense and into the realm of postwar economic recovery. The military's demand for science shaped how universities, the federal government, labor unions, and professional associations worked together to imagine and institutionalize the role of scientists and engineers in economic growth. Although there were differences of opinion for how to execute plans of applied scientific research for military and commercial markets, the collaborative efforts among corporate, educational, and government institutions laid the groundwork for imagining the scientist and engineer as an economic symbol and agent of postwar nation building.[42]

At the regional level, government officials, corporate leaders, civic and university boosters, and university administrators needed to understand the cultural and spatial sensibilities of scientists, engineers, and researchers. When it came to recruiting technoscientific professionals, state-of-the-art facilities were not enough to compel them to relocate. The recruiters observed that faculty, researchers, and graduate students cultivated a "life of the mind" cultural identity based on the spatial dynamics of American research universities. These universities were defined by a uniform architectural style and pastoral landscape design that, together, provided a peaceful environment for researchers to think creatively and freely with one another in their labs and socially across campus. The aesthetic and spatial distinction between the enclosed space of the university and the outside world impressed upon students and faculty that they shared the same cultural affinity for higher-education and knowledge production.[43] After World War II, their cultural identity was also constituted by the context of postwar suburbanization and whiteness. They desired new, attractive, and exclusive communities with amenities such as parks and good schools for their children.[44] For civic, corporate, and university leaders, scientists and engineers became an urban-planning concern that required cultural solutions.

To attract the best and brightest graduates and professionals, government, corporate, and educational institutions crafted discourses of culture that gave meaning to new suburban developments as ideal settings for scientists and engineers. The development of urban-planning knowledge for high-technology industries and its social meanings emerged within the context of racial segregation as well as civil rights efforts of desegregation. As Patrick Vitale notes, there existed a "taken for assumption that scientists and engineers should live alongside each other in racially segregated neighborhoods of fellow white-collar professionals."[45] Race and class-neutral cultural narratives of clean, controlled, and beautifully designed built environments for the high-tech industry made it seem like a natural fit with existing and recently developed upscale suburbs.[46]

In contrast to white flight or other forms of de jure and de facto housing segregation, various economic and political constituencies utilized "pull factors" to obscure the racialization of urban planning by presenting and promoting the idea of scientists and engineers as possessing a unique suburban identity with distinctive tastes and needs.[47]

The building and landscape design codes for research parks, such as SIP and the Research Triangle Park in North Carolina, utilized low-density buildings, mid-century modern architectural aesthetics, and wide setbacks for green space to project an image of a bucolic and anti-industrial space. Industry, government officials, and universities intentionally distinguished knowledge economies as an allegedly "clean" industry from the sight of smoke-spewing factories and dilapidated housing, commonly associated with urban working-class and community of color neighborhoods.[48] With high-technology workers in mind, developers in North Carolina created new, expensive suburban developments of single-family homes with contemporary designs and modern amenities to mirror the look and feel of research parks, while companies in Pittsburgh advertised to and steered workers to live in these types of communities with one another.[49] Various actors and institutions developed urban-planning knowledge and a view of the suburban built environment as symbolizing a modern, low-density, and clean postwar American life. These places were presented as the natural setting for people with exceptional professional qualifications.

In addition, sociability became a significant factor in the making of cities for scientists and engineers. Drawing on the "life of the mind" rhetoric, boosters promoted cities and regions as teeming with the urbanity and cosmopolitanism typically associated with urban centers, but without the racial and class signifiers of working-class life. The development of cultural institutions was intended to satisfy the intellectual and cultural needs of highly educated residents. The promotion and creation of everyday leisure is instructive for how race, class, belonging, and exclusivity was normalized through the collective social activities of consumer spaces and semi-public spaces of intellectual exchange. Local governments and developers built and promoted institutions of highbrow entertainment to cultivate a cultured community, one filled with theater, international ballet troupes and concerts, museums, and public lectures with renowned public intellectuals and writers.[50] Local media promoted the exciting and lively cosmopolitan encounters of political debate between white Americans and visiting international scientists and scholars.[51] In addition, leisure became a mundane activity that connoted hierarchies of prestige associated with affluence. A 1974 *Fortune* magazine feature on Silicon Valley documented how professionals and executives felt that "few places on earth so agreeably mix hedonistic delights with the excitement of urbanity. . . . There are also at least 12,000 horses, some

kept by those PhDs right on their home acreages. . . . And within an hour's drive are the shops, restaurants and cultural offerings of San Francisco."[52] Discourses and built environments of leisure provided cultural meaning for why professionals clustered in the same community, while also asserting a meritocratic logic that they deserved these finer amenities in their lives. As a result, urban-planning knowledge and practices constructed the scientist and engineers as "modest witnesses" who intended to normalize these spaces as naturally homogenous places devoid of people of color and working-class peoples.

I critically analyze how the SACC drew from urban-planning knowledge in their pursuit of a more racially inclusive suburban experience. As I show in the next section, the SACC foregrounded their members' professions as scientists and engineers to spatially define themselves as a coherent ethnic community of "Chinese." As they navigated experiences of racism in their suburban social and professional lives, identifying as scientists and engineers provided them a sense of community but also revealed how place-based racial privileges and reputations of urbanity shaped their decision-making and their suburban worldview.

COMING TOGETHER AS ENGINEERS

In the early 1960s, Palo Alto was home to a small but steadily growing population of highly educated white-collar professionals. Although there were Chinese people residing in Palo Alto prior to World War II, most of the population arrived after the war, with the growth of the high-technology industries. In the SACC's first several years as an organization, members intended to establish themselves as a Chinese community that aligned with the existing vision of Stanford University and the surrounding cities as an affluent and educated place of suburban urbanity.

With aeronautical engineer and Stanford graduate Stan Moy at the helm, Chinese parents of PACS students began meeting together to define their organization. The initial advisory meetings brought together a mix of US- and China-born Chinese who were predominantly college-educated, white-collar professionals in high-technology industries.[53] In addition to Stan Moy, US-born Chinese attendees included Guy Wong, a structural engineer at NASA; Sam Fok, an engineer at Fairchild; and Art Wong, who graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and worked at Hewlett-Packard.[54] Lockheed employees Dick Young and K. K. Chan were frequent attendees; both hailed from China and came to the United States to pursue graduate degrees prior to World War II.[55] The men's wives were also involved and some held leadership positions, such as Wilma Wong and Ruth Fok—married to Art and Sam, respectively.

When choosing a name for the organization, it appears that the members' professions shaped how they geographically distinguished themselves. At the July 15, 1965, meeting, held at C. C. Chao's Stanford faculty housing unit, Stanford Area Chinese Club became the official name by a simple majority vote of six to five, over South Peninsula Chinese Club.[56] The narrow margin perhaps suggests the lack of consensus over how they identified themselves geographically. Yet, it might also signal that some of the members deliberately selected Stanford University's prestigious reputation to represent their Chinese community, instead of using Palo Alto, where most of the charter members actually lived. In fact, thirty-one out of the thirty-nine charter members in 1965 lived in Palo Alto.[57] Only C. C. Chao lived in Stanford, which was, and still is, an unincorporated area of Santa Clara County adjacent to Palo Alto. In a June 1965 outreach letter to members, the Steering Committee's definition of "Chinese-American" illustrates how they further solidified their community profile based on their professional and career decisions: that is, identifying as "Chinese-American" entailed being an "old-timer" or "a family who perhaps has moved here because of many industries engendered in the area."[58]

It's possible that SACC members chose Stanford because of the historical presence of Chinese who either worked at or attended Stanford before World War II. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Stanford University accepted a small number of US-born and China-born Chinese students in graduate and undergraduate studies. Originally from Portland, Oregon, Stan Moy met his wife Eva as a student at Stanford when he worked for her grandfather's trucking business in the neighboring city of Menlo Park.[59] SACC member Irene Mock grew up in Palo Alto because her father, Sam Ying Mock, worked at Stanford University as a cook for students in fraternity houses.[60] Stories like Irene's reflect the history of Chinese immigrants who worked at the university or directly for Leland and Jane Stanford on their various properties across Northern California.[61]

Despite these gestures toward a more expansive notion of Chinese people and their historical presence in Santa Clara County, SACC members tended to present themselves collectively through indicators of postwar suburban prosperity, and not whether they were US-born or foreign-born. That is, they frequently described themselves uniformly as "professionals." In a 1966 newsletter to members announcing their official status as an organization, SACC president Moy described the men in the organization as "about 90% . . . professional people, primarily engineers."[62] To further emphasize their middle and upper-middle class status, he added that all of their 138 charter members live within a ten-mile radius of Stanford University. In a 1968 letter introducing the SACC to a San Francisco–based Chinese lawyer, the chairman of the Cultural Committee described the organization as majority "professional people" who are

"business executives, business owners, engineers, scientists and college professors."[63] This idea was further reinforced in monthly newsletters that provided announcements of professional achievements, such as work promotions, and the college admissions of members' children. However, the public documentation of SACC's "professional" men obscured some of its members, including the men's wives, who were not "professionals" based on the accepted definition of the time. Some members of the SACC worked in sanitation, for the United States Postal Service, in real estate, and as administrative assistants, but the SACC preferred to collectively represent themselves as well-to-do intellectuals, executives, and white-collar men residing in the more affluent communities in the county.[64]

Defining themselves as a community of scientists and engineers required presenting themselves as comporting to the social and cultural norms of their suburban surroundings. A January 1966 front-page spread in the society pages of the *Recorder*, the local newspaper of Menlo Park, describes a Chinese New Year celebration party for the recently established SACC. The society pages of the *Recorder* documented the typical suburban urbanity of white residents, including wedding announcements, social events (e.g., bridge clubs, fashion shows hosted by women), fundraisers for civic and social clubs, and even lectures open to the public. News articles focused on the activities and whereabouts of business and civic leaders, which, at times, included local socialites and professional athletes. The article on the SACC's Chinese New Year celebration describes the participants using a similar public discourse of leisure and civic life, but with attention to their high-cultural refinement. The front-page article begins by noting that Lydia Chan, K. K. Chan's wife, is co-hosting a potluck party and installation of officers meeting with the help of the wife of another SACC member at the penthouse recreation area of the Tan Continental Apartments in Palo Alto.[65] This is just one of several Chinese New Year's festivities that members of the SACC would be attending that week, including parades, which the article goes on to suggest that they live public lives through ethnic social festivities.

However, a portion of the article focuses on one image that accompanies the text, which further signifies the author's recognition of the SACC's cultural capital expressed through cosmopolitanism. The image is of a brush-painted horse that the article describes as created by "the talented hand of Professor Yet-Por Cheng, visiting artist from Taiwan who is in the area on a cultural exchange program."[66] The discussion of the art seems to serve two purposes. First, it presents the SACC as a cosmopolitan community based on their relationships to scholars and artists in Asia. Second, the article notes that the painting now hangs in Art and Wilma Wong's new hilltop home in the Los Altos Hills, which signals the cultural sophistication of the SACC members as knowledgeable consumers of culture.

A 1983 *Palo Alto Daily* article titled "Palo Alto's Chinese" further illustrates how the aforementioned vision of suburban urbanity mediated how SACC members identified racial belonging in what was once a predominantly white city. The article profiled four different Chinese residents who were involved in Chinese organizations based in Palo Alto. Allan Seid, former SACC president and founder of the non-profit Asian Americans for Community Involvement, recalls in the article how social gatherings with co-workers were an "index of total acceptance and assimilation into a society."[67] Seid adds that white colleagues never invited them to social gatherings outside of work, and that the SACC filled that void for Chinese and Chinese-Americans. For Seid, an indicator of social equality was leisure with people of the same professional skillsets. Gloria Hom, another featured SACC member, declares that the "upscale, achievement-oriented Chinese community" of the SACC is a "fairly accurate mirror" of Palo Alto's Chinese, and not those focused on "civil rights concerns."[68] Born in China, Hom is the daughter of a Stanford University graduate and Chinese nationalist dignitary who later worked in the US Foreign Service. For Hom, Palo Alto's true Chinese residents were the "elite group who left China when the communists took over" and found success at Stanford and in Silicon Valley.[69]

Although Hom represents the sensibilities of "uptown Chinese" and uses KMT anti-communist rhetoric, her emphasis on Stanford and Silicon Valley reveals that suburban discourses of affluence, prestige, capital, and cosmopolitanism distinguish for her what is an authentic Palo Alto Chinese identity. For Seid and Hom, the formation of homogenous communities in terms of race, class, and culture informed their suburban imaginaries of Chinese experience. They both envisioned their Chinese suburban experience as separate from and incommensurable with suburban communities with a wider range of race and class backgrounds.

In the SACC's first year as an organization, President Moy sent a promotional letter to potential members introducing the organization and the collective activities he believed would compel others to join. The letter evokes an image of the suburbs as places of adventure, new experiences, and consumerism. In defining the category of "social" activities, Moy lists field trips, sports, bridge, mah-jongg, seasonal gatherings, and an annual dinner-dance "at a real plush place."[70] In contrast, "cultural" activities are characterized by "program lectures and seminars" by "notable persons whether they are scientists (in research for instance), artists, historians, etc. passing through the west coast [that] could provide us with entertaining and thought-provoking evenings."[71] For Moy (and the SACC), the letter envisions the suburban environment as a place of vitality filled with entertainment and socializing that would also be intellectually stimulating. In addition, the letter distinguishes the SACC as a Chinese community of

elite cultural tastes and needs: people with knowledge, expertise, and certain skillsets who the SACC identifies with and deems appropriate for the suburban lifestyle that they are forging together.

SACC members' documentation of their cultural activities offer a glimpse of the organization's expectations of how it would be received by their esteemed guests. A thank-you letter written by Maurice H. Tseng, an assistant professor of foreign languages at San Francisco State College, to Mr. S. H. Lee, the Cultural Committee chair of the SACC, shows that the SACC hoped to be recognized as possessing similar intellectual curiosity and capacity as their invited guests. The SACC invited Professor Tseng to present a lecture on Chinese language instruction in the United States at their May 1966 monthly meeting. In his letter, Professor Tseng thanks the SACC for hosting him and relays that he was "particularly impressed with the enthusiasm with which members of [the] club responded to [the] disucssion."[72] He adds that he was "delighted to find that once the lines of communications [had] been established . . . there emerged a broad area of agreement" among them.[73] What moved him "the deepest was the earnest wish to help on the part of . . . members as so eloquently represented by [their] question: What can we do to help?"[74] Tseng ends the letter by hoping that they will continue to collaborate on the common cause of Chinese language instruction, and he extends an invitation to Lee's family to gather at his home in the near future.

Chinese American studies scholars, such as Jennifer Fang, Him Mark Lai, and Min Zhou, have shown that suburban Chinese language schools in the post–World War II era served as institutions of community building, positive ethnic identity formation, supplemental education, cultural transmission, and transnational political expression.[75] Tseng's letter suggests a critical difference in that the SACC's interest in Chinese language study is oriented toward their participation in Tseng's work as an academic rather than in the Chinese school that they sponsor. The San Francisco State College professor's observations highlight the SACC's level of engagement and the sense of mutuality in his university-level work. As a result, Tseng recognizes them as possible colleagues and as having the capacity to reciprocate intellectual labor.

Stanford faculty became regular participants for SACC lecture programs. Several members of the SACC were faculty at the university, so their colleagues provided a convenient source of potential speakers. The SACC's proximity to Stanford University's intellectual, social, and civic capital illustrates how the organization created and defined their intellectual profile through their relationship to scholars locally and from other countries. In a submitted profile for the SACC's thirtieth anniversary commemorative album, Laura and Paul Tsai focused largely on Paul's "memorable" time as an officer of the Cultural Affairs

Committee. Paul was a member of the committee in 1980 and how he courted his wider network of colleagues from his work as a physicist at the Stanford Linear Accelerator Laboratory demonstrates how some SACC members imagined themselves as a multidisciplinary engaged community. In addition to inviting physics scholars from China, the Taiwanese immigrant also organized lectures with a faculty curator of Stanford's East Asian collection at the Hoover Institute and with professors at the law school.[76] Over the years, the SACC welcomed Stanford faculty with expertise in Asian art, US-China foreign policy, and China's economic development. It seemed like a priority for them to debate and engage with academic topics beyond their own fields of sciences and engineering.

In addition to lectures, SACC field trips similarly demonstrate the club's investment in suburban urbanity. Asian American historians have documented how Chinese American consumerism before and after World War II was a source of identity formation and a way to navigate their social, cultural, economic, and political surroundings. Whether it was intergenerational hierarchies in Chinatown or Cold War anti-communist politics, consumerism functioned as a Chinese American discourse to claim place and belonging in their communities and in the face of racism.[77] In contrast, the meanings that the SACC associated with their social activities suggests that their consumerism was couched in the rhetoric and symbolic practices of elite white suburban urbanity. That is, they treated suburban spaces as places of adventure and and community building over art, culture, and cuisine. For example, in 1966 they organized a gathering to attend a theater production of *The King and I.* The following year, the SACC organized their own wine-tasting and barbeque event at the Paul Masson Winery in Saratoga after the CACL had hosted them there a few weeks prior.[78] In 1968, 141 SACC members once again attended a "joyous" wine-tasting event, which was followed by a gathering at a member's home in Saratoga.[79] Former member Carolyn Wong recalled in her profile submission for the thirtieth anniversary commemorative album that one of the wine-tasting events was one of the most memorable events she attended during her time participating in the club in the 1960s and early 1970s.[80] A few months after the SACC's first visit to the winery, the club requested from the De Young Museum in San Francisco a group tour for upward of fifty members to explore the Avery Brundage Collection of Oriental Art.[81] Although these events were just a portion of the social activities that the SACC planned, the joy that was elicited by members signals the collective pleasure of being exposed to culturally sophisticated entertainment. As members explored suburban spaces together, the consumerist accumulation of knowledge, art, and food framed their early experiences of elite and exclusive suburban life.

The SACC of the 1960s crafted a distinctive suburban Chinese identity and community centered on intellectually stimulating social activities. Whether it was wineries or research presentations by Stanford faculty members, suburban spaces enabled them to stage their identities and make claims to belonging by replicating the sociability of their white colleagues. There is a sense that the SACC was able to accomplish their goal of being recognized by their peers as educated and cosmopolitan scientists and engineers. This did not go unnoticed by other Chinese people, such as Paul Fong of Palo Alto. In the aforementioned 1983 *Palo Alto Daily* article, Fong, a member of the Chinese Community Center of Palo Alto, had this to say about the SACC: "We never joined the SACC; it wasn't our kind of group. My family was poor until I was 15. My dad is the proletariat he never had a chance to relate to those 'nicer' values."[82] Fong's comment emphasizes the range of Chinese identities at the time that existed along the lines of class and politics. The civil rights movements, including the Asian American Movement, would inform how the SACC pursued leisure in a way that accounted for the political context around them. However, the cultural politics of technoscientific suburbs provided opportunities but also limitations for how the SACC pursued a civically minded sense of Chinese leisure.

EMBRACING MULTICULTURALISM AND CIVIC MEMBERSHIP

In a December 6, 1968, *Palo Alto Times* editorial, Dr. Bernard M. Oliver, president of the PAUSD, addressed residents' fears over the proposed "multicultural program." Oliver writes that recent press depictions associating violence with the Black Panthers and the Third World Liberation Front strikes to establish ethnic studies at San Francisco State University had shaped Palo Altans' impressions that changing public-school education would bring said violence to their doorsteps. Oliver writes that these representations have led Palo Altans to unfairly believe that Mr. Walton, who was hired by the PAUSD to lead the program and was recently invited to an event by "militant" Chicanos and Black Panthers, was going to be the instigator. In Oliver's effort to quell growing discontent, it becomes clear that the multicultural program was not going to transform structures of institutionalized racial privilege in housing and education: "We are not going to annex East Palo Alto, or mass-bus students, or hire only black teachers or any of the other wild rumors that have been flying around. . . . We have every intention of maintaining the same high standards we have always had"[83] In the end, Oliver defines the multicultural program as simply

aiding the existing teachers and students in the district toward racial harmony and to "merely show" that the PAUSD "understand and love all children and want them to grow toward greatness."[84]

The editorial reflects the challenges of and resistance to implementing the legal victories of school desegregation and fair housing at local levels in the 1960s onward.[85] Although the PAUSD had a program that enabled a limited number of non–Palo Alto residents to enroll their children into Palo Alto schools, the multicultural program did not intend to disrupt the city's exclusivity and open up their schools to students of color, which, according to Oliver's editorial, primarily references Black students.[86] PAUSD's idea of multiculturalism "levels the important differences and contradictions within and among racial and ethnic minority groups according to the discourse of pluralism . . . to which every variety has equal access and in which all are represented, while simultaneously masking the existence of exclusions by recuperating dissent, conflict, and otherness through the promise of inclusion."[87] This version of multiculturalism framed how the PAUSD and the SACC established a partnership for the SACC to help develop educational and recreational content on Chinese culture for the school district and the city. The SACC's participation in the multicultural program enabled them to become recognized as valued leaders in the community and as part of the city's civic identity. In addition to generating content for schools, they also created Chinese cultural fairs, which were annual recreational events co-sponsored by PAUSD focused primarily on Chinese cultural traditions. As an educational and recreational activity for attendees, the SACC's cultural fairs promoted the city as a culturally inclusive space but avoided contemporary issues of race, class, and inequality. In doing so, the SACC's celebration of cultural difference reflected Palo Alto's mythology of exclusivity as a cultural rather than structural condition.

Political movements of the 1960s and 1970s had an impact on how some SACC members envisioned the organization's priorities. Although SACC members had always participated in other local organizations and causes, the 1970s was a period when some members advocated for "service" to become a larger part of their programming. With the urging of members such as Connie Young Yu, a historian of Chinese American history and an activist, the SACC incorporated contemporary issues, such as Asian American studies and the Asian American Movement, into their activities. For example, Yu moderated an intergenerational "forum" in 1971 between Stanford students and SACC members to discuss Asian Americans experiences of institutionalized racism and their place in the "struggle."[88] In 1972, the SACC began a cultural grant program that used money raised at their cultural fairs to fund projects that expanded the understanding of Chinese culture and of Chinese Americans.[89] On occasion, the SACC funded

projects that supported Asian American studies, such as an application by the Asian American Studies Reading Room at San Jose State University to purchase books.[90] The SACC's interest in Asian American studies also took shape through field trips, such as a visit to the Chinese Historical Society of America in San Francisco, to learn more about local Chinese American history.[91]

When it came to their partnership with the PAUSD, the SACC played a variety of roles. In January 1972, the PAUSD created a Multicultural Day retreat for teachers to engage with various models of multicultural education prepared by alleged experts. One of the workshops was an ill-conceived lesson on Asian American studies developed by a faculty member of education at Stanford University. In an official report reviewing the workshop, the PAUSD critiqued the faculty member for lacking expertise in Asian American studies and for failing to meet the criteria of having up-to-date content about Chinese Americans created by Chinese Americans.[92] One of their suggestions for "future programs" was to consult with local Chinese American organizations for recommendations and vetting of actual Chinese Americans and their qualifications. The SACC became consultants to the school district's multicultural program, including the implementation of Asian American studies and, specifically, Chinese cultural content. In April 1972, the SACC invited the Multicultural Office of the PAUSD to attend their monthly program with special guest Philip P. Choy, an architect and San Francisco State University faculty member of Asian American studies.[93] Choy's lecture was so well received by the Multicultural Office that the PAUSD planned to develop a ten-week training program for teachers on Chinese American history.[94]

According to the SACC, their annual Chinese cultural fairs were "the most successful" of the co-sponsored events with the PAUSD, and they became part of the city's multicultural educational programming outside of its schools.[95] However, Asian American studies content was largely absent from these cultural fairs. The SACC was primarily invested in cultural fairs as conduits to share Chinese cultural traditions. According to the thirtieth anniversary commemorative booklet, the "typical events presented would include: kite making, paper cutting, cooking demonstrations, calligraphy, brush painting, noodle making, Chinese opera, photo exhibits, etc."[96] In the 1974 cultural fair pamphlet, both President Sam Fok and Service and Cultural Committee Chairman Paul Wang described the event as providing more understanding of the "cultural background" of Palo Alto's Chinese.[97] In fact, learning opportunities of Chinese "cultural background" was mainly how the SACC had been contributing to the PAUSD's multicultural program. Whether it was Chinese calligraphy for a summer-school program, advocacy for language instruction in schools, or cultural fairs, the SACC prioritized Chinese culture over the emergent Asian American Movement as their most prominent form of visibility within Palo Alto's civic identity.[98]

The SACC's embrace of their role as Chinese cultural experts enabled them to be recognized as valuable contributors to the city's civic life. In describing their role in local education, the SACC noted that the PAUSD was "extremely pleased to have such a knowledgeable volunteer resource."[99] Yet the city's recognition and inclusion of the SACC's Chinese "knowledge" affirms the cultural logic of Palo Alto as an exclusive space of elite and intellectually engaged professionals. In the 1974 cultural fair pamphlet, Glen O. Toney, director of PAUSD's human relations department, declared that the annual event was "one of the finest educational experiences . . . for the entire community" and "part of the total education program."[100] Creating a city-sponsored recreational event based around culture, and not specific experiences and issues grounded in place, was how the SACC could finally become recognized as a civic organization that possessed expertise. In doing so, the SACC's inclusion as suburban scientist and engineers was predicated upon their possession of human and cultural capital. As a "production of multiculturalism," the SACC's cultural fair "'forgets' history and, in this forgetting exacerbates a contradiction between the concentration of capital within a dominant class group and the unattended conditions of a working class increasingly made up of heterogenous immigrant, racial, and ethnic groups."[101] The SACC's civic participation enabled the PAUSD to promote its sense of racial and ethnic inclusivity by showcasing the social equivalence between once socially marginalized Chinese and white Palo Altans based on a meritocratic logic of intellectual knowledge acquisition and accumulation of culturally refined tastes. With the cultural fair's representation of cultural and racial inclusivity, the PAUSD was able to "forget" how Palo Alto's development into a high-tech suburb required ideological and material forces of racial and class exclusion, particularly of Black residents, as conditions of its existence.

CONCLUSION

By the end of the 1980s, Santa Clara County's Asian demographic had grown to 17 percent of the total population, which meant it had increased sixfold in two decades. The Hart-Celler Act and its prioritization of skilled labor and family reunification skyrocketed the Chinese population in the county throughout the 1970s, with immigrants from Taiwan and, subsequently, China in 1990s and onwards. In addition to high-paying professionals, there was also a growing working-class population, specifically Asian women working in electronics manufacturing, who faced racial and gender discrimination.[102] The Vietnam War and refugee resettlement also contributed to these changing Asian American demographics and geographies. The infusion of overseas Asian transnational

capital was felt in the county as it reshaped the suburban built environments with new commercial and retail hubs of imported food trends and popular culture, which made cities like Milpitas, East San Jose, and Cupertino new hubs of Asian American communities. However, these demographic changes and the ensuing growth in social, cultural, commercial, civic, and political resources across the county left the SACC at a crossroads by late 1980s. At an installation dinner in the late 1980s, incoming SACC president Connie Young Yu facetiously asked, "Is SACC obsolete?"[103]

The impact of the SACC was felt among its membership and even by the city of Palo Alto during the period from the 1950s to the 1970s. Urban-planning knowledge for Cold War industrial development and mass suburbanization shaped how Chinese high-technology professionals made sense of their new suburban lives. The SACC was made up of US-born college graduates and elite foreign-born Chinese immigrants and refugees, most who had not lived in suburbs before. The SACC created a localized Chinese community in the new, affluent, and exclusive cities of the western foothills, but at times obscured material differences, such as class and country of origin, among its membership. Unlike the more politically vocal forms of resistance to residential desegregation efforts at the time, the SACC's prioritization of leisure reveals the color-blind discourses of cultural exclusivity endemic to the urban-planning knowledge of high-technology cities. Social activities for the SACC were instructive for how suburban class homogeneity and exclusion was to be practiced through collective experiences of urbanity and intellectual exchange. Their partnership with the PAUSD in creating educational and recreational cultural content further reflects how Cold War–era suburbs mediated the SACC's distance to civil rights politics and radical pan-ethnic Asian American identity at the time. The SACC contributed to the race and class exclusivity of Stanford University and Palo Alto, while also creating distinctions between their members and other Chinese in the region as well.

It appears that the SACC's legacy continues to some degree in late twentieth- and twenty-first-century Chinese suburban communities of high-technology professionals. San Francisco Bay Area cities with similarly affluent Chinese residents have been resistant to redistributive politics and school desegregation efforts.[104] They, too, have treated their neighborhoods as inherently culturally superior to working-class neighborhoods (both white and people of color) based on their intellectual capital as high-achieving professionals. The complex social and political formations of suburban Chinese professionals, such as the SACC, suggest that affluent suburbs are important sites of further inquiry in Asian American studies for the ways that they expand our understanding of Asian American identity.

NOTES

1. Bernard P. Wong, *The Chinese in Silicon Valley: Globalization, Social Networks and Ethnic Identity* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006); Annalee Saxenian, *The New Argonauts: Regional Advantage in a Global Economy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).
2. Shenglin Elijah Chang, *The Global Silicon Valley Home: Lives and Landscapes Within Taiwanese American Trans-Pacific Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); Shenglin Elijah Chang and Willow Lung-Amam. "Born Glocal: Youth Identity and Suburban Spaces in the U.S. and Taiwan," *Amerasia* 35, no. 3 (2010): 29–52; Wei Li and Edward J.W. Park, "Asian Americans in Silicon Valley: High-Technology Industry Development and Community Transformation," in *From Urban Enclave to Ethnic Suburb: New Asian Communities in Pacific Rim Countries*, ed. Wei Li (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 119–33; Willow S. Lung-Amam, *Trespassers? Asian Americans and the Battle for Suburbia* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 2017.
3. Unless otherwise indicated, I use the term "Chinese" to reference SACC members of Chinese descent. Chinese members of the SACC used "Chinese" and the hyphenated "Chinese-Americans" interchangeably. More often than not, they opted to define themselves as "Chinese" regardless of whether they were born in the United States or internationally. I use "Chinese Americans" to reference scholarship in Chinese American history and U.S.-born Chinese people.
4. When differentiating between China-born Chinese and Taiwan-born Chinese, I draw from Wendy Cheng's discussion of "Taiwanese" as Han-Chinese in Taiwan whose place-based identity is created through a "dialectical and semi-colonial relationship between Taiwan and the United States." "Taiwanese" does not refer to the indigenous peoples of Taiwan but is a "native" political identity that emerged through the United States' relationship to the Kuomintang party in Taiwan following the Chinese civil war. See Wendy Cheng, *Island X: Taiwanese Student Migrants, Campus Spies, and Cold War Activism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2023), 3.
5. For more on cultural work, see Dianne Harris, *Little White Houses: How the Post-War Home Constructed Race in America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 9–11.
6. Patrick Vitale, *Nuclear Suburbs: Cold War Technoscience and the Pittsburgh Renaissance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2021), 9.
7. Vitale, *Nuclear Suburbs*, 9.
8. Chang, *Global Silicon Valley Home*; Chang and Lung-Amam, "Born Glocal"; Lung-Amam, *Trespassers?*; Saxenian, *New Argonauts*; Wong, *Chinese in Silicon Valley*.
9. Charlotte Brooks, *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends: Asian Americans, Housing, and the Transformation of Urban California* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 198–209.
10. Hillary Jenks, "Seasoned Long Enough in Concentration: Suburbanization and Transnational Citizenship in Southern California's South Bay," *Journal of Urban History* 40,

no.1 (2013): 6–30; Uzma Quraishi, *Redefining the Immigrant South: Indian and Pakistani Immigration to Houston during the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

11. Stuart W. Leslie. "The Biggest 'Angel' of Them All: The Military and the Making of Silicon Valley," in *Understanding Silicon Valley: The Anatomy of an Entrepreneurial Region*, ed. Martin Kenney (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 48–68.
12. Annalee Saxenian, "The Genesis of Silicon Valley," *Built Environment* 9, no. 1 (1983): 12.
13. Saxenian, "Genesis of Silicon Valley," 11.
14. Carl Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993), 62.
15. US Census Bureau, Santa Clara County, updated 2020; generated by the Metropolitan Transportation Commission and the Association of Bay Area Governments, http://www.bayareacensus.ca.gov/counties/SantaClaraCounty70.htm.
16. Social scientists describe Silicon Valley's model of a regional knowledge economy as particularly successful for its agglomeration of public and private institutions and their formal and informal networks of cooperation toward technological innovation. See Annalee Saxenian, *Regional Advantages: Culture and Competition in Silicon Valley and Route 128* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2022). For more on the national and international popularity of Stanford University's regional economic development, see Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 127–29.
17. Saxenian, "Genesis of Silicon Valley," 12.
18. Saxenian, "Genesis of Silicon Valley," 12.
19. Saxenian, "Genesis of Silicon Valley," 10–14.
20. Annalee Saxenian, "Urban Contradictions of Silicon Valley: Regional Growth and the Restructuring of the Semiconductor Industry," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 7, no. 2 (1983): 244.
21. Saxenian, "Urban Contradictions of Silicon Valley," 247.
22. Saxenian, "Urban Contradictions of Silicon Valley," 247.
23. Aaron Cavin, "Borders of Citizenship: The Politics of Race and Metropolitan Space in Silicon Valley" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2012), 366–72; Jason A. Heppler, "Machine in the Garden: Community, Urban Change, and Environmental Politics in Silicon Valley, 1945–1990" (PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 2016_, 171–73; Stephen J. Pitti, *The Devil in Silicon Valley: Northern California, Race, and Mexican Americans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Herbert Ruffin II, *Uninvited Neighbors: African Americans in Silicon Valley, 1769–1990* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 92–121.
24. For personal accounts of Chinese university professors, artists, and entrepreneurs being denied housing and intimidated to leave western foothill cities, see Connie Young Yu, *Profiles in Excellence: Peninsular Chinese Americans* (Palo Alto: Stanford Area Chinese Club, 1985).

25. For more specific information on the relationship between race, urban development, regional industrial development, and housing, see Cavin, "Borders of Citizenship"; Ruffin II, *Uninvited Neighbors*, 122–37; Raul Homero Villa, *Barrio Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); 203–33.
26. Saxenian, "Urban Contradictions of Silicon Valley," 245–46.
27. Connie Young Yu, *Chinatown, San Jose, USA* (San Jose: San Jose Historical Museum Association,1991), 7–9, 21–24.
28. Yu, *Chinatown*, 110.
29. Ellen D. Wu, *Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 145–48.
30. US Census Bureau, Santa Clara County, http://www.bayareacensus.ca.gov/counties/SantaClaraCounty50.htm and http://www.bayareacensus.ca.gov/counties/SantaClaraCounty70.htm.
31. US Census Bureau, Palo Alto, http://www.bayareacensus.ca.gov/cities/PaloAlto70.htm. Between 1950 and 1970, Chinese residents of Santa Clara County went from being less than 8 percent of the total Asian population to 24 percent.
32. Yu, *Profiles in Excellence*, 51–53.
33. Yu, *Profiles in Excellence*, 29–33.
34. Peter Kwong, *The New Chinatown* (New York: Macmillan, 1996), 59; Peter Kwong and Dusanka Miscevic, *Chinese American* (New York: The New Press, 2005), 240.
35. According to Peter Kwong, "uptown Chinese" could also include second- and third-generation Chinese Americans who moved out of Chinatown. For more on "uptown Chinese" as a product of the US Cold War agenda, see Madeline Y. Hsu, "Befriending the Yellow Peril: Student Migration and the Warming of American Attitudes toward Chinese, 1905–1950," in *Trans-Pacific Interactions: The United States and China, 1880–1950*, ed. Vanessa Kunnemann and Ruth Mayer (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 105–22.
36. Hsu, "Befriending the Yellow Peril," 105.
37. Madeline Y. Hsu, "The Disappearance of America's Cold War Chinese Refugees, 1948–1966," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 31, no. 4 (2012): 12. For more on Asian student immigration policies during the Cold War, see Mark Padoongpatt, *Flavors of Empire: Food and the Making of Thai American* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017), 58–65.
38. Cheng, *Island X*.
39. Both Brooks and Cheng illustrate how Chinese political identities in the United States during the Cold War challenge the existing narrative in Asian American studies of the inevitable postwar trajectory of an Asian American identity centered on generations of shared working-class experience and racial oppression. See Charlotte Brooks, *Between Mao and McCarthy: Chinese American Politics in the Cold War Years* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Cheng, *Island X*. See also Jennifer Y. Fang, "'To Cultivate Our Children to Be of East and West': Contesting Ethnic Heritage Language

in Suburban Chinese Schools," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 43, no. 2 (2015): 54–82.

40. Him Mark Lai, "Retention of the Chinese Heritage, Part II: Chinese Schools in America, World War II to the Present," in *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, ed. Colleen Fung, Marlon K. Hom, Madeline Hsu, Him Mark Lai, Laurene Wu McClain, and Ruthanne Lum McCunn (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 2001), 4.
41. This information was available by cross-referencing the names of the Steering Committee with the charter-member list of the first year, which listed their professions and city of residence. Minutes of the Cantonese Chinese Language School Advisory Board, 12 March 1965, SC 1446, Box 8, Folder "1967–1968," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries (hereafter cited as Minutes of the Cantonese Chinese Language School, SACCR); Minutes of the Organizational Meeting for a Chinese American Organization in the Palo Alto / Stanford Area, 13 April 1965, SC 1446, Box 8, Folder "1967–1968," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries (hereafter cited as Minutes of the Organizational Meeting, SACCR); Stanford Area Chinese Club Charter Members, 1965, SC 1446, Box 8, Folder "SACC 1967–1968," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries (hereafter cited as Charter Members, SACCR).
42. O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 19–25.
43. O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 68.
44. O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 67.
45. Vitale, *Nuclear Suburbs*, 133.
46. Alex Sayf Cummings, *Brain Magnet: Research Triangle Park and the Idea of the Idea Economy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020), 58–67; Layne Karafantis and Stuart W. Leslie, "'Suburban Warriors': The Blue-Collar and Blue-Sky Communities of Southern California's Aerospace Industry," *Journal of Planning History* 18, no. 1(2018): 3–26; O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 117–24.
47. For information on housing discrimination in technoscientific communities, see Ruffin II, *Uninvited Neighbors*, 92–121; Cummings, *Brain Magnet*, 74–98; Vitale, *Nuclear Suburbs*, 127–56. Robert Self notes that suburban homeowner entitlements, such as low taxes and stable property values, were "pull factors" that encouraged white urban residents to identify racially and politically with one another through homeownership. See Robert Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 100.
48. Cummings, *Brain Magnet*, 126–29; O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 118–20, 133.
49. Cummings, *Brain Magnet*, 76–79; Vitale, *Nuclear Suburbs*, 140–41.
50. Cummings, *Brain Magnet*, 43–46; Vitale, *Nuclear Suburbs*, 44–54.
51. Cummings, *Brain Magnet*, 58–65.
52. Saxenian, "Genesis of Silicon Valley," 14.

53. The following meeting minutes illustrate who the early attendees of meetings were and who was assigned leadership positions: Minutes of the Cantonese Chinese Language School, SACCR; Minutes of the Organizational Meeting, SACCR; Minutes of the Steering Committee for the Formation of a Chinese American Adult Organization, 30 April 1965, SC 1446, Box 8, Folder "SACC 1967–1968," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
54. Stan/Eva Moy, n.d., SC 1446, Box 6, Folder "Newsletters, Notes, Correspondences 1988–89," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries (hereafter cited as Stan/Eva Moy, SACCR); Art and Wilma Wong, n.d., SC 1446, Box 6, Folder "Newsletters, Notes, Correspondences 1988–89," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries; Charter Members, SACCR.
55. KK/Helen Chan, n.d., SC 1446, Box 2, Folder "30th Anniversary Album," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries; Dick and Helen Young, n.d., SC 1446, Box 2, Folder "30th Anniversary Album," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
56. Minutes of the Steering Committee for the Formation of a Chinese American Adult Organization, 15 July 1965, SC 1446, Box 8, Folder "SACC 1967–1968," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
57. Charter Members, SACCR.
58. Correspondence, 4 June 1965, SC1446, Box 8, Folder "SACC 1965–66," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries (hereafter cited as Correspondence, SACCR).
59. Stan/Eva Moy, SACCR.
60. Chronicles of the Mock Family, SC 1446, Box 6, Folder "Newsletters, Notes, Correspondences 1988–89," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
61. Gordon H. Chang. "The Chinese and the Stanfords: Nineteenth-Century America's Fraught Relationship with the China Men," in *The Chinese and the Iron Road: Building the Transcontinental Railroad*, ed Gordon H. Chang and Shelley Fisher Fishkin (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), 346–64.
62. Stanley Moy, News Item, January 1966, SC1446, Box 8, Folder "SACC 1967–68," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
63. Chairman Cultural Committee Correspondence to Jack W. Chow, 21 June 1966, SC1446, Box 8, Folder "SACC 1967–68," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
64. Charter Members, SACCR.
65. "Carousel by Jean Marrow," *Recorder*, 19 January 1966, SC 1446, Box 7, Folder "1965," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

66. "Carousel by Jean Marrow," *Recorder*, 19 January 1966.
67. "The Chinese: Palo Alto's Quiet Minority," by Joseph Hooper, *Palo Alto Daily*, 20 July 1983, SC 1446, Box 10, Folder "News Clippings," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries (hereafter cited as "The Chinese," SACCR).
68. "The Chinese," SACCR.
69. "The Chinese," SACCR.
70. Correspondence, SACCR.
71. Correspondence, SACCR.
72. Maurice Tseng Correspondence to Mr. S. H. Lee, 23 May 1966, SC 1446 Box 8, Folder "1967–1968," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries (hereafter cited as Maurice Tseng, SACCR).
73. Maurice Tseng, SACCR.
74. Maurice Tseng, SACCR.
75. Lai, "Retention of the Chinese Heritage, Part II"; Min Zhou and Xi-Yuan Li, "Ethnic Language Schools and the Development of Supplementary Education in the Immigrant Chinese Community in the United States," *New Directions in Youth Development* 2003, no. 100 (2003): 57–73; Fang, "'To Cultivate Our Children to Be of East and West.'"
76. Laura and Paul Tsai, n.d., SC 1446, Box 6, Folder "Newsletters, Notes, Correspondences 1988–89," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
77. April Chan, "Johnny Kan: The Untold Story of Chinatown's Greatest Culinary Ambassador," *California History*, 94, no. 4 (2017): 4–22; Gloria Heyung Chun, *Of Orphans and Warriors: Inventing Chinese American Culture and Identity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 79–81.
78. Stanford Area Chinese Club Announcements, n.d., SC 1446, Box 8, Folder "1967–1968," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries; Stanley Moy Correspondence to Paul Masson Winery, 18 August 1966, SC 1446, Box 8, Folder "1967–1968," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
79. Newsletter, 1 August 1967, SC 1446, Box 8, Folder "1967–1968," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
80. Carolyn Wong, n.d., SC 1446, Box 6, Folder "Newsletters, Notes, Correspondences 1988–89," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
81. Wilma Wong Correspondence to Miss Haller of the De Young Museum, 1 August 1966, SC 1446, Box 8, Folder "1967–1968," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
82. "The Chinese," SACCR.

83. "School Board President Defends Multicultural Program," *Palo Alto Times*, 6 December 1968, SC 1446, Box 7, Folder "Clippings," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

84. "School Board President Defends Multicultural Program."

85. For examples of how post–World War II suburban political culture shaped the politics of school desegregation, see Lily Geismer, *Don't Blame Us: Suburban Liberals and the Transformation of the Democratic Party* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017); Matt D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

86. The activism of East Palo Alto's Black residents enabled a small number of East Palo Alto students to get bussed into Palo Alto schools. For more information on the uneven development of East Palo Alto in comparison to neighboring Palo Alto and Menlo Park, see Kim Mai-Cutler, "East of Palo Alto's Eden: Race and the Formation of Silicon Valley," TechCrunch.com, January 10, 2015, https://techcrunch.com/2015/01/10/east-of-palo-altos-eden/.

87. Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 86.

88. Stanford Area Chinese Club Monthly Newsletter, December 1971, SC 1446, Box 9, Folder "SACC 1971–72," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries. Connie Young Yu also organized a forum on the women's liberation movement for the SACC that same year.

89. For a summary of the cultural grant program, see Stanford Area Chinese Club 30th Anniversary Commemorative Album Draft, n.d., SC 1446, Box 2, Folder "30th Anniversary Album," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries (hereafter cited as 30th Anniversary Commemorative Album, SACCR).

90. Mrs. Joan Leong and Mr. Greg Mark Correspondence with Wilma Wong Regarding Receipt of Cultural Grant Award for San Jose State University Asian American Studies Reading Room, 22 January 1975, Box 9, Folder "Honors/Awards," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

91. Wilma Wong, SACC President Correspondence to Mr. Philip P. Choy, 20 May 1972, SC 1446, Box 9, Folder "1971–1972," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

92. Palo Alto Unified School District Multicultural Day, 20 January 1972, SC 1446, Box 9, Folder "1971–72," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

93. Memorandum from Palo Alto Unified School District Multicultural Office, 21 April 1972, SC 1446, Box 9, Folder "1971–72," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

94. Wilma Wong, SACC President Correspondence to Mr. Philip Choy, 16 July 1972, SC 1446, Box 9, Folder "1971–72," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

95. 30th Anniversary Commemorative Album, SACCR.
96. 30th Anniversary Commemorative Album, SACCR.
97 Chinese Cultural Fair Program, 29 September 1974, SC 1446, Box 7, Folder "1974," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries (hereafter cited as Cultural Fair Program, SACCR).
98. End of the Year Letter to Members by President K. K. Chan and Board Members Roger Chung, Gloria Hom, Mae Ding, Samuel Fok, Roberta Yee, and Clifford Yip, 1 December 1970, SC 1446, Box 7, Folder "1970," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries; John Lindberg, Head Teacher De Anza Summer School Correspondence to Arthur T. Wong, 11 July 1969, SC 1446, Box 2, Folder "Correspondences," Stanford Area Chinese Club Records, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
99. 30th Anniversary Commemorative Album, SACCR.
100. Cultural Fair Program, SACCR.
101. Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*, 86.
102. Glenna Matthews, *Silicon Valley, Women, and the California Dream: Gender, Class and Opportunity in the Twentieth Centur*y (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 147–82.
103. Stanford Area Chinese Club Newsletter, February 1988, SC 1446, Box "Newsletter, Notes, Correspondences 1988–1989," Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
104. Brian Su-Jen Chung, "'We Think about Our Children First': Asian Skilled Professionals, Liberal Multiculturalism and the Borders of Educational Inequality in Fremont, California," *Amerasia* 48, no.1 (2022): 44–57.