A New Community in an Old Neighborhood: Common Territory

Jing Zhang

Loyola University Chicago

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

A NEW COMMUNITY IN AN OLD NEIGHBORHOOD:
COMMON TERRITORY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

JING ZHANG

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JANUARY, 1997
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INTRODUCTION

My interest in conducting this research on the Argyle community, or "New Chinatown," started when I was still involved in my dissertation coursework. Several of my courses focused on different dimensions of the community. During this time, I contacted many people from community organizations, churches, businesses, as well as tourists, shoppers, police patrol officers, and residents in the community. I found in my conversations that although the community was known variously as "New Chinatown", "North Chinatown", "Vietnamese Refugee Camp", or "Asian Village," few people outside the community knew how this community had developed or how it came to have these different names. The Argyle community has recently been proclaimed as a miracle of "economic success" in a low-income and high crime area. However, there is little known about what the refugees and immigrants have gone through to achieve this "success", and what this "success" means to them, nor is there any documentation on their self-help system, how this system has supported them emotionally and financially, and how it has structured their relationship in the community.

People often portray the Argyle community, as well as larger Uptown community area of which it is a part, as a typical example of diversity and gentrification without replacing the low-income residents. However, little is known about how the people negotiate their space, relationships, and power during development. How people identify themselves in such a diversified space and cultural atmosphere, other questions, such as how such a community is defined; and whether it is possible to identify some general conditions of "healthy" community in spite of the wide range of cultural and economic differences existing in the community area, are going to be discussed in this dissertation.
In sociology, race and ethnic relations have been studied from two major perspectives. From the cultural perspective, sociologists attempt to understand the possibility of acculturation and assimilation of new immigrants into the mainstream culture. The cultural explanation of race and ethnic relations ranges from Anglo-conformity, melting pot, pluralism, and symbolic ethnicity. While discussing assimilation, sociologists from the cultural perspective singled out one particular group -- the self-employed minorities -- and developed a theory called "middle man minority." This theory suggests that ethnic self-employed business owners have the mentality of a "sojourner" which motivates them to live a thrifty and isolated life. Their cultural traditions or traits assist them in business success. From social structure and the disadvantaged perspective, sociological research is divided between theories of emergent ethnicity, and racial discrimination and the disadvantaged. In terms of the development and future of ethnic communities, some sociologists have offered the invasion-succession model, and urban personality and community lost theories, while others argue for community persistence and transformation, and the importance of community as a vehicle for mobilizing resources.

Recent census data (1990) shows that although the number of Asian and Pacific Islanders in the United States is 7,273,662 -- only 2.9 percent of the total population -- it is the fastest growing population. Between 1980 to 1990, the total number of Asians increased 109 percent. In the City of Chicago, the total number of Asians is 104,118, or 3.7 percent of total population in 1990 which reflects a 51 percent increase over 1980 (Department of Planning and Development, 1994). Yet, little research has been done on the new Asian immigrants and refugees in terms of how they fit into transformed urban settings and how to involved them in the urban development. It is my hope that this research will contribute to the understanding of some of the most recent cultural groups and their relationship with other groups, and to the understanding of urban
community and community relationships.

The dissertation includes six major chapters which examine different dimensions of the Argyle community. Chapter I reviews the sociological literature on race and ethnic relations and urban ethnic communities. Chapter II introduces the Argyle community and its historical transitions. Chapter III is the core of the dissertation. It discusses the role of businesses in the community and explains the myth of self-employed businesses among certain groups of people. Chapter IV focuses on community organizations and institutions, their inter-connections with one another and the outside community, and their role in cultural development in the community. Chapter V examines the tensions among the different groups who share the same geographical location, the potential for them to cooperate, and the role of informal self-help networks. Chapter VI looks at the ways that people define their community and the forces that influence community image making.

Originally, I planned to link the Argyle community to Chinatown on the south side, because I found that there were tremendous differences between the two. The Argyle community, although officially referred to as a New Chinatown, contains extremely diverse collection of Asian and other groups. As I discovered the richness of this research site, and had to set realistic time limits, I decided to focus on the Argyle community only. Nevertheless, I found there were many inevitable linkages between Chinatown on the south side of Chicago and this new community on the north side.

The major research method of this dissertation is fieldwork which includes observations, informal conversations and formal interviews. The data collected through fieldwork is supplemented by document studies and statistical data analysis. For detailed explanations on research methods please see the appendix. For the sake of confidentiality of the interviewees, all the names mentioned in this dissertation are fictitious except government officials.
CHAPTER I

LITERATURE REVIEW

American cities, especially large cities, have served as "ports of entry" and permanent homes for many immigrants to the United States. Therefore, the studies of race and ethnic relations have been interwoven with the study of urban communities in sociology. In this chapter, I review the literature on race and ethnic relations and the theories of ethnic community. I discuss how these different perspectives do or do not apply to my study of the Argyle community.

From the cultural perspective, sociologists have focused their studies on the range of assimilation of different groups, which varies from Anglo-conformity, "melting pot" theories to cultural pluralism and symbolic ethnicity theories. From the view of social structure and conditions, sociologists have explained the different experiences among different groups. Among these sociologists, some argue that the timing of immigration for the group or individual, and the particular backgrounds of immigrants affect immigrants' experience in the U.S. Others argue that discrimination against certain groups and the manner in which a people are brought into this country have greatly contributed to the disadvantaged position of specific groups. The theories on ethnic communities explain how developing isolated communities for some ethnic groups has become a strategy to avoid racial and ethnic conflicts. These communities on the one hand provide opportunities for survival and mobility, on the other hand, prolong the process of assimilation. While early sociologists believed in disappearance of ethnic communities and in the invasion-succession process of urban change, more recent sociological theories suggest a model of urban transformation and emphasize the importance of
community in mobilizing resources. Empirical studies of recent immigrants and their concentration in the urban areas, however, are few. While a number of earlier sociologists have discussed the phenomenon of urban transformation, there has been little systematic research on how the incoming new immigrants affect urban communities, and how recent urban change influences the lives of new immigrants as well as more established members of those communities.

**Assimilation and Ethnic Options**

Sociologists who take an assimilation approach toward ethnic communities generally fall into three categories. These categories to certain extent, show the trend of change in understanding race and ethnic relations in this country. Earlier sociologists argued about total integration of different cultures and the emergence of an American culture from all the varied cultural strains flowing into the America. Later, some sociologists argued that cultural pluralism, in which different cultures co-exited in American society, instead of assimilated, best represented the immigrant experiences. More recent sociologists maintain that ethnic identity in America is a symbolic phenomenon.

**Anglo-Conformity and the "Melting Pot"**

Assimilation is defined by some sociologists (e.g., Vander Zanden, 1990) as processes whereby groups with distinctive identities become culturally and socially fused. In *Ethnicity and Assimilation*, Jiobu (1988:6) explains that assimilation has two possible outcomes.

One is for the minority to loose its distinctiveness and become like the majority. This is called Anglo conformity. Another is for the ethnic and majority groups to blend homogeneously. Each looses its distinctiveness and unique products. This is a process called the melting pot.

Historically, the Anglo-conformity model reflected the goals of the founding fathers of this country. Their aim was to build a country that
was based on British influences, and they strove to maintain English institutions, the English language, and English-oriented cultural patterns as dominant and standard in American life (Gordon, 1964:88). As well as promoting all things English, the political elite attempted to ensure Anglo-conformity by excluding certain groups which for various reasons were seen as inassimilable or undesirable (Jiobu, 1988). The dominance of Anglo-conformity was later challenged when new immigrants from non-English homelands, such as Ireland, Germany, Sweden, and France, began to arrive. They modified the institutions that the English colonists brought with them (Persons, 1987:1). As a result, sociologists began to think that the American society was not only a slightly modified England, but a new blend in which the stocks and folkways of Europe were "indiscriminately mixed in the political pot of the emerging nation and melted together by the fires of American influence and interaction into a distinctly new type" (Gordon, 1964:115).

In 1921, Park and Burgess in their book titled *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* argued that "human nature" was acquired through interaction with others; it was "a group nature," and it was liable to decay in isolation. They applied their theories to immigrant groups and argued that the achievement of full participation by an immigrant group in the common life of the larger community was realized through a series of stages of an ethnic cycle. According to Park and Burgess, all ethnic groups would go through the stages of this ethnic cycle which involved: contacts, competition, conflict, accommodation, and finally assimilation, which was marked by ethnic intermarriage. Park and Burgess defined assimilation as a process by which the memories and attitudes of which groups were shared, thus achieving a common cultural life; the process by which the culture of a country was transmitted to its adopted citizens (Persons, 1987:60).
Middlemen Minority

The Chicago school's study of ethnic relations treated minority groups more likely to engage in self-employed businesses as exceptions to assimilation, because most of them came to the U.S. as "sojourners" and did not plan to stay. They explained that their association of these sojourners with special occupational niches was caused mainly by their cultural heritage that could be used as an adaptive mechanism.¹

Later, sociologists who study ethnic businesses suggest that the successful and highly competitive practice of ethnic entrepreneurs attribute to the "sojourner" mentality -- thrift, diligence and willingness to stand longer hours, are all consistent with the goals of saving enough money and eventually return home (Edna, 1973). Light (1972) in his study of Chinese and Japanese businesses in California suggests the kinship ties, rotational credit and traditional informal organization of business provide a cultural advantage. Similarly, Boggs and Fave's study (1984) of new West Indian immigrants in New York shows how these new comers have obtained capital from their own rotational association through personal trust and are able to start their own businesses, thus avoiding poverty and initiating the process of adapting to the new culture.

Cultural Pluralism

Introduced by Jane Addams and enhanced by the intellectual currents of the time, cultural pluralism viewed immigrants as having ancient and honorable cultures, and that their cultures as having much to offer the America whose character and destiny were still in the process of creation (Gorden, 1964). John Dewey, in an address before the National Education

¹ Blalock (1967) brought this perspective into broader research. He suggests it is in peasant-feudal societies that this middleman role has been most common, because such societies consist of a small number of elite of the landed aristocracy, the top military and administrative officers, or the capitalist owners and managers of large plantations, mines, or other extractive enterprises, and a very large group of peasants. Between these two groups, are a certain number of artisans, merchants, petty officials and the like, who act as intermediaries.
Association in 1961, declared,

... the genuine American, the typical American, is himself a hyphenated character... It means that he is international and interracial in his make-up. He is not American plus Pole or German. But the American is himself Pole-German-English-French-Spanish-Italian-Creek-Irish-Scandinavian-Bohemian-Jew and so on... And this means at least that our public schools shall teach each factor to respect every other, and shall take pains to enlighten all as to the great past contributions of every strain in our composite make-up (Gorden, 1964:139).

Hapgood (1916) noted that "Democracy will be more productive, if it has a tendency to encourage differences. Our dream of the United States ought not to be a dream of monotony. We ought not to think of it as a place where all people are alike." Horace Kallen, a Harvard educated philosopher2 vigorously rejected the usefulness of the theories of conformity either as correct models of what was actually transpiring in American life, or as worthy ideals for the future. He argued that all groups such as the social club, the fraternal order, the decisional institution, the political party, are groups with which the individual affiliates voluntarily. The ethnic group, however, rests on ancestry and family connections and is involuntary. The doctrine of equality is interpreted to mean support for the concept of "difference" as well (Gorden, 1964:141).

Gorden in his book Assimilation in American Life (1964:158) distinguishes structural and cultural assimilation. He argues that it is possible for separate ethnic group to continue their existence even while the cultural differences between them progressively reduce because assimilation takes place along different dimensions. For example, ethnic groups may adopt the dominant group's culture which includes food, dress, customs, and even language, but can still maintain their structural uniqueness, for example having their own social life, practicing endogamy, moving into uniquely ethnic occupations, and living in ghettoized neighborhoods.

2 In his book entitled Culture and Democracy in the United States, published in 1924, Horace M. Kallen used, for the first time, the term "cultural pluralism" to refer to his position (Gorden, 1964).
Gorden also argues that as the dominant group imposes its social class system on the ethnic groups, the society comes to be composed of ethclasses. For example, upper-class chicanos may have the same socio-economic attributes as the anglo upper-class (same level of formal schooling, income, occupational prestige, and the like) but confine their structural relationships (family groupings, recreational class, religion) to other chicanos with the same class attributes. In a similar way, other cells of the ethclass structure can be filled in. The ethnic group can have a class structure mirroring the dominant group's and still not be structurally assimilated.

Symbolic Ethnicity

From the cultural perspective, recent sociologists treat ethnicity as an emergent phenomenon or individual choice. Symbolic ethnicity refers to the voluntary ethnic identification of the third and fourth generation descendants of immigrants who have assimilated in most respects. In his book titled On the Making of Americans, Gans (1979:204) explains that while upwardly mobile working-class groups are moving out of ethnic cultures and groups faster than other ethnics as they try to enter the middle class, whereas those already in the middle class are acculturating and assimilating at a slower rate, partly because they have already moved out of ethnic cultures and groups to a considerable extent, but also because they are finding that middle-class life is sufficiently pluralistic and their ethnicity sufficiently cost-free that they do not have to give it up deliberately.

Symbolic ethnicity takes different forms, such as a generalized tradition, the cohesive extended immigrant family, immigrant religion, or politics. All of the cultural patterns are transformed into symbols and can be reinvented and selectively used. As Gans argues,

above all, I suspect, it (emergent ethnicity) is characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigration generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be
incorporated into everyday behavior (Gans, 1968:204).

Some sociologists have been attracted to de Tocqueville's notice of the tension between individualism and conformity in American culture and explain ethnicity as a voluntary choice. Waters (1990) argues that the desire of individuals of different cultural groups to be assimilated into the mainstream culture, while at the same time voluntarily choosing to identify with their heritage, has its roots in two contradictory desires in the American character: a quest for community on the one hand and a desire for individuality on the other. Symbolic ethnicity fulfills this particularly American need to be "from somewhere." Having an ethnic identity is something that makes you both special and simultaneously part of a community. For example, at a Saint Patrick's Day parade, people can still retain the specialness of ethnic allegiance even though they work and reside within the mainstream of American middle-class life.

Social Structure and the Disadvantaged

While assimilation theories from a cultural perspective examine the possibility of individual integration to the mainstream society, the theories on structural conditions examine the diversity of social, economic, and political situations experienced by race and ethnic groups in the American society, as well as the barriers some immigrant groups faced in socio-economic structures. Within this perspective, some have focused on the specific situation each immigrant group encounters, and examine the relationship between timing, prior-emigration experiences, connections in the new country, and immigrant experiences in the new country.

Emergent Ethnicity

The perspective of emergent ethnicity emphasizes that conditions and change in the receiving country and the country of departure influence
immigrants' experiences, for example their positions in the labor force and residential patterns. Gans (1962:235) suggests today's ethnic behavior is a response developed to meet present conditions rather than a remainder of immigrant culture. A corrected straight-line (assimilation) theory must view the processes of acculturation and assimilation as adaptations to the opportunities and restraints of the moment as well as departures from past traditions. Lieberson (1980:9) notes that the timing of emigration or immigration explains some of the disadvantaged positions of certain racial and ethnic groups.

Yancey and his associates (1976) believe that the behavior of immigrants and their descendants varies significantly, depending on whether they have lived under conditions which generate and/or reinforce an ethnic community in the U.S. When group members have different American experiences, their attitudes, behaviors and valuations become different. Therefore, it is not only necessary to test for differences between groups, but also to identify the conditions which produce ethnicity and ethnically related behaviors. Ward (1977), Duncan and Lieberson (1970) suggested that the American economy between 1850 and 1920 became more diversified and industrial. During the first half of this period, economic expansion occurred in the old, or port, cities of Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, as well as in midwestern cities located along water transport routes, such as Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago and Pittsburgh. During the second half of this period, the age of steam and steel technology, opportunities continued to expand in the older cities, but the most rapid expansion occurred in the midwestern cities. The early Germans and Irish immigrants are mostly concentrated in the older cities and took advantage of opportunities in those places. Therefore, the Irish propensity to participate in the urban political bureaucracy may be best understood as the expansion of city governments in the mid-19th century, rather than as an Irish cultural aptitude for coping with bureaucracy. By contrast, the newer immigrants from Poland, Italy and Russia are
concentrated in midwest cities like Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Milwaukee, and their occupational histories correspond with those of the cities they settled in. The Italians concentrated in construction, Poles in steel industry, and the Jews in the garment industry (Yancey, et al, 1976).

Since the 1980's, manufacturing and construction employment has declined, while wholesale and retail trade have remained steady. However, most jobs in retail trade are in the eating and drinking sectors. Under such circumstances, immigrants may turn to more loosely organized sectors of the economy, where they learn skills to live in this country (Freedman, 1985:154). Ward (1984) argues that immigrant business activities are shaped more by the opportunity structure of the receiving society, which outweighs any cultural predisposition towards entrepreneurship. Among the small shop keeping businesses of urban England, similarities between groups are far more striking than differences. Human capital theory makes a similar argument. However, it emphasizes that the disadvantages of immigrant workers are caused by their lack of transferable skills and education in the American labor market, lack of fluency in English, and unfamiliarity with American culture and the social and political system (Yoon, 1990).

According to these arguments, the establishment of urban immigrant ghettos can not be understood apart from the stages of city development. Before industrialization, the affluent lived in the central city, the poor on the periphery, and tradesmen and craftsmen between the rich and the poor. During industrialization and the centralization of limited transportation it was necessary for workers to live near their work. However, since the mid-twentieth century city is characterized by decentralized commercial and industrial activities. The immigrants are dispersed and become more directly involved in the mainstream of American life instead of living in ethnic ghettos.

Following this tradition, many demographic studies show that some
racial and ethnic groups are dis-proportionately concentrated in certain geographical locations and occupations. Portes and Rumbaut (1990) explain that one of the major factors for this "dissimilarity" is geographical propinquity to the homeland. For immigrant workers, proximity to the homeland has two important economic consequences.

First, for those who come on their own, it reduces the cost of return, which most labor migrants plan to undertake at some point. The impact of propinquity is reflected in those immigrant communities established right by the waterside, at points of debarkation in port cities of both coasts which offer live testimony of a type of immigration that, having reached U.S. shores, would go no further (Portes and Rumbaut, 1990: 29).

Early settlements and the influence of pre-existing networks on location patterns tends to be decisive among contemporary immigrants engaged in manual labor. Later immigrants follow in their footsteps and live in areas which have the largest concentration of the same group. For example, entrepreneurial minorities tend to settle in large urban areas that provide close proximity to markets and sources of labor, and are often found in the areas of principal ethnic concentration because of the cheap labor, secluded markets, and access to credit that they make available. Thus, Korean entrepreneurs concentrate in Los Angeles, Chinese entrepreneurs in San Francisco and New York, and Cuban entrepreneurs in Miami. While most studies emphasize the general politically, economically disadvantaged positions of the Latino population, in Miami, the Cuban refugee community has a strong influence on economic and political decisions.

Racial Discrimination and the Disadvantaged

Sociologists who disagree with emergent ethnicity maintain that the timing and economic conditions of the receiving countries are not relevant in explaining certain groups' disadvantaged positions. Most sociologists in this perspective are more likely to examine the overall conditions and experiences of different groups. Their studies of race and ethnic relations focus on differentials between majority and minority populations
in occupation, income, education, housing, and other experiences. They argue that the disparity among different groups is more likely the result of historically unfavorable policies towards certain groups and racial discrimination.

Blauner (1982) suggests that whether the immigrants enter the U.S. by free choice or force has impact on immigrant groups' experiences. Although many European immigrants also came from rural backgrounds, they experienced much faster mobility than some minority groups with similar backgrounds because they entered the U.S. by choice. Blauner attributes the slow advance of blacks and native Americans to their forced entry the U.S. either geographically or culturally. Chinese and other Asian groups entered the U.S. as low paid labor with no freedom of geographical and occupational movement. The "split market and split labor market theories" challenge human capital theory on the grounds that minority workers were and are systematically excluded from employment with higher income, job security, and promotion (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Bonacich 1972). A number of studies show that minority workers earn lower wages than non-minority workers even after human capital resources are held constant (Yoon, 1990; Lau, 1988; Li, 1980; Wong, 1982).

The experience of the early Chinese and Japanese in the American labor market before World War II are often explained as the consequence of racial discrimination. They were welcomed initially when they came to fill the labor shortage in Hawaii's sugar plantations, or mines and rail road construction camps on the West Coast. But they became the targets of anti-Oriental campaigns and institutional discrimination when completion of major construction projects produced an economic depression (Yoon, 1990; Hsai, 1986; and Nishi, 1979). The anti-Oriental protest came mainly from working class whites, who believed their job security and standard of living were being threatened by the Asian immigrants since Asian labor could be purchased more cheaply than white labor (Yoon, 1990; Hsai, 1986; Hilton, 1979; and Lee, 1978, 1960). Racial discrimination against the
early Chinese and Japanese in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries excluded them from skilled occupations and pushed them into petty businesses catering to their own ethnic groups or to working class whites providing services such as laundry and cooking (Yoon, 1990; Loewen, 1988; Boswell, 1986; Hsai, 1986). Fan's study of the Chinese in Chicago (1926:55) suggested that among 245 members of the Chinese population in Chicago in 1926, 69.4 percent were engaged in domestic and personal service.

As a solution to the conflicts, some minority groups withdrew into, and developed their own ethnic community. Grønbjerg and her associates (1978) suggested that "separatism" became a way of life for many disadvantaged groups as a result of racial barriers. While some groups may withdraw into their own "stoic" community, others may become more "militant."

Those who are defined and disadvantaged by the boundary of race are apt to think their case hopeless except within a society of their own. Separatism in one form or another has been a persistent and undesirable temptation. For the Chinese, the pre World War II, Japanese, and the American Indians, the favored pattern has been to withdraw into a segregated community and bring as little attention to themselves as possible -- what one might call stoic separatism. Among blacks, the strategy has been a far more outspoken demand for either a separate community or equal status for black values - - what one might call militant separatism (Grønbjerg and Associates, 1978:103).

Yuan's study of Chinatown in New York (1963) suggested that the Chinese community experienced several stages of development from involuntary choice of withdrawal into their own community when faced with discrimination and prejudice; to defensive insulation during which the minority isolated themselves from the rest of the society, and developed a self-help network; to voluntary isolation once the self-help system was built up. Isolation became a strategy for gradual assimilation. Lee (1960) in her study of Chinese abroad indicated that like Jews, Chinese communities worldwide not only functioned as an institution but a mentality. Fear causes them to withdraw into their own community, where
they can find companionship and protect their own way of life.

More recent sociologists in this tradition criticize the cultural perspective because they feel it idealizes what the institutional reality can offer and is not effective in resolving social conflicts. At the same time, they argue that there is little evidence to bolster the assumption that a given ethnic label implies a common culture for its members. Li (1988) points to many studies which show that structured inequality, rather than deprived culture, accounts for the disadvantaged positions of many ethnic minorities. At the same time, he also emphasizes intra-group differences. He argues that modern capitalist development has already transformed the peoples and cultures of both the peripheral and core regions, and therefore the basis of ethnic identity and consciousness has also been transformed along class lines.

**Ethnic Community**

Sociological study of race and ethnic relations have been intertwined with community studies because large cities serve as a "port of entry" for immigrants and urban communities are homes of many different ethnic groups. The theories of the urban ethnic community have evolved within the larger process of economic and urban change over the 20th century. The first studies in this view, known as Chicago School and community-lost thesis, posited that urban communities were constantly "invaded" by new immigrants and by emigrants from rural areas in search of jobs. The urban community results from human competition for living space as industrialization and technology development progress. Some Chicago School theorists argued that urbanization produced personality and psychological change in individuals, community disappearance (or -lost). Other theorists take the approach of community persistence, arguing that, instead of disappearing, the emotional bonds and networks still exist in ethnic communities. However, these bonds and networks often impair the
ability of racial and ethnic groups to understand and integrate into mainstream society. The community transformation perspective holds that the growth of complex society further divides ethnic communities and weakens their power to bargain on their own behalf. More recent theorists have shown how ethnic groups use their community in mobilizing resources.

**Human Ecology and Community-Lost**

Human ecology emphasizes geographic and residential changes during industrialization. One of the earliest proponents of this view, Robert Park (1982) argued that competition is the basic process in human relationships and this competition includes a struggle for space. However, because of the high degree of interdependence and division of labor required in industrial urban societies, the competition also involves an automatic and unplanned degree of cooperation, thus, forming the characteristics of competitive-cooperation which Park defines as the interrelation and interdependence of the common habitat. Park (1982:211) emphasizes that the essential characteristic of a community is a "population territory," in which individual population live in a relationship of mutual interdependence. The natural areas of a metropolitan community, for example, the slum, the rooming-house area, the central shopping section and the banking center result from the dominance of certain groups through competition.

In his concentric zone model, Burgess describes how the various areas of homogeneous populations are formed through the process of urban growth (Bogue, 1974:100). Human ecologists argue that the city spreads out from the commercial center, or loop, which they call Zone I. Next to the loop is Zone II, the "transitional area" which is often invaded by the central business district and industrial areas which filled with migrants and slums. Zone III contained working class homes, inhabited by the second generation of immigrants or immigrant second settlement. Zone IV was comprised of the residential district, of single family houses and more
expensive apartments. Zone V consisted of the suburban areas and satellite cites.

Other sociologists in the Chicago School tradition viewed community and family disorganization as the result of rapid population transition and institutional dysfunction in the community (Mowrer, 1927; Thrasher, 1926; Faris and Dunham, 1939). These theorists suggested that the invasion-competition-succession sequence produced as wave after wave of ethnic groups passed through Chicago's neighborhoods led to a decline of ethnic and neighborhood sentiments, either positively as a result of the processes of acculturation and assimilation, or negatively as a result of social problems (Hunter, 1988).

Another major component of the Chicago School sought to demonstrate the psychological impact of urbanization on individuals and communities. Louis Wirth (1938:145) defined the city as a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals. The greater the number of individuals participating in a process of interaction, the greater their differentiation in color, ethnic heritage, economic and social status, tastes and preferences. As a result, the bonds of kinship of neighborliness, and sentiments of a common folk tradition tended to be replaced by competition and formal control mechanisms. Urbanites depended on more people for their daily needs. Therefore, urban life was characterized by secondary, rather than primary contacts, which are often impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental. Close physical contacts and distant social contacts are rise to loneliness and nervous tensions. In his study of Chicago's Near North Side, Zorbaugh (1976) found that the main characteristics of community transition were competition for urban space, increase in the isolation of individuals of different "stocks." He suggested that the segregation of population based on race, nationality and economic status was an inevitable accompaniment of the growth of the city. The city, in turn, is influenced by further expansion of industries and the physical division of neighborhoods of immigrants, making local
areas the city vastly different from the old-world villages. Zorbaugh felt that over most areas of the city the last vestiges of community were disappearing.

More recent theories on community-lost predict that the U.S. is moving into a "postcity" age which is characterized by

a new kind of large-scale urban society that is increasingly independent of the city. In turn, the problems of the city place generated by early industrialization are being supplanted by a new array different in kind. With but a few remaining exceptions (the new air pollution is a notable one), the recent difficulties are not place-type problems at all. Rather, they are the transitional problems of a rapidly developing society-economy-and-polity whose turf is the nation. Paradoxically, just at the time in history when policy-makers and the world press are discovering the city, the age of the city seems to be at an end (Webber, 1968:1092).

Webber suggests that we have failed to draw up a simple conceptual definition distinguishing between the spatially defined urban area and the social systems that are localized there. We seek local solutions to problems that transcend local boundaries and are not susceptible to municipal treatment (Palen, 1992:470).

Persistence of Community and Community Transformation

While some sociologists argue about disappearance of community, others maintain that residents who share the same physical territory are conscious of the existence of the community and its boundaries (Suttles, 1972; 1968). Foreign workers or immigrants tend to search for their own groups when they move into the city. Therefore, cities are divided by different ethnic enclaves or "ethnic ghettos." These community residents are likely to isolate themselves from mainstream society, because they lack the understanding or skills to participate in mainstream society. As a result, they are often lost in the process of urban development (Suttles, 1968; Gans, 1962).

Suttles in his book titled The Social Order of the Slum (1968:224) suggested that the most general characteristic of a slum community on the south side of Chicago was its "provincialism" which was a basis for its
moral order. However, it was not only an ethnic phenomenon, but stemmed from general "distrust" among the residents and their lack of knowledge of development in the wider community. The residents interacted with one another according to a social order based on age, sex, ethnicity, territoriality, and personal reputation. Suttles' finding showed these distinctions were emphasized to the extent that they prevented the attainment of occupational, educational, and other skills more appropriate to mainstream society (Suttles, 1968:223). According to Suttles (1968), these social orders, in many ways, prevented conflicts between ethnic territories and between the ethnic community and an adjacent neighborhood.

Gans, in his research on an Italian community in Boston (1962:36), suggested that community life was dominated by "peer group society" which included the friendships, cliques, informal clubs, gangs, and the family. The peer group society formed the primary group in the community and was important for providing desired companionship and a feeling of belongingness as well as allowing its members to express their individuality. The church, the parochial school, formal social, civic, and political organizations and commercial establishments, mostly linked "horizontally" with bureaucratic structures outside the community, were selectively used. Other institutions and organizations beyond "peer group society" and the ethnic community were not well accepted because they were not defined by its ethnic characteristics (Gans 1962:122).

Wellman and Leighton (1979) later provided a community network system theory -- focusing on the social linkages and flows of resources. Warren (1988, 1978) defines a community system as a set of vertical and horizontal relationships. The vertical relationships are defined as the structural and functional relations of its various social units and subsystems to extra-community systems. The horizontal relationships are defined as the structural and functional relation of the community's various social units and sub-systems to each other. Clubs, unions, businesses, governmental units, churches, and other institutions of the
local community have two sets of relationships which not only permeated community institutions, but also characterized the established social roles within the community's organizational structure. The vertical patterns are the rational, planned, bureaucratically structured nature of extra-community ties which are characterized by Gesellchaft-quality. They are structured along bureaucratic administrative lines. In comparison, the community's horizontal pattern is characterized by the symbiotic relationships associated with their geographic locations.

The persistence of community argument emerged during a series of urban changes following WWII. Suburbanization and decentralization left central cities in the northeast and midwest in decay which increased the burden of welfare because of growing unemployment. Urban renewal programs were carried out to revitalize the central city by increasing property values and providing the basis for an expanded tourist industry. However, many ethnic communities and stable working-class neighborhoods were disrupted by the displacement associated with urban renew and gentrification. Although sociologists in this perspective argue about the persistence of local community and community sentiments, still they provide few suggestions on how to maintain local community and little explanation about how communities in this increasingly complex and segmented society may function.

Hunter (1988), in his article, Persistence of Local Sentiments in Mass Society, maintains that community has become an emergent phenomenon that sees local sentiments as new social constructions of reality that are not simply holdovers from a previous era. He also sees the significance of local sentiments as varying across space and time. One of the earlier versions of this emergent perspective is the "community of limited liability" by Janowitz (1967) and Greer (1962). It holds that the strength of individuals' orientations and attachments to their communities vary across individuals, communities, and time. An individual's emotional, social, and economic investments in the community depend on the degree to
which the community provides commensurate rewards.

It is because proximity means that such mobilization of action and sentiment suggest an alternative, more neutral category of "conscious community." However, conscious community is positively assertive rather than negatively reactive. They are consciously defined and articulated in belief systems that may range from being relatively vague "image" to highly integrated, utopian world view. They exhibit a greater temporal/spatial stability (Hunter, 1988:182).

According to Hunter (1988), the primary structural ingredient of the conscious community is the development of a more formal community organization that provides critical internal and external functions for maintaining local solidarity and sentiments. The "melting pot" hypothesis of acculturation and assimilation which predicted the basis for the expected decline of ethnic neighborhoods appeared questionable as Glazer and Moynihan (1963) showed in Beyond the Melting Pot. Owing to their distinctive historical experience, their cultures and skills, the times of their arrival, the economic situation they met, and subtle discrimination and prejudice, ethnic groups developed distinctive economic, political, and cultural patterns. As the old cultural patterns fell away, new ones were formed by their distinctive life experiences in America, thereby a new identity. The need for ethnic groups to maintain local ethnic and neighborhood sentiments was seen to be critical to the political processes of aggregating demands and establishing power bases and to the governmental process of providing manageable delivery of urban services (Hunter, 1988; Gosnell, 1939; Lineberry, 1977).

More recently, we see that a new community movement is emerging. People are trying to answer the question "what is the community" while the concept of the community is increasingly vague or changed. More importantly, people are aware what community can do for economic and social justice (Snow, 1995). In the community movement, the community became such a powerful concept that it is increasingly viewed as a focus of many disciplines in solving social problems such as family dysfunction, school breakdown, crime, public health concerns, housing decline, and lack of human capital development. Focusing on the community to address various
human needs is exemplified by both the United Way of Chicago's Community Development Needs Assessment, and the Policy Research and Action Group's community organizing programs. Snow (1995) argues that community became a powerful concept because it presupposes a common ground -- a concept that can bring the underprivileged and privileged into a coalition. Snow suggests that on the one hand, community is a sensitizing concept among the privileged: nonthreatening, familiar, but able to convey the significance of exercising responsibility to the public good. On the other hand, community is a powerful concept among the underprivileged, a rallying cry around which collective action can be organized for increased power and the common cause. Communitarians and "COMMUNETters" are the examples of these two prominent but different groups in the New Community Movement.

Summary

I would now summarize the literature on race and ethnic relations, and ethnic community, and discuss the usefulness of these theories and perspectives in studying the Argyle community. From a cultural perspective, assimilation theories assume that all the immigrants eventually assimilate into a mainstream culture based on British institutions. The "melting pot" hypothesis assumes that a unique American culture will emerge from the melting of different immigrant cultures. Although cultural pluralism criticizes the assimilation thesis, it did not rest on community studies. The human ecology model and community-lost arguments reflect the general belief of assimilation and acculturation, especially community-lost arguments. Although the human ecology model is still accounting for the suburban flight, in a community area like Argyle, different ethnic groups who arrived in the U.S. at different times have been engaged in a long term co-habitancy, instead of one group completely replacing another. This dissertation explains the mobility patterns of the
residents and examines how the new immigrants adjust to the changes in urban society, and how the established neighborhood accepts new Asian immigrants, especially refugees who arrived in large numbers during a short period of time.

In the studies of race and ethnic relations, the theorists from racial discrimination and the disadvantaged perspective argue that certain racial and ethnic groups as a whole have not achieved the same level of assimilation, holding the time of being in the U.S. constant. These groups are in general less integrated in terms of educational achievement, residential mobility, occupational status, and political participation. The phenomenon of ethnic business is a consequence of unfavorable social condition for certain ethnic groups. However, from the culture perspective, sociologists explain that the concentration of small self-employed business among certain ethnic groups as resulting from their cultural characteristics. These ethnic self-employed business owners are exceptions to assimilation because of their "sojourner" mentality. I found that Asian business owners in the Argyle community are from very diverse backgrounds and many had experiences in running small businesses prior to their migration. Then, to what extent, can these two theoretical perspectives explain Asian business experiences?

The community persistence and transformation theories have been applied to several community studies. Most of these studies focused on one major population. Gerald Suttles' study on the social order in the Addams area -- a slum area, focused on four ethnic groups and their interactions. Because of its large proportion of Asian businesses and residents, the Argyle community is often known as "New Chinatown" or "Asian Village," although the overall population of the area represents a diversity of racial and ethnic groups. One of the areas I want to examine is how these different groups interact with one another and respond to the common community identity of "New Chinatown" or "Asian Village?" I shall also identify the opportunities and barriers that Asians as well as other
groups facing in interacting with each other. The Argyle community is also different from other communities studied by previous sociologists because of its growing internal businesses. The Argyle community has been known as a low-income community for a long time. However, it has achieved notable economic revitalization recently, which has contributed to Uptown's economic stability, thereby attracting more resources. Earlier sociologists from community transformation perspective emphasized the importance of the community in mobilizing resources. We know little about how Asians as well as other populations in the Argyle community mobilize resources since they do not have an unified identity because of its diversity.

Symbolic ethnicity argues that individual's investment in the community depends on "commensurate rewards." It argues that ethnicity has become a series of clearly defined symbols, such as food, language, holiday, ethnic business, family names, and voluntary associations. Therefore, ethnic identity increasingly becomes an individual choice, or option. Similar to the perspective of social structure and the disadvantaged, emergent ethnicity also argues that individuals of the same ethnic group may have different experiences if they come to the U.S. at different times and with different backgrounds, because of the changes in overall social structures of the host country (e.g., the labor market, urban environment and residential patterns). From racial discrimination and the disadvantaged perspective, theorists argues that there is little evidence to bolster the assumption that a given ethnic label implies a common culture for its members. The structural inequality rather than deprived culture accounts for the disadvantaged positions of many ethnic minorities. As I observed, Asians in the community is a diverse group. However, they often perceive a common identity. My findings explains what makes them different and under what circumstances they identify themselves as Asian.

My dissertation explains how new immigrants adjust to the changing
urban settings and how an established neighborhood reacts to the newer immigrants or newcomers, especially refugees who come in large numbers and in a short time. However, as the ecological model suggested, the better acculturated Asian immigrants in the Argyle community find opportunities to move to other residential areas. Meanwhile, the residents who moved to the community earlier may still stay in the community, and other Asian groups and other populations continue moving in including their businesses. On the other hand, unlike voluntary immigrants, the Asian refugees did not choose to live in the community. They were re-settled in the community by the decisions of different organizations and sponsors, although many refugees from surrounding states and communities later chose to move to or invest in the community. I assume that transformed communities may have an impact on new immigrants' and refugees' experiences, but I show how their way of life differs from that of earlier immigrants and refugees. I also show how the arrival of new immigrants and refugees affects race and ethnic relations in the community and examine the focus points of tensions and the break-through points for cooperations.

The recent new community movement has re-kindled the light of community empowerment through community organizing and collaborate efforts. Recent immigrants and refugees have renewed a wide interest in the study of different cultural groups and communities from different perspectives. However, in the more diversified communities like Argyle, different organizations which represent different groups may have different resources and therefore may not be able to participate in this new community movement in the ways that other people participate.
CHAPTER II

AN ATTENTION CATCHING COMMUNITY: ARGYLE IN UPTOWN

I would like to call the community area that I studied the Argyle community which is officially known as "New Chinatown." This is a small geographic space centered around the "Argyle shopping strip" between Broadway Street and Sheridan Road in the north central part of the community area of Uptown in Chicago. Its northern border is Foster Avenue, its southern Lawrence Avenue. Sheridan Road forms the eastern boundary, and Magnolia Avenue the western one (Map 1. Argyle Community on next page). Most of the Argyle community is covered by census tract 312, one of three tracts in Uptown that run along the "Winthrop and Kenmore Corridor." I have included Magnolia Avenue because a Thai Buddhist temple and a Cambodian Buddhist temple are located on Magnolia, and a public library is located at the corner of Magnolia and Ainslie. These facilities are heavily used by the Asian populations in the Argyle area.

Previous researchers (Bennett, 1991; Marciniak, 1981; Warren, 1979) often describe the "Winthrop and Kenmore Corridor" as Uptown's most notorious, impoverished, and deteriorating local area. The Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area (1990:44) notes that Uptown is comprised of three distinct neighborhoods. The central strip, running north and south through the center of the Uptown community, is impoverished with many vacant lots, dilapidated buildings, and a
Map 1. Argyle Community

Argyle Community

Map showing Argyle Community with streets labeled as follows:
- FOSTER
- WINONA
- ARGYLE
- MAGNOLIA
- BROADWAY
- WINTHROP
- KENMORE
- SHERIDAN
- AINSLIE
- LAWRENCE

Legend:
- Miles
  - 0
  - 0.05
  - 0.1

Metro Chicago Information Center
heterogeneous population of poor and homeless. The lakefront is dotted with high-rent high-rise apartment building populated by middle and upper-middle class residents. The western edge of the community is comprised of predominantly single-family homes. While the lakefront has experienced a boom in construction of high-rent high-rise apartment dwellings and population, the Heart-of-Uptown central section has lost a significant portion of its population and housing stock. Census tract 312 (the Argyle community), for example, has gone from a high of 9,064 residents in 1950 to 6,463 in 1990, while the lakefront census tract 314 has increased its population from 3,102 to 5,526. The western section of the community has experienced little change in population or housing. Between 1950 to 1990, the population in Argyle declined, but since 1980 the population began to increase. Between 1980 to 1990 the population in the Argyle community increased 16 percent.

For most Chicagoans, the Argyle community is known variously as "New Chinatown," "International Shopping Center," "Vietnamese Refugee Camp," or "Asian Village" -- a place with a concentration of multiple Asian cultures and exotic food. Within Chicago's business community, the Argyle community has recently gained a reputation as a successful model of economic development or revitalization in an area of low-income and high crime. Because of these characteristics, the Argyle community attracts tourists, developers, journalists, researchers, politicians, and even artists. People want to find out what accounts for the "success," to see if the development of the Argyle community will generate further improvement in the larger area; to study the most recent immigrants and refugees in this racially and culturally diversified community; or to experience the most recent cultures in the city.

This chapter reviews and analyzes the decline of the Argyle community since the 1930's from an earlier prosperous community; the impact of this decline on the community's physical make-up and populations, its revitalization and hope in 1974, how it became an
"international" community since the late 1970's when the Southeast Asian refugees moved in; how its image has changed, and how it has become an increasingly important community. This chapter also introduces the current populations and geographic characteristics of the community. Although the analysis and review are focused on change in the Argyle community, a discussion of change in Uptown and its impact on the Argyle community and vice versa is necessary to put events in the Argyle community into context.

Physical Make-up, Population, and the Impact of Decline

Being part of Uptown, the physical environment of the Argyle community reflects the historical change and characteristics of its larger community area. Located in the heart of an historical preservation area in Uptown, the Argyle community is full of landmarks that identified Uptown in history. The Aragon Ball Rooms, Balaban & Katz, Riviera theater, the Uptown theater, the Essanay studio, Moreland Hotel where Hollywood movie stars used to stay when they came to Chicago to shoot silent films, and Uptown Bank are all located within the boundaries of this community.

Ed Marciniak's Reversing Urban Decline (1981) documents how Uptown connected the central city and suburbs and served as a center of show places and motion pictures and one of most successful business centers in Chicago.

It (Uptown) had been a residential mecca for the middle class as far back as the early 1900's, with elegant mansions for older wealthy families and spacious apartments for professionals and junior executives... By the middle 1920's, Uptown had become one of Chicago's most successful business centers. It boasted two large banks, a handsome office building for doctors, lawyers and dentists, elegant restaurants and two movie theaters which attracted well-dressed crowds day and night. With 4,400 seats for cinema fans, the Uptown theater was the largest movie house in the city. Prior to World War I, Uptown theater even became one of

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1 The Aragon Ball Room was once one of America's most beautiful ball rooms opened in the 1920's. Uptown theater was one of the world's largest movie houses, seating 4,381 (Hansen, Arty and Hong, 1991).
the nation's better known centers for the production of silent films. Essanay studios, producing the early films of Charles Chaplin and Gloria Swanson, built its headquarters here, as did smaller movie producers. To add to the splendor, many film stars took up residence in the area (Marciniak, 1981:10).

During and after the World War II, a city-wide housing shortage encouraged the conversion of many large residences into small "cut up" units. Nevertheless, Uptown remained a desirable community throughout the Depression and World War II era, during which the population increased to a historic high of 84,000 in 1950 (Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1990; Marciniak, 1981). Subsequently, as a result of suburban development and the availability of public transportation between the city and the suburbs, more affluent residents began to flee. By 1960, the heart of Uptown had finally become part of the "inner city." Vacant stores and residential buildings multiplied and "redlining" became common (Marciniak, 1981).

Today, Winthrop and Kenmore Avenues are still lined with kitchenette buildings and buildings with small rental units. As shown in Table 1 (Housing Characteristics in Argyle and Uptown), most housing units in the Argyle community are small rental units with lower median rents, compared to Uptown as a whole. In the Argyle community, the median number of rooms is 2.5 and the median rent is $282, while in Uptown the median number of rooms is 3.7 and the median rent is $410. The Argyle community has the lowest rental units and the lowest rents in Uptown, even though the 1990 census suggests that the percentage of housing units built since 1980 or later in Argyle has well exceeded that of Uptown. This trend in housing development has been attributed to the recent development of an Asian community which needs inter-generational family housing. Local government, developers, and organizations have all foreseen the potential of this community and therefore brought in more resources.

2 The Heart of Uptown often refers to census tracts #312, 316 and 320 along the "Winthrop and Kenmore Corridor."

3 Single room includes kitchen area and shared bathroom.
Table 1. Housing Characteristics in Argyle and Uptown, 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The Argyle community</th>
<th>Uptown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Housing Units</td>
<td>3,222</td>
<td>31,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%Condominiums</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%Built 1980 or later</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%Owner occupied</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%With 1+person occupied</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median value: Owner Occupied</td>
<td>$0</td>
<td>$139,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median rent: rental units</td>
<td>$282</td>
<td>$410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median number of rooms</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Since the 1950's, the decline and nature of its housing supply helped to make Uptown a "port of entry" for many groups entering the city with limited resources, and has contributed to high degree of transience. According to Local Community Facts Book (1980), between 1950-1980, whites decreased from 98 percent of the total population to 57 percent. During this same period of time, African Americans increased from 0.5 percent to 15 percent of the population and other non-whites increased from 1.4 percent to 27 percent. Among those settling in Uptown were African Americans from the South, Appalachian whites, Japanese, Mexican-Americans, and Native Americans. Uptown's reputation as a "port of entry" was re-enforced by incoming waves of Cubans and other Latinos, East Asians, Arabs, and more recently, the arrival of Asians. Nelis and Castillo, Inc. (1992) estimates that approximately 70 different languages are spoken in Uptown. About 33 percent of its total population is foreign born, according to 1990 Local Community Fact Book, Chicago Metropolitan Area.

In addition, a large number of de-institutionalized mental patients in the late 1960's were settled in Uptown in the late 1960's. Uptown's vacant hotels and single room apartment buildings became their new residences. According to Department of Mental Health, 7,000 de-institutionalized mental patients were shifted to Uptown (Marciniak, 1981). Presently, there are several halfway houses and hotel buildings on
Winthrop and Kenmore that are occupied by the mentally disabled. Sommerset, on the corner of Sheridan Road and Argyle street, is the largest nursing home for the mentally disabled in Illinois and has over 500 residents and over 200 employees according to one of its staff members.

On Winthrop Avenue stands a 280 unit 20 story housing project -- Winthrop Tower which used to be HUD prepayment housing and has been owned by Travelers and Immigrants Aid since 1993. It is often perceived by local residents, especially the business community, as "a dangerous place" where "troubled people" live. One business owner who has witnessed the community transition over times, felt that, "what has really ruined the community is this housing project." Nyden et. al., in an updated report on preserving affordable housing in Uptown (1996:29), suggest that by the early 1990s, after years of neglect by the previous owner and mismanagement by HUD, 4848 N. Winthrop had deteriorated to crisis levels. In addition, because of the physical deterioration the building became a magnet for the social ills of the neighborhood. Problems with this building spilled out on to the street in the form of prostitution, gang activity, and drug sales. The building was actually owned by HUD for over ten years prior to being bought by Century Place Development Corporation (CPDC), a non-profit housing development subsidiary of Travelers and Immigrants Aid.

A number of nursing homes and senior centers are located on Kenmore, Broadway, and Lawrence, including one Korean senior center on Kenmore between Argyle and Winona. A vacant 71-unit apartment building at 907 W. Argyle Street was converted in 1993 by Travelers and Immigrants Aid into subsidized housing for people with Aids, Asian immigrants and people with low-incomes (Bess, News Star, June 2, 1993; Olson, Windy City Times, May 20, 1993).

Because of Argyle's population characteristics and the needs of this population, several social service agencies are located within the boundaries of this community (e.g., Interchurch Refugee and Immigration
Ministries, Travellers and Immigrants Aid, a Department of Human Services office, a Salvation Army branch, and several recently established Asian non-profit service organizations. As the number of Asians moving into the community increased, several Buddhist temples were established by different Asian groups. These include Wat Phrasriratanamahadhatu on Magnolia between Lawrence and Leland, Kampuchea Buddhist Society of Illinois Inc. (or Watt Khmer Metta) on Winthrop between Lawrence and Leland, Wat Khemaram on Argyle and Magnolia, Chua Turc Lam on Winthrop and Ainslie, and Charh-Giac-Tu on Sheridan and Carmen (see Chapter IV for detailed explanations). The Chinese Christian Church was first located on Argyle and later moved to Broadway. In addition, there are several established Christian churches which have served the community for a long time (e.g., St. Thomas of Canterbury on Kenmore and Lawrence, built 76 years ago, and the newer New Hope Christen Center on Sheridan Road).

Towards the end of 1960's, the Argyle community was known as a high crime area; robbery, arson, mugging, burglary, and armed robbery were common place. Residents were often assaulted and robbed when walking on the street. The most popular businesses in the community were liquor stores and bars. In the 1970's when the Chinese began to buy property on Argyle, there were over 30 taverns and bars in this small geographical area, according to local business leaders and newspaper reports. Herbert, a grocery store owner who had been in the community during this period noted, "it (alcohol related business) was the only growing business in the community during economic depressions." Some business owners and residents responded by organizing themselves and advocating for community improvement and safety. For example, HAWK (Help Argyle, Winthrop and Kenmore), a block club was founded to advocate for more police protection and citizen participation to improve neighborhood safety. It is still functioning in the community today.

Even with recent development, old residents who have witnessed the changes of the community still miss the good old times of the community.
As Major, an old African American man who is living in a Lakefront SRO building on Sheridan, put it,

when I first moved here in early 1960's, everything was nice. There was no curse going down the street in the time of night, in the time of day, nobody bother(ed) you. You could lay out in the park sleep all night, nobody bother(ed) you, but now right in this neighborhood, since drugs (got) out of hand, it just ran down. There was a restaurant on the corner of Lawrence and Sheridan, on the northwest corner of Sheridan, an all night restaurant. I used to hang out there. I ate there when I first came here and I got acquainted with an old man there and began to run hours with the guy. Just a lot of fun! (If I) came here at night, nobody bothered me. But now, it goes bad.

Edward, a white store owner on Sheridan Road said he has been in the same location for over 40 years.

This used to be a beautiful place when I first came here. Music, dancing, all kinds of activities were going on. It was a safe place. You can walk on the street at 4:00 in the morning without fear. One thing I learnt over the years is not to own a business in this neighborhood. The only reason for me to still stay is the rent. It is less than other place. Other places would be three times higher than this, even though the rent here has been raised significantly.

Now, he seldom goes out. He says "the coming of HillBillies and everyone else have forever changed this community."

During 1960's to 1970's, urban planners, civic and business organizations (e.g., the Uptown Chicago Commission, the Organization of the Northeast) initiated actions to counter neighborhood decline (Bennett, 1991; Marciniak, 1981; Warren, 1979). However, not until the 1970's when Chinese merchants and Southeast Asian refugees began to move in, did physical improvements begin to occur in the Argyle community. The immigrants were aided by Uptown's diversity and the nature of its housing supply. Both helped these newcomers re-settle and their community thrive.

Revitalization: the Ambition to Build a New Chinatown

Changes in the Argyle community have gradually taken place since 1974 when Chinese restaurant owner Jimmy Wong, the local director and
spokesman of the Hip Sing Association, Hip Sing members and Mr. Wong’s friends began buying up a three block stretch of deteriorating real estate on Argyle street between Broadway and Sheridan roads, with the purpose of following Wong’s dream of building a new Chinatown -- Chinatown North.

In 1971, the Federal government bought Jimmy Wong’s property at Clark and Van Buren streets to clear land for the new federal courthouse annex. Wong received $300,000 from the government as reimbursement. With this reimbursement and an additional $500,000 donated by the Hip Sing Association in New York, Wong and his partners started to purchase properties in the Argyle community (Philips, Chicago Tribune, December 5, 1976; Persley, North Town, February 10, 1974; Chicago Tribune, September 4, 1977). Jimmy Wong and the Association chose Uptown as a place to relocate because of its cheap property, convenient transportation and other facilities. In addition, some Chinese already lived in the area (Philips, Chicago Tribune, December 5, 1976).

Several Chinese businesses from around the city and the nation either opened branch stores or relocated in the Argyle community, including a Chinese-bakery from Chinatown South and a couple of Chinese restaurants from New York and California. One of the Chinese business leaders who moved from New York to continue Jimmy Wong’s work when Wong had to retire after an accident, said,

I had a good job in New York. But when Jim broke his leg, I was called in. A group of us, about four people, came from New York to give him a hand here, try to manage. Through a good friend of mine, my father as a matter of fact. They saw the potential here. So they tried to convince us to come over. So we came over and took a look at it. Most of the group members went back to New York, because then there was very few Asians, let alone other things. Very few Chinese, old timer Chinese.5

4 The Hip Sing Association is a nationwide fraternal Chinese merchant and cultural organization which was founded by early Chinese immigrants mainly from Taishan (Toishan) of Guangzhou (or Canton). According to the current president of the Association in Chicago, there are about 17 associations nationwide.

5 "Old timers" is a term used by older generation of Chinese immigrants to distinguish themselves from "new comers" who are mostly Southeast Asian refugees and immigrants who came after the passage of 1965
The neighboring businesses were enthusiastic about Jimmy Wong's plan to build a New Chinatown on the North Side of Chicago. People from the business community and developers in Edgewater and Uptown were eager to encourage Wong and find out how his plan for a second Chinatown would benefit them. One businessman from the Bryn Mawr business district thanked Wong publicly:

with our hearts open we want you to know we want your people. We know the type of people they are -- they beautify where they live. This would be the best thing for our area (Persley, North Town, February 10, 1974).

Then Alderman Marilou Hedlund and various city officials emphasized the stabilizing effect of a Chinatown North while at the same time praising the project's commercial potential. City officials felt Uptown and Edgewater would benefit from the tourist dollars spent in the area once the project attained its full potential. In addition, the Argyle community is located in the heart of a community conservation area, which means that it is eligible for a variety of federally funded programs. The city believed that with the vigorous aid of local organizations, problems such as blighted housing could be alleviated (Editorial, Uptown News, August 29, 1978).

However, as a result of further deteriorating situations in the Argyle community and the early unanticipated retirement of the Hip Sing Association president Jimmy Wong, the momentum of the North Chinatown development gradually faded away. Some of the properties that the Chinese bought earlier were sold to local property owners. According to many local residents, business owners, and community leaders, the North Chinatown never developed the way it was originally planned.

Immigration Act. The Chinese who started to build the New Chinatown are mostly "old timers."
It was not until the late 1970's when the first group of refugees arrived in Chicago from Southeast Asian countries including Vietnam, Cambodia, and Lao, and more immigrants from Mainland China came to join their families, that new Chinatown really began its development and revitalization. Most of the refugees came to Chicago through re-settlement agencies, churches, or other sponsors, therefore their destinations were determined before their arrival.

Some re-settlement agencies in the area, such as Travellers and Immigrants Aid, Interchurch Refugee and Immigration Ministries reasoned that since there was already a Chinese community in the area, it would be a convenient and more familiar place for the new Asian refugees to start a new life. Therefore, most of new refugees were re-located in the Argyle community. Among the first group of refugees, many were relatively "well-to-do" families who had previous experience in running family businesses or working as professionals. They needed to invest and restart their life in a new country. A staff member at Travellers and Immigrants Aid recalled:

at that time, there was definitely an Asian influence on Argyle. The Chinese were here. There was Chinese ownership of several major buildings...There were some Chinese grocery stores, small ones but they were there. People like to be able to get some food that they were used to. These Asian immigrants were more comfortable seeing the food that they could buy. I remember they had big bags of rice instead of the small boxes people buy at the supermarket. So all of that combined. I think, the Asian immigrants feel more at home here.

Also the housing characteristics in the Argyle community were ideal for these newly arrived refugees. This staff member continued,

the housing is cheaper. At the beginning we had only single men, and so we were looking for studios. This was a good area for studios. We were not prohibitive in price but once you started, it was hard not to follow through. I had the impression that immigrants come as single but many refugees came with family. It really depends. In 1975, there were a lot of sailors and soldiers who were literally on the ocean when Saigon fell and they did not have time to go back to get their
family. Some of them were united later, some not. Very occasionally for very large families we had to rent two apartments across the hall. Otherwise, we would look for the largest bedroom facilities we could find.

Many social service agencies and churches had helped the refugees to re-settle. Several refugee organizations were established to meet their needs. Staff from refugee organizations went to the airport to pick up the refugees, found them apartments, and helped them by providing furniture and clothes. They also helped them find jobs, provided translation sources, and aided refugees in looking for relatives still in the refugee camps in Southeast Asia. English classes were also offered at several locations to help the refugees adjust to their new country.

The issue of where to locate the refugees is still a contentious one. Some refugee service organizations and social workers felt the refugees should not have been settled in the community. One staff at South-East Asia Center complained, "they (the Southeast Asian refugees) could have been relocated to some other areas in the city or even the suburbs instead of 'dumping' them in such a slum area." Some Asian refugee service organizations have been encouraging their clients to move out the Argyle community. These organizations believe their earlier mission to help re-settle the refugees has been fulfilled, so they do not need to stay in the Argyle community any more. For example, the Vietnamese association of Illinois and Chinese Lutheran Church have moved further north on Broadway Street.

A New Image and New Hope for Development

Since the late 1970's, the Argyle community has renewed its hope for development. Asian businesses originating from the "Argyle Commercial strip" (Argyle Street between Broadway Street and Sheridan Road) have spread out to all the major streets of the community, especially to Broadway and Sheridan. Several new shopping centers have been built at the borders of the community, for example Lakeside Plaza on Lawrence Avenue,
Rayan Plaza on Sheridan Road and Winona Street, and New Land Market Center on Broadway.

The majority of businesses in the community are owned by Chinese, ethnic Chinese, and Vietnamese. Other Asian businesses, such as Pakistani, Korean, and East Indians have also increased. Approximately two thirds of the businesses in the Argyle area are owned by Asians. They are concentrated on Argyle, Broadway, and Sheridan. Old businesses still exit, especially liquor stores, taverns, and grocery stores, but as the result of growing Asian population, the increase of property values, and the decline of alcohol consumption, many of these businesses closed.

Even though a majority of businesses in the community are Asian, the residential areas are racially and culturally mixed. It has "old" residents like African Americans, whites, American Indians, Latinos, Chinese immigrants from the Mainland, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the most resent refugees and immigrants from Southeast Asia, and other Asians such as Koreans and Pakistanis.

According to 1990 census statistics (Department of Planning and Development, 1993), the total population of the Argyle community is 6,463. As shown in Figure 1. about 2,173 or 33 percent of the total population was African American, 1,593 or 25 percent were white, 1,441 or 22 percent were Asian, 1147 or 18 percent were Latino, and 83 or 1.3 percent Native American. Compared to the total population, the Asian population is still small in size, yet it is the fast growing population in the community. It increased from 541 in 1980 to 1,441 in 1990. This represents a 166 percent increase. Between 1980 to 1990, the African American population increased 51 percent, and the Latino six percent, while white and Native American deceased 51 percent and 31 percent respectively. Other populations increased 117 percent. Other census tract areas, such as census tract 311 on the west side of the Argyle community, experienced a 58 percent increase.

6 Among Southeast Asian refugees, many are Chinese who migrated to Southeast Asian countries, therefore they are known as ethnic Chinese.
increase in the Asian population.

Figure 1. Population Change in the Argyle Community, 1980-1990


According to local police patrol officers and community leaders, community safety has greatly improved over the past years. Local business owners and residents also feel that the community is safer. An Asian business owner suggests that when he first moved in it could be dangerous walking on the street after 5:00 p.m. Now, he would say before 9:00 p.m. it is still safe. However, many local residents and business owners still think crimes are a major problem in the community. The business streets are better protected by police foot patrol officers during the day. After dark, the streets are deserted and drunks still present a threat to the businesses in the community. According to crime statistics data provided by Dr. Richard Block, professor at Department of Sociology and
Anthropology of Loyola University Chicago, several major crimes reported in the Argyle community declined in 1994, but increased again in 1995, especially assault, drug violation and vandalism. Numbers of reported thefts and vice declined in 1995 compared to 1994 (Figure 2). Figure 3 suggests that most crime rates in the Argyle community exceeded that in Uptown except for vice, auto theft and burglary.

Figure 2. Number of Major Crimes in the Argyle Community, 1993-95

Source: Dr. Richard Block, Sociology and Anthropology, Loyola University Chicago.

7 Only the most recent years of crime data based on census tracts are available.
In conclusion, the physical make-up and population characteristics of the Argyle community reflect the glory, decline, and struggle of the community and its larger community area of Uptown. Before the 1970’s, the Argyle community was known as one of the most "impoverished" and "deteriorated" urban areas in the city. Urban planners and civic and business organizations in Uptown initiated many actions to reverse the decline. However, not until the 1970’s when the Chinese merchants decided to build a new Chinatown in the Argyle community, and especially when Southeast Asian refugees were re-settled in the area, did people begin to see new hope for its economic revitalization. The emergence of the variety of Asian businesses and the increase of Asian populations has greatly changed the image of the Argyle community. The Argyle community is now best known for its Asian businesses, yet in its residential areas, there
are diverse populations.
CHAPTER III

BUSINESS -- THE CENTER OF THE COMMUNITY

Chicago School sociologists suggest the middlemen minorities are the exceptions to the assimilation process as most of them will eventually return to their home country. These minority groups often associate with special occupational niches by virtue of a combination of circumstances, and a cultural heritage that has been used as an adaptive mechanism (Boggys and Fave, 1984; Edna, 1973; Light, 1972). Light's research (1972) found most Asians operated laundries, restaurants, groceries, and import outlets, because they had the advantage of their customers' "unusual" demands. Asians either did not buy automobiles, lumber, clothing, and furnishings, or if they did, they purchased them from whites to avoid competitions. Asian businesses are over represented in retail businesses.

Other sociologists (Yoon, 1990; Lau, 1988; Tsia, 1986; Wong, 1982; Li, 1981; Doeringer and Poire, 1971) argue that racial discrimination has forced many earlier Asian immigrants into self-employed businesses. For example, the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 and anti-Chinese sentiments forced Chinese out of manufacturing employment. Even Chinese-owned factories were forced to cease operations. By 1900, the only labor markets open to the Chinese were domestic service and self-employment.

The Argyle community is best known for its "commercial strip" on Argyle street between Sheridan Road and Broadway Avenue. The residential community is spread out around this "commercial strip." Since the 1970's, businesses in Argyle have expanded far beyond this initial "shopping strip." Many stores have opened on Broadway and Sheridan.

Various businesses meet almost every need of the community. They range from grocery stores, restaurants, bakeries, gifts, jewelers,
clothing stores, laundromats, medical clinics, dental clinics, car dealerships, video shops, banks, law firms, accountants, travel agencies, real estate agencies, photo shops, electronic products, insurance companies, and a mortgage and loan company. In addition to these Asian businesses, there are also non-Asian businesses. Most of them are on Lawrence, Foster, Sheridan and Broadway.

At the beginning of the development of the Argyle area, Asian business owners used to go to banks, accountants, and attorneys in Chinatown on the south side of Chicago. Since the 1990's, however, more and more Asian operated service businesses were set up in the Argyle community. In 1991, the New Asian Bank of the south side opened its first branch office on Broadway. In 1992, the International Bank opened its business. Accountants, insurance companies, and law firms from the south side and other parts of the city also opened branch offices to meet the needs of the Argyle community.

The growth of the "commercial strip" on Argyle further attracted other businesses from outside the community to invest in the area. The community has increasingly become a self-sustainable entity and a regional shopping center. In the early 1980's, property values jumped about 60 percent when the Chinese first moved to the area. By the end of the 1980's the values of property rose by another 35 percent according to a community business leader (Feyder, Chicago Tribune, Sept. 4, 1977). Local officials indicated that Argyle commercial area yields $77 million in city sales tax revenue and helps retain and/or create over 300 jobs annually. This development is seen by many as "a cure" for this distressed area in Uptown.

In this Chapter, I examine the process of starting self-employed business among new Asian refugees and immigrants; how other non-Asian businesses responded to these trends, and survived when the community became increasingly Asian, how businesses operate, and the role of self-employed businesses in the community. This chapter shows that Asian
businesses are operated by many Asian groups and that the types of businesses are more varied than earlier literature suggests. For example, increasing numbers of Asian businesses in the Argyle community have expanded their businesses by starting their own wholesale businesses, or running several businesses at the same time. This Chapter also describes the significant role businesses play in bringing people together and contributing to regional development.

Starting a Small Self-employed Business

The general public holds a numbers of "myths" about Asians and Asian businesses. First, Asians as a group are seen as more successful than other minority groups. Second, Asians are also believed to be more likely to engage in small self-employed businesses. This section is not intended to dispel these myths. Nevertheless, the findings may help explain some misunderstandings or lack of understanding. This section focuses on the diverse Asian groups in the business community and the process by which they come to operate small self-employed businesses in this particular community.

Groups in the Business Community

Asian business owners in the Argyle community come from various backgrounds. For many Asians, starting a business means starting a family business or an ethnic business in their own community. Asian businesses in the Argyle community are dominated by four major groups: earlier Chinese who came here before the arrival of Southeast Asian refugees, refugees from Southeast Asia, Chinese from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and mainland China, and other Asian businesses. In addition, several older businesses predating the 1970's remain in operation and other "non-Asian" businesses have opened up.

Chinese immigrants from Taishan (Toishan) were the first Asians to
own businesses in the Argyle community. Many of them affiliate with Hip Sing Association. They often call themselves "old timers," or "old comers." As one "old timer" business owner said,

those were the pioneers here, they really had a hell of a time. We have to give them credit and we respect them for the hard time they went through. At the same time, those are basically like history. You have to catch up with the new trend.

In recent years, the influence of "old timers" in the community has gradually given away to other Asian groups, especially to the Southeast Asian refugee business people and business entrepreneurs from Taiwan and Hong Kong. Some of the "old timers" sold their businesses to the newcomers and retired and some focus their attention on financing and property development in the community. Several shopping centers and plazas and a row of townhouses on Ainslie and Winthorp were built by "old timers."

Mr. Kan is an "old timer" Chinese. He owned a restaurant on Argyle. In the 1930’s he followed his father and immigrated to the U.S. from rural Canton. Before he was employed in a Chinese restaurant in the downtown area, he worked as a "Chinese laundry man" for many years. He explained why most Chinese were involved in the laundry business during that time and how they started to run restaurants,

at that time only rich people among the Chinese ran restaurants. Most people ran laundries, because you could not find anything else. At that time I earned $2.50 a week in a laundry.¹ Then the Jewish people came. They began to take over the laundry business. The Jews began to use machines. Before that the Chinese did laundry by hands. Machine is more efficient than hand. Many Chinese lost their businesses. They thought what to do then. That’s how the Chinese began to run restaurants. Everybody worked for restaurants or owned a restaurant.

The Second World War provided opportunities for the Chinese, restaurant business and it began to grow. Before the war only 105 Chinese were allowed to enter the U.S. each year. After the war three or four hundred. At that time the family only sent boys to America, because girls can’t work and send money back home. So Chinese went home for a year or two to

¹ Siu’s study of Chinese laundrymen in 1987 indicates that since 1872 when the first Chinese laundry opened its business at the rear of 167 West Madison Street, there were 591 Chinese laundries in Chicago, besides those in the suburbs. The pattern of the movement seems to be a stretching out from the center of the city toward its periphery. By 1940, Chinese laundries has spread to over 50 of Chicago’s community areas.
have children and then brought them to the United States. 'Do you have?' people asked each other. 'Yes.' 'What do you have?' 'Son.' Thus, every one had a son. Some people made money out of it. People had boys and sold them to American fathers. After World War II, even the Germans brought their families into the United States. Only the Chinese still could not, even they served during the war...

In 1972, Mr. Kan quit his job at the downtown restaurant and bought his own restaurant on Argyle street. It was the first Chinese restaurant in the Argyle community. At that time, there was also a laundromat owned by a Chinese across the street. Mr. Kan said his business was quite good then. But, there is not much business for him now, because there are too many restaurants to compete with one another. Occasionally, his old customers still come to eat. When they come they ask about Kan’s children who used to hang around in the restaurant. Mr. and Mrs. Kan sold their business and retired in 1995 after they were robbed on their way home from work.

This first group of business owners often compare their experience with the newer groups. As Mr. Kan said,

when the Vietnamese came they had everything, not like us. They don’t speak English, but we did. They have credit and money. If they don’t have enough money, they buy second hand cars. When we came to the U.S., we did not have credit. Even if we had money, we could not buy a car. It took us many years to have credit.

This comment not only points to the different experiences groups of immigrants have had but also to a changed climate of race and ethnic relations. It has become easier for people of the same group who came to the U.S. more recently to do business than it was for older generations.

The second group of business owners are refugees from Southeast Asian countries like Vietnam, Cambodian, and Laos. Many of these people had previous experience of running a family business in their home countries, although those businesses might have been different in type and size. Among Southeast Asian refugee business owners, there is a significant number of ethnic Chinese (about 70 percent of businesses according to a local business leader) who migrated to Southeast Asia
mostly from Teo Chew and other regions in the south of mainland China.\(^2\) Many of these ethnic Chinese intermarried with people in the Southeast Asian countries. The majority of current businesses in the Argyle commercial area are run by this group of business owners.

The other major group consists of Chinese immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong and mainland China. Most of the Taiwanese businesses are professional and include a book store, an accounting firm, a bank, and several dental clinics. The rest of business community considers them as "successful." For example, a Taiwanese owns the only book store in the Argyle community, which is an international franchise. It has its American headquarters in New York and another branch store in Chinatown on the south side. Mary Lee, a CPA, has a small office in Chinatown South, but, recently, she opened an accounting firm on Argyle street because many of her clients have businesses in this community. Her family also opened the International Bank on Broadway in 1992. As major shareholders, the family owns 70-80 percent of the stocks. The president of the bank used to work at New Asian Bank in Chinatown on the South side. Most dentists are Taiwanese and Vietnamese. The Vietnamese, who came in the first wave (see explanation in Chapter V) own comparatively more professional businesses

\(^2\) According to Tsia (1986:45), Chinese immigrants in the U.S. were not only socially and economically divided, they also represented a variety of regions, cultures, and languages. The rich and more respectable merchants were generally the San-yi (from the districts of Nanhai, Panyu, and Shunde), the petty merchants, craftsmen, and agriculturalists were mainly among the Si-yi (from the districts of Enping, Kaiping, Taishan (Toishan) or Xinning, and Xinhui), while the laboring class came from a variety of regions. For example, the San-yi people at times controlled wholesale merchandising, the garment industry, and overall manufacturing. The Hakkas (Guest Settlers) dominated the barber business; Zhongshan immigrants were the tenant farmers engaging in fruit growing in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. The people from Guangzhou (Canton) and the San-yi spoke Cantonese which came to be considered standard. Most people from Zhongshan district, about 30 miles south of Guangzhou, spoke a dialect closely resembling the standard Cantonese, but the surrounding countryside spoke a dialect akin to Amoy. The Si-yi people spoke a dialect almost incomprehensible to the city dwellers. The Hakkas, originally migrating from North China, were quite scattered with strong concentrations in Jiaying and Chaozhou (Teo Chow), and other districts of Guangdong province and Fujian province. They spoke a dialect more akin to Mandarin. Among these dialect groups there was a long history of rivalry. The Hakkas and the Cantonese had long felt hostile to each other in China.
compared to the rest of the same group. They are medical doctors, dentists, CPAs, and pharmacists.

Within this group of Asian businesses owners are also immigrants from Hong Kong. Some escaped from mainland China and settled in Hong Kong. Others were born in Hong Kong but received educational degrees in the U.S. For example, one of them is a partner in a dental office. A few medical professionals are from mainland China. The majority of these Chinese medical professionals work out of Southeast Asian grocery stores which also carry herb medicines. Their earnings are split between the store owners and themselves. One of the doctors told me her average monthly income is about $600. Some of these doctors are well trained, but do not have an American medical license, adequate English language skills, or permanent residency status. Thus they have a hard time finding jobs outside the community. While their earnings are low by American standards, they are about three times more than their earnings in China. In addition, they enjoy increased political freedom. In the Argyle community, these doctors are the closest to "sojourners," although their temporary status is not of their own choice and some have managed to stay.

The fourth group consists of a number of Asian businesses from a variety of other Asian ethnic backgrounds, including Korean, Pakistani, Thai, East Indian, and Filipino. There are four Korean businesses: one dry cleaner, one clothing store, a beauty supply store, and a fast food restaurant. Most of the Korean business owners received a college degree in their home country. In contrast to most other recent Asian business owners, these Korean business owners had also worked in areas other than family businesses in their home country. Thai business owners operate three Thai grocery stores and two Thai restaurants. Two Filipino doctors have offices in the community; three East Indian are operating grocery, furniture and laundry businesses; and three to four Pakistani food businesses recently opened on Sheridan Road. According to a Pakistani business owner, more Pakistanis are moving into the community recently.
Most of them live in four apartment buildings on Sheridan and Foster.

The Road to a Self-Employed Business

Earlier researchers attribute the success of Asian self-employed businesses to Asian cultural traits or heritage. They suggest that Asians and some other minorities start their businesses by rotating credit among a group of people who trust each other (Boggy and Fave, 1984; Light, 1972). Ordinary people believe that refugees receive government money or bank loans to help them start their businesses, or that they came with wealth to invest. However, the majority of refugee business owners in the Argyle community had worked for several years in factories somewhere else or at other jobs before starting a business.

To many Asians, owning a business becomes a family effort. Brothers and sisters, parents and children, or other relatives provide capital and labor.¹ The time taken to start the new business varies depending on family size, the scale of business, and connections and credentials they have built up before coming to the U.S. Some families had businesses and experiences in their home countries, therefore, relatives and friends are more likely to lend them money to start their businesses. For example, Minh's family is from Vietnam. There are six children in his family, four of them are married. After working in factories for two years after they came to Chicago, the family was able to put enough money together to open a small grocery store. Since then, they have gradually expanded it. A young Cambodian man named Mike bought a fast food restaurant on Broadway in 1989 after he had worked in a factory here for eight years. However, even if with eight years of savings, he still had to ask his uncle to help him financially.

When businesses begin to run well, some family members may leave and

¹ Most Asian business are small self-employed businesses. Some are family businesses, some are individual practitioners. A few businesses although small, are franchises of large companies have their main office in Chicago or other large cities such as New York.
start their own business. Liang, a Vietnamese Chinese beauty shop owner, first started a beauty shop with his sister-in-law in 1978. In 1979 he started his own business with his wife on Argyle street. In 1989 when the landlord raised the rent, Liang and his family moved to a building owned by Lakefront SRO on Sheridan Road. According to Linda, a staff member at Lakefront SRO, the organization would like to rent space to the business owners who stay and provide services to the community. Now, Liang and his wife and children owned a second store on Argyle which they bought in 1980 when the property values were still low. They seem happy with both locations. The one on Sheridan attracts customers from the east side of Sheridan road, such as the Jewish residents of Self Help Home on West Argyle and Marine Drive, or simply people who pass by on Sheridan Road. The shop on the Argyle shopping strip attracts customers shopping for groceries on Argyle street. Thus, Liang’s family owns two beauty salons in Argyle and his sister-in-law owns one.

First-time business owners of the first generation of Asian immigrants and refugees are frugal and cautious. They started their businesses on a small scale with mostly their own capital. According to a officer of a community bank, many borrowed money from the bank only when they began to expand their businesses, and the majority of the bank customers are individual commercial customers rather than consumer customers at this point. He explained,

> a lot of Asian based businesses (in the community) are fairly new, there are a lot of small businesses within the community. Their credit needs are toward business growth and expansion. They are looking into different business opportunities. They are getting into the import business and wholesale business. These are younger businesses, maybe around five or eight to ten years.

> The other credit needs are on housing on the consumer side. It has been fairly active. They are all privately owned housing, the majority being single family residents. A lot within the community where you have two flats, three flats. Most of our customers at this point, have been Asian. Mostly Vietnamese, lots of first-time home buyers who may live within the family unit. They all work. They have obviously very good saving habits. They have been accumulated enough cash for down payments and loans.

Most Asians are cautious when they borrow money from the bank, because for
Asians, "to be in debt is not a proud thing indeed." As an officer from the International Bank said,

the majority of the Asian population has good saving habits. They approach a bank, they will experience what they want in terms of business itself. They are concerned, not big risk takers. They are willing to commit their own capital. Not looking for the bank to lavish the whole business. They are looking for loans, say 200 dollar loans, their own expenditure could be 400 dollars. So they are at risk of their own capital.

Rosy, a social worker at the Indochinese Pastoral Center of St. Thomas church, revealed she was planning to build an apartment for Vietnamese elderly people close to the church. They were trying to get help from a women business center in the city. She commented, "more or less, the American business people like to make things big. Asian people are cautious, concrete and much simpler." Asians have a very different definition of credit. For them, credit means they do not owe anybody anything. So most of time, they start their businesses on a small scale and then gradually expand. Charlie Soo, Director of the Asian Small Business Association, also made the same observation through helping Asian businesses invest in business improvement. He said,

years ago, I set up a reception at one of the restaurants, a free buffet, and nobody showed up. We tried to get into a city program, the facade rebate program, but none of the owners would apply. It's the old Chinese business philosophy. They don't spend money until it's absolutely necessary. They told me 'why should I redecorate my business facade? How does that make more business for me.'

Nationwide data contained in Table 2 shows that Asians are more likely to use their own resources in their businesses. Like other groups, the vast majority of Asians start small, with 53 percent requiring less than $10,000 in startup capital. When capital is needed, Asians, like others, use a combination of personal savings, personal loans, and commercial loans to raise the startup capital (Ong and Hee, 1994). However, Asians rely more on family, friend, personal savings and ethnic ties to help raise funds. The data also indicate that vertical linkages -- trade to other firms -- within the Asian community exist, but are not extensive compared to the other three groups. This demonstrates that the
vertical linkage is predominantly between wholesalers and retailers. There are less manufacturers and producers. Ong and Hee (1994) point out that the unique resources of Asian Americans explain their relative economic advantages, but warn that we should not neglect the barriers that keep many operations marginal, even though some limitations may be overcome with time.

Table 2. Characteristics of Business Owners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HAVE ENTREPRENEUR RELATIVE</th>
<th>ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN</th>
<th>LATINO</th>
<th>AFRICAN AMERICAN</th>
<th>WHITE MALES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have entrepreneur relative</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked for entrepreneur relative</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Required startup capital</td>
<td>81.6%</td>
<td>69.4%</td>
<td>69.5%</td>
<td>75.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal loans for startup *</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had commercial startup loan</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowed from relative(s)</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowed from friend(s)</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowed from prior owner</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchased business</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales to other firms</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Personal loans include loans from spouses, personal credit, and refinancing of homes.


Why Start a Self-Employed Business?

Since many immigrants and refugees are well-educated and worked in mainstream professions and occupations in their home countries and even after immigration, why should they decide to invest in small self-employed businesses in the Argyle community? Asian business owners have offered a variety of explanations. It is true that many have a family tradition of
being self-employed. Asians who quit mainstream jobs and invest in family businesses rely on pooling the resources of the whole family. Some business owners, especially those who have children feel self-employment allows them more autonomy and flexibility than salaried or waged employment. For many Asian business owners, the Asian residential community helped them succeed in maintaining and expanding their businesses. For some professionals, linguistic and cultural barriers restricted them from working outside the community or advancing within mainstream organizations.

**Family Tradition.** Many business owners in Argyle, especially traditional and intermediate business owners, operate a family business because their parents had such a business in the home country. They grew up in a family business environment and observed their parents operating the business. Or they themselves had such a business before coming to the U.S. It was their "dream" to have a business of their own in a new country. They were motivated to work hard and save enough to open their own businesses. Nevertheless, they also recognize the differences between running a business here and in the home country. They may find themselves not being as prosperous or as respected as they would have been in their home country even if they have their own businesses and work very hard. Liang, the beauty shop owner from Vietnam complained,

> it was much easier to have the same business in a big city in Vietnam. There were people coming and going. Business was good. Here we do not have that many customers.

Another business person echoes this view. Nya, a Vietnamese refugee noted that her family had several businesses in Vietnam -- a restaurant, an electric company, and a construction company. Talking about their American experience she has mixed feelings,

> we are doing fine here. People all say we are most successful. But, we work much harder than we did in Vietnam, and we did not get much. Here there are too many businesses -- American ones. No matter how hard you work, you can not get as much as you could in Vietnam. In Vietnam, our family business had good reputation, and we enjoyed prestige, but here although we work hard and we have money, we are just small business. United States is too big, Chicago is too big.
For most business owners starting a business in a different culture also means they have to adjust to a different business environment. In Chicago, they have more diversified customers, therefore, business owners have to identify and cater to diverse tastes and needs. They carry "a little bit of everything." They are not only ethnic businesses who sell to "their own kind," but businesses that need to serve a diverse market if they are to survive. For example, among their customers, are people from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Hong Kong, Thailand, mainland China, Taiwan, the Philippines, and the native born. In addition, their customers, while sharing a country, may be from different regions and therefore have differing tastes. At different seasons, they purchase different amounts of different goods. Because "many goods are transported from a long distance instead of nearby fields," shop owners have to pay more attention to cleanliness and the quality of food. The business owners also feel frustrated by the bureaucratic and technical procedures required in the U.S., for instance, business regulations and tax requirements. In the home country, many jobs that were done by family members, for instance book keeping, require the services of a professional CPA. "Business operations became much more complicated," according to many Asian business owners.

Financial Benefits from Working as a Family. Family members explained that working in the factory or at other jobs only allows one or two family members to work, usually for low wages. When running a family business, the whole family can help and contribute to family income. In Asian businesses, older family members, parents and grandparents often come to help during the day, cleaning the floor, or sorting and packing goods. Brothers and sisters and children help after work or school and on weekends. Mr. Lee, the Cambodian Chinese grocery store owner said,

I worked in a factory in Morton Grove, because my sponsor lives there. We decided to open a business here because we thought it could run around the family. My sponsor did not want us to come here. 'It's not safe,' he said. But if I work in the factory, I could not support family. I was the only one working and children were young, so we decided to come to Chicago and start my own business.
Similarly, the Korean clothing store owner has two children going to college. She works at a family business alone while her husband works at another store at another location in order to help put their children through college. Minh, a Vietnamese Chinese youth, whose family owns a grocery store on Argyle, said, "on week days, four family members are working in the store, including my mother and myself. The rest of family members are working at other jobs, but whenever they have time, they will come and work in the store, especially at weekends." Later, Minh left the family business to continue his college education.

Family members are favored at Asian businesses not only because they speak the same language, but also because they are willing to work long and flexible hours. At times, their businesses do hire non-Asians from the community, but mostly as temporary workers for such tasks as delivering, carrying, shelving goods, or cleaning, depending to the seasons. As Nya, the Vietnamese clothing store owner said,

> it is not that we can’t pay for a worker. It is just because family members will work harder. If you hire someone, he will leave on time after seven or eight hours working, but family members can work longer time if necessary. We usually close at 7:00 in the evening. If there are still people coming in, we close a little late.

She and her sister operate two businesses in the community. Nya and her sister noted, "Our family work as a team between these two businesses. As soon as this store (clothing) closed in the evening, we all work in our restaurant."

Family business also becomes a way to take care of one’s extended family. Phan, the Vietnamese pharmacist and also the owner of the building, leased a space on the first floor to doctor Marcos from the Philippines. Phan introduced a Vietnamese tenant in his building to help the doctor. Phan also hired his cousin, who was attending Truman College, to work on part time in his drug store. Phan explained, "I have to help him to go to school. I have to take care of my family. It is the priority."

Most of the businesses in the community close at 7:00 p.m., except
restaurants and bars which are open from 11:00 a.m. until 11:00 p.m. However, most of the businesses would keep open until the last customer is gone. Sometimes, they even open up if customers show up after the store is closed for cleaning. The official "weekend" for Argyle is Tuesday. Stores stay open on Sunday and close on Tuesday, but more and more businesses are staying open seven days a week, including one of the banks.

Among the few businesses that hire regular non-Asian employees are a Vietnamese dentist who has an American partner, and a Korean clothing store owner on Argyle who hires a Latino to help her sell clothes, because she has Latino customers from the west side of Broadway. She says that "hiring depends on customers. We have non-English-speaking Latino customers, so we hired her. She speaks the language." Whether to hire local non-Asian residents depends on the customer bases of each store and family needs. According to a survey conducted by Korean American Community Services in 1992, one hundred and seventy-six Korean business owners in African American neighborhoods hired 483 people, or 2.07 employees per store, of which 364 (or 80 percent) were African Americans. Although these business ventures are basically mom and pop operations, once they need outside help, they tend to rely on the labor force in local the community to improve customer relations. According to national data, Asian businesses hired more employees than other minority-owned businesses. Between 1972 to 1987, the number of businesses established and employees hired increased 973 percent and 411 percent respectively, faster than other minority-owned businesses, although the increase in sales was less than for both African American and Latino-owned businesses. During this period of time, Latino-owned business sale increase 366 percent, African American businesses sales increased 176 percent, and Asian business sale increased 121 percent (Ong and Hee, 1994).

Language and Structural Barriers. Lack of proficiency in English is one of major reasons why most Asian professionals who recently moved to the U.S. work in the Argyle community. Phan, the Vietnamese pharmacist,
came to the U.S. in 1975 and was re-settled in Argyle. Six months later, he went to a university in Iowa to study for a degree in pharmacy. He was conditionally accepted by the university, because he was not well prepared in English, but his background in pharmacy from Vietnam helped him pass all the requirements. He came back to the community after graduation, because he felt,

it is hard to apply (for) jobs in other communities because of the language difference. I feel more comfortable to serve people who can understand me a little bit more. Even though I have a college degree here, language is still a problem. I stayed here. It is OK.

Although language can be a barrier in finding work outside the community, it is an advantage in finding jobs in the community. A basic requirement of hiring for most of the businesses is fluency in at least one of the major local dialects or a foreign language such as Cantonese or Vietnamese.

Some business owners speak little English, but they can still manage to survive in such a multi-cultural community if they speak a major dialect or foreign language. Most of these business owners have their children or another family member to help them with English during busy hours, such as late afternoon, especially Fridays, and weekends. Customers who do not speak the same language or dialect, find themselves feeling less comfortable, because they do not understand the community and cultural contexts of business transactions. They may know that they can bargain about the price at some Asian stores, but without speaking a major dialect or language, they will not know how.

Asians who have obtained a professional degree in the community often feel it is hard to get a job outside their own cultural community or move up the ladder in the American organizational structure. Lau in her doctoral dissertation (1988), suggests that Asian American professionals are blocked in their attempts to gain recognition and rewards in the organizational world. As their career trajectories level off, members of this group become dual careerists, getting sideline ventures to supplement
their restricted careers enforced by corporate immobility. Many people -- including those facing mid-life challenges -- reached limitations well below their expectations. They began to think of ways to leave the structures of limited opportunities, developing "sidebets" to carry them over into new lives. Richard Wong, an officer at one of the Asian Banks, obtained Masters degrees in both computer science and business management and initially worked in a bank outside the community. He remarked,

we are minority in this society and disadvantaged. Although discrimination is illegal, it does exit. How many Asians are bank presidents? Can you say they are less capable or less intelligent? They are squeezed out and have no chance to move up the ladder.

Professionals like Richard and Phan felt more at home working in an ethnic community. Doctor Marcos, the Filipino doctor, indicated it was hard for him to work outside the community, because people will not trust him or come to see him. Phan and Richard contribute their business success within the community to their understanding the language and life style of their own customers.

While some professionals, even middle-aged professionals who had experience working in mainstream occupations, came back to their own ethnic community because of language and structural barriers, some professionals look for alternative career paths for themselves. Doctor Cheng is from mainland China. He has two medical degrees from China but here he could not find a job that he liked. Again, one of the main reasons is lack of English proficiency. He is studying very hard to learn English and hopes some day to get an American medical license. He said, "without passing the language barrier, nothing else can be put on the agenda." However, he is still not optimistic about his future. He continued, "even if you get the MD, you will not necessarily have patients." Therefore, he is considering an alternative career. "I think since I am a Chinese and know Chinese medicine, I will develop my own advantage. So I use traditional medication and acupuncture." This is how he started to practice traditional Chinese medicine.
Location: A Commercial Area with Residential Consumers. Most refugees settled in the community with the help of their sponsors, resettlement agencies, or churches when they first came to Chicago, and many still live in the same neighborhood. They feel at home and find it convenient to have businesses of their own culture in the community. Others believe the community has an ideal cultural and business environment. This was the case for Doctor Marcos from the Philippines when he began to look for an opportunity to practice medicine by himself in 1989.

I got this job from an advertisement. A doctor, a friend of mine is also practicing, but I chose this place because it is also a business and commercial area. My friend does not work in a business area, so he did not grow very well. I got another place also, every other week I also work in Uptown National Bank Building. I see patients with another Filipino doctor there.

With the growth of the commercial area, Asian businesses from other places of the city also began to invest in the area, such as the New Asian Bank, The International Bank, CPA such as Mary Lee, New Hong Kong Bakery, and Chiao Qion Bakery, all of which are extensions of businesses from Chinatown on the south side of Chicago. A couple of restaurants moved to Argyle from New York and California. Similarly, some businesses on Argyle also opened branches at Chinatown on the south side of Chicago.

With more retail businesses in operation, modern service and entertainment businesses also followed to provide services to the retail sector and the residential community. At the beginning, many Asian business owners went to South Chinatown for services in their own language and culture. Phan, the Vietnamese pharmacist, owns a drug store in Argyle. In addition, he also manages a real estate business and recently opened a travel business, all in the same building as the pharmacy. Shortly after Phan had opened his drug store, doctor Chen, a dentist from Taiwan, came in to look for office space. Because Phan was looking for a CPA, Doctor Chen introduced him to Mary Lee who had an office in Chinatown on the south side of Chicago. Later, the business people in Argyle encouraged
Mary to open an office there. Several years later, she has not only opened an office of her accounting firm, but also a bank together with her family members.

**Autonomy and Flexibility.** Some business owners enjoy the autonomy of a self-employed business and the flexible schedule. This pattern is exemplified by Hunan, one of the busiest grocery stores in Argyle because it sells the groceries at a lower price. The owner took issue with the notion that Asian business families are more successful or makes more money than other immigrant families. He explained that he liked working in self-employed business, not because it made him much more money but because of the autonomy it offered.

people think we are making money. We make almost as much as working for someone else. Maybe only a little bit more, a little bit better than living from hand to mouth. The key is working hard and save. What is good about family business is that you do not have to take what other people give you. You are your own boss.

The professionals emphasized the same point. Doctor Marcos likes the single practice which enables him to spend more time with his children. He said, "my wife also works. I want to have more time with my kids. I want my time to be more flexible. Sometimes, I want to have a vacation. It's up to me to decide when."

However, for many self-employed business owners, self-employed business is simply a way of making living. Mike, the Cambodian fast food restaurant owner on Broadway, said he does not like anything about small business, "first I don’t like selling food, second I don’t like selling things. But it is a way of making money, that is the bottom line."

Almost all Asians, except for the banks and book stores, started their businesses after saving enough capital from working somewhere else. They began their businesses on a small scale relying on family resources, including savings and labor. Family included uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters, parents and children. The family received greater financial benefit by working together than just having one or two wage earners working at low skilled and low paid jobs. Many Asian business owners had
experience working at a similar business in their home country. For these businesses owners, being self-employed is a way of life that they already knew. The only difference is that they have to adjust to a more diverse market and a new environment. Business people with higher education feel language and cultural differences are a greater barrier to them than they are to store owners. Some business owners feel self-employment gives them more autonomy and flexible time. The "commercial strip" in Argyle could develop and attract people who live outside the community to invest, because there is a residential customer base.

As this section has shown there are several major groups within the Argyle area business community. These include "old timer" Chinese, refugees from Southeast Asia, Chinese from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the mainland, as well as other Asian groups. Among Southeast Asian refugees many are ethnic Chinese. In addition, there are old non-Asian businesses which stayed in the community and new non-Asian business which are run most by newer immigrants. The groups represents different waves of immigrants who entered the U.S at different times from different places. The "older timer" Chinese from mainland China in the 1930's or earlier encountered very different social, economic and political conditions from those who came to the United States in the 1970's. In addition, each wave of these immigrants shows intra-group variations with some having greater educational, economic and culturally resources than others.

Business Types, Operations, and Connections

In contrast to conclusions from earlier sociological studies which showed self-employed Asians operating the retail stores to meet the demand of their customers with exotic tastes, the businesses in the Argyle community vary greatly, ranging from traditional small retail stores as noted in Light's study (1972) to modern enterprises, such as law firms, travel agencies, and CPA firms. Different types of businesses have
different ways of operations, and have different customers, and relate to
the local community, cultural groups, and the outside in different ways.
The variety of businesses not only serve the different needs of the
community, but also enable the community to become sustainable, and to
further attract new businesses to the community.

Major Types of Businesses

There are three major categories of Asian self-employed businesses
in the Argyle community: traditional businesses, modern enterprises and
firms, and intermediate businesses which are the businesses between the
traditional and modern categories. These are mainly entertainment,
communication, and education related businesses. These three major
categories include over 30 types of businesses (Table 3). 4

Traditional businesses include laundries, groceries, gifts,
garments, dry cleaners, beauty shops, and jewelry. Most of these
businesses are operated by Southeast Asian refugees, and do not require
professional training. These stores attract Asian and non-Asian residents
from the community, as well as customers from the outside of the
community. Although there are an increasing number of non-Asian customers
from outside the community coming to shop in these stores, most customers
are still Asians.

Modern service enterprises and firms require more professional
training. They include banks, law firms, accounting firms, travel
agencies, realtors, architecture and interior design, and health related
businesses such as pharmacies, dental clinics, and medical clinics.
Health-related businesses in Argyle include both traditional and modern
medical treatments. The health-related businesses mainly serve the local
residents of all racial and cultural backgrounds, but traditional medical

4 I categorized the businesses on the basis of previous sociological
research. The store that carries different products under the same name is
counted as one business. The stores that are owned by the same person
under different names are counted as separate businesses.
Table 3. Type of Business

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Business</th>
<th>Number of Business</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant &amp; Fast Food</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty Saloon &amp; Beauty Supply</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food &amp; Drink</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaner</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair (auto, electronics, watch)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gift</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Merchandise</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herb</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel/Tour</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Clinic</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auto Sale</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realtor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect &amp; Interior Design</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPA</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Communication, Education &amp; entertainment)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronic Products (incl. pagers)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


services such as herbiology, acupuncture, and massage may have patients both from the community and the outside. These traditional doctors treat patients with chronic health problems, such as arthritis, and also provide treatment for weight problems, smoking, and alcohol addiction. However, because traditional treatments are not covered by health insurance, the doctors often worry about how to reach and keep their patients.

Doctor Marcos, the medical doctor from the Philippines, exemplifies
the patient profile. Most of his patients are Vietnamese, but he also serves Cambodians, Americans, and some Latinos. About 40 percent of all his patients do not understand English or Vietnamese. Most of the time they bring their interpreters when they come to see him.

Earlier research indicated a dearth of Asian businesses in areas like lumber, auto, and furniture was interpreted as reflecting a pull towards meeting the exotic taste of Asian population and a push away from areas to avoid to compete with already established American stores (Light, 1972). In the Argyle community, there used to be two car dealerships, one operated by Koreans and the other by Vietnamese. The Korean one has closed, but the Vietnamese one is still operating. The Vietnamese car dealer owned a car dealership in Vietnam before coming to Chicago. Therefore, this is not a new business experience. According to him, he is able to sell 400 to 500 cars a year. In Vietnam, people had to pay cash but here people can pay by credit, so his "business is quite good."

Businesses in the intermediate categories include entertainment, communication, and education-related services, such as book stores, electronic products, video shops, and photo shops. These businesses attract mainly local residents. Occasionally stores selling electronic products on Sheridan Road and Broadway also have customers who just drive by the community. Each Asian group has several video shops of their own. These video shops are important entertainment sources for the non-English populations. They also have ethnic customers from outside the community. In addition to these three major categories, a manufacturing company, Phoenix Soy Bean Products Inc. on Broadway, produces soy bean products for different restaurants and stores in Chicago. It is just beyond the boundary of the Argyle community.

In addition to the Oriental stores, community residents have access to many non-Asian stores, such as a Dominick's grocery store on Sheridan and Foster and the Goldblatt's Department Store on Broadway and Racine. Several thrift stores serve the low income residents in the community.
some "old" non-Asian businesses, which moved to the community a long time ago, serve the non-Asian residents or provide goods that most Asian stores do not carry. These non-Asian businesses include food marts, liquor stores, bars, and fast food restaurants. As more Asians moved to the community, the effective survival strategies for the remaining non-Asian business are to provide goods that most Asian stores do not carry. John, a liquor store owner on Argyle street whose father started this business in early 1970's, explained,

for certain items they asked me, because they (Asians) do not carry up and down the street. Some of the items I didn't carry before -- non-liquor items. Some customers ask me about paper towel which I didn't have before, and bathroom tissue. The only thing they asked for many times that I don't want to carry is milk.

Since Asians moved to the community, most bars closed. According to a local business leader and police officers, there used to be 30 or so bars and taverns in the area. Now only seven are left. There are also several liquor stores. The decline of taverns and bars reflects in part the change in population, since many Asians, especially Buddhists and Muslims do not consume alcohol. However, increased property values in the area have driven out many bars that could not afford increased rents. An overall change in attitude towards alcohol and tobacco has also contributed to the decline. As John, the liquor store owner, indicates,

the business (his liquor business) is a kind of going to hell because of different reasons. The customers and demographic change is one reason. But the biggest problem, I think, is the industry. People are drinking less. As far as the changes in the demography, there are more different customers. The differences as I see it is less demand for variety than before. Customers buy only certain brands. It has to do with the price. The customers are trying to adjust themselves to the policy change. It (opening a liquor store) was a better idea back in the eighties. It is not a viable idea to open a liquor store now. Nobody would have expected to see what has actually happened in this business. This business used to be called recession proof, but not any more.

The Argyle business area has its daily cycles. It attracts different

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Avoiding alcohol and other intoxicating drugs is one of five major moral principles in Buddhism. According to Buddhist teaching, even a small amount alcohol distorts consciousness and disrupts self-awareness (Ven. S. Dhammika, 1991).
people at different times of the day. In the morning during the week days, Argyle street is relatively quiet with few customers, but there are still pedestrians and visitors, mostly residents of the community, including mental patients and welfare recipients and people who come to visit friends. Between 4:00-6:30 p.m. the streets become busy again with residents coming back from work, and shoppers stopping at Argyle on their way home from work. Residents from the east side of Sheridan walk through Argyle street quickly from the El train station. In the evening and on weekends restaurants are visited by Asian families and Americans. Most of these restaurants close at 10:30-11:00 at night. During the week days, most of the customers are residents. On weekends customers come from all over the city and even other states such as Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan.

The Asian Small Business Association has been working closely with the CTA and the 20th police district foot patrol officers to crack down on criminal incidents, such as graffiti, drug use, and alcohol-related crimes in order to sustain economic growth in the community. Nevertheless, after 9:00 in the evening, Argyle street -- the main business street -- is almost deserted, with only drunks swearing and fighting with each other outside the bars, or wandering on the street. Business owners on the main streets like Sheridan Road and Broadway Avenue feel safer than those on other streets.

Business Expansion

Some Asian business owners began to expand their businesses in recent years. There are three primary ways to expand businesses for most Asians. They either remodel the current store or purchase and move out to a larger space in the community; they open another type of business in the community, or they open a similar business in the community or outside.

For example, some retail business owners started wholesale businesses, because it reduces the costs of their own retail business.
some business owners became travel agents. Phan, the Vietnamese pharmacist became a travel agent, "because it won't cost anything. The only thing needed is to install a computer and build connections with the airlines." He installed the computer in his drug store. With the relaxation of diplomatic relationships between the United States and Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries, refugees can more easily visit their families and start trading with their home countries. The demand for air line tickets has been increasing. For another example, the Thai grocery store on Lawrence also sells round trip air line tickets from the U.S. to Bangkok.

Doctor Chen, the dentist from Taiwan provides an example of expanding in business. He has an office at three different locations, one on Argyle, another on Sheridan, and a third one near Schaumburg. In addition, he also has five to six associates treating different dental problems at these different offices. A CPA opened his accounting office in 1986 and in 1994 he began to represent All State Insurance company. Doctor Marcos, the Filipino doctor started to work in another Filipino doctor's office on Lawrence. In 1993, he opened his own clinic, while continuing to work part time at the old business.

Traditional Ways of Payment and Credit Deferment Criteria

In traditional Asian countries, doing business and handling credit were much more informal than the U.S. In some stores, the number of business transactions are small, and therefore many stores do not accept credit cards or private checks. However, if the frequent customers or friends do not bring enough cash, business owners allow them to buy on credit and just write down the name of the customer and the amount of money owed. At the next transaction, the customer pays the store all that

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6 Most of the stores with fewer customers only accept cash, although increasing numbers of stores accept credit cards, if the customer purchases a certain amount or more, especially the stores that have more customers, such as grocery stores.
is owed. Like stall sellers and peddlers, some Asian business owners are also willing to let the customers negotiate the price. These types of payment practices are based on a relationship of trust between the business owner and the customer, and take place mainly if the customers speak the same dialect as the owner and the owner has known them for a long time, perhaps even before they came to the U.S. If the customer forgets or neglects to pay, the owner bears the loss and refuses to extend credit again. Friendship and loyalty are very important to each cultural group. Some business owners would rather keep close tie with their old friends than stick to their business rules. Even officers at the International Bank and the New Asian Bank acknowledge that they have relative flexible lending standards for Asians.

Informal Ties and Public Involvements

Business owners in the community want to expand and several even asked me to help them bring in new customers from the outside. However, very few, including two newly developed banks, think that public relations or advertising are important. Although several of the modern service businesses have more connections with groups outside the community, especially formal professional organizations, many of the traditional businesses do not have any connections with other business organizations. They often do not even know about groups outside community, nor do they think it is necessary to know about business organizations. The major reason that most are not interested in public relationship is that these businesses are either of small scale, or new. They have to consider the economic benefits of developing public relations.

There are local business organizations, organized along ethnic lines. They function more like traditional social groups than chambers of commerce. Sometimes, business owners gather together to discuss community issues and problems, such as community safety, lack of parking space, but recognize that they can not solve these problems single handedly. The best
they can offer to the business community is education -- providing information on business regulations.

Most business organizations lack the financial resources to do things that they planed to do. Liang is a member of Chicago Chinese Council. "The council is to help different countrymen to find house, to start business. No matter where they are from, if they have financial problems, we would help them." However, this is only what they intend to do. "We don't have money to start now. Money is the most important and the second is the personnel." The members of the Council "get together during holidays. You can buy a ticket or more. There will be a lot of food. That's it. You can't do anything without money." He continued,

Chinese Mutual Aid Association has money. They get money from the government, $400,000 a year. They also have personnel. More than ten. They hire people to teach computer skills and they also hire the Americans to teach English. That makes a lot of difference. They are the biggest and most influential agency in the community. Most work I talked about are done by them.

Many problems of individual businesses are solved with the help of Charlie Soo, director of the Asian Small Business Association named informally as "Mayor of the New Chinatown" by different groups in the community. He has an office on Argyle and Broadway. The Association is a one-man office. Soo used to serve as commissioner of the Illinois Economic Development Commission, as project director with Chicago Economic Development Corporation, and as president of an international management and consulting firms with overseas offices. He is also active in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, and Chicago Press Club. Being experienced in economic development, Soo has tried to bring resources to the community, for example, mobilizing resources from the city and private businesses to pave the sidewalk, and bring in money to compensate owners for remodeling business facades. Sometimes he also takes community business owners to business exhibitions and events in the city.

Some business owners are not familiar with, and therefore do not
trust formal procedures. They rely on the informal way and personal trust. Induni was an Indian business owner. Her family had a laundromat on Argyle for seven years and another one on Brywn Mar for two years. When I met her for the first time, she was discussing the Bible and selling jewelry to other customers with her friend Shanonn in the laundromat. Shanonn is an Iranian woman living on Hollywood. Both of them are Muslim. When I met Induni, her husband had just found a job in Florida and moved out of Chicago. She and the children were left behind and she was anxious to sell her business and join her husband. She did not tell me about this initially, but did volunteer the information when I met her for third time. I was sitting in laundromat, chatting with her, like everybody else from the community, then she asked me to help her find buyers. She said, "I have friends, I like friends. I like you, you help me." I asked her why she did not put up a "for sale" sign outside the window. She said, "my husband does not like it. Before, I sell it at good price, but now I want to sell it at the lowest price. Tell people. The sooner the better." She let me help her because she trusted me, and also because I was a woman.

Afterwards I went to Charlie Soo, Mayor of New Chinatown. He would not believe Induni was going to sell her business. However, after about two weeks, Induni told me people began to call her on the phone and visit her business establishment. Several weeks later, I noticed that the laundromat was gone. A few weeks later, a grocery store opened its business in the laundromat's old location. Induni also told me that several years ago a journalist had tried to interview her, but she did not know why this journalist wanted to ask her those questions and she did not understand the questions, so she turned down the interview.

Most businesses are concerned about community safety because some business owners and employees have been victims of robbery, burglary and theft. Ms. Chou, the World Journal Book Store manager, was threatened by a gunman during the day and forced to open her cash drawer. A number of store owners I talked with mentioned their stores were robbed at night,
but not all of them were willing to report to the police or talk about it in public. Some appear to be indifferent toward problems in the community. Yuan, a Cambodian Chinese gift store owner, shook her head after a community safety meeting with Alderman Mary Ann Smith and said, "they did not address anything," but she did not raise any of her concerns at the meeting.

The reason why so few business owners are willing to report problems to the police may be several. First, some business owners think things will not change even if they do report crimes to the police. Some do not want to be involved in the procedures of filing incident reports. Also, Asian culture and the philosophies of Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Islam teach Asians to avoid confrontation and unhappiness. As Phan explains, normally I forget things that I don’t like. I don’t like to remember what I don’t like. I like to accept things that I can’t change and I like to change things that I can change, because it makes you happy if you don’t think other points. The happiness in my life is that I feel happy, therefore I am happy, but (if) I don’t feel happy, I am not happy. Happiness of your life is what you think from what you get. The happiness of life is what inside you, not outside. Happiness is not just satisfying the instinct -- what you want. You want to do this and to do that, because everybody likes that. You are happy because you think you are satisfied, not when you want to have something and get it. Sometimes if you don’t think of it, and you are satisfied, That’s why I don’t want to remember and confront things I don’t like.

You only have 24 hours a day to live: 8 hours to sleep, a couple of hours to eat, several hours to pick up your laundry, to wash, then you have about 7 to 8 hours to live your life. If you hate, if you get angry, if you are not happy because you are angry and you don’t like certain things. It means you spent your time making you(s)elf unhappy. Then what do you live for? I don’t look at the problems. I just keep working.

Lee, the Cambodian grocery store owner, a Buddhist, also reports several incidents of burglary or theft in his store, but he says, "we have time to make money and time to lose money."

Some service organization leaders complained about the lack of participation of the business community in community problem solving and financial contributions. "We helped them (businesses) get settled down and started their businesses. Now they are doing well, but they don’t want to
involve (themselves) in community development," a staff member from the Chinese Mutual Aid Association complained. However, some business owners have been generous donors to and supporters of ethnic cultural organizations in the community. For example, they provide financial support to different programs at the Chinese Elderly Association, Buddhist temples, and Teo Chow Mutual Assistance Association. Therefore, their investments contribute to ethnic cultural development in the community.

In contrast to earlier observations of ethnic business, I find that businesses in the Argyle community range from traditional "exotic Oriental" retail stores, to modern service firms, banks, and health care providers. This variety of businesses on one hand has attracted customers from different residential areas and different racial and ethnic backgrounds, and, on the other hand, had laid a foundation for further business development in the area. These businesses are mostly family operations and rely on informal and traditional connections with the community. Business owners work flexible hours and sometimes use their traditional credit criteria based on the relationship of trust. Business expansion for many business owners means providing more revenue for their family. They expand in ways that allow them to best use their resources and reduce costs. For example, working at different locations, developing sideline businesses in the same store, or operating a wholesale business through their retail store are all low-cost ways of increasing revenues. Business owners are unwilling to get involved in public life for a variety of reasons. For example, many operate on a small scale that is often barely enough to take care of their extended family, and they have neither the time nor the resources to become more publicly active. In addition, many business owners are not familiar or do not feel comfortable with formal procedures required of public involvement. They feel more comfortable with relationships of friendship and trust. Others avoid public action because they do not like the confrontation and unhappiness it reminds them. They take philosophical stance of eastern religions which
counsel them to ignore the unpleasant and focus on the good.

Because of changes in the larger society since earlier waves of Asian immigrants, the range of Asian businesses is wider than previously. The modern service sector developed later than the traditional sectors and provides services to other businesses in the Asian business community, and the rest of the community. Different businesses serve different needs of customers from varied racial and ethnic backgrounds and places of residence. The variety of businesses form the foundation for a sustainable community. Most the businesses operate in a traditional way and rely on internal resources. Although ASBA (the Asian Small Business Association) is an important agency bringing in outside resources, the majority of Asian business owners are reluctant to get involved in formal structures because lack of understanding, trust, and cultural traditions.

**Emotional Bonds and Economic Significance:**

**the Role of the Business**

Ethnic businesses have played a crucial role in the development of the community. They provide Asians both inside and outside community with exotic products and a cultural base. They provide the Argyle community with an economic means, as well as cultural and emotional support. Businesses open windows for outsiders to experience and learn about different cultures. Businesses also play an important role in stabilizing the neighborhood and in generating local economic growth.

**Emotional Bonds**

I have argued that businesses in the community not only create jobs for families, relatives and people in the community at large, but also generate local economic growth. In addition, the business establishments in the community are also places for families to get together, and to take care of each other. Many family activities take place in the stores. The businesses provide emotional bonds for the rest of the community --
residents meet each other in the restaurants and bakeries, or chat with store owners. Each store also functions as a small information center for the community.

The importance of business for family life is shown by the example of Mr. Lee, the Cambodian Chinese store owner, who works in his store along with his wife and three children. When the children finish school, they come to the store to play, to do their homework, and to help their parents until the store closes at 7:00 in the evening. The family then drive home together to Roger's Park. I interviewed Lee and his family on a Friday afternoon before 5:00 p.m. Lee had told me to come then because after that time they would be very busy, especially on Friday. The eldest son was not in the store, but the second son, a high school student, was watching TV behind the counter in the front. He explained, "I don't have anything to do after school anyway. So I just come to the store to work."

The store is arranged to accommodate the children. The cashier's counter is on one side of the store entrance, and children's counter on the other side. The children play inside. They have a 12" TV and game boards and puzzles. At about 4:00 p.m., Lee's son left the store on a bike. About 10 to 15 minutes later he came back with his younger sister. His sister goes to a kindergarten in the neighborhood. Then brother and sister worked on putting a puzzle together. When the carrier arrived, Lee's son left the counter to show him where to shelve the goods.

I found a similar pattern when I was waiting outside Doctor Marcos' office to interview him. Phan's eight year old daughter was writing in her father's real estate business office next to the doctor's office and her four year old brother was leaning on her fast asleep. After a while she ran out the office and practiced on a piano behind a screen at a corner of the lobby. The doctor's office is inside the lobby. Then she came over to me and the receptionist to talk and asked us questions about her spelling homework.

This pattern of involving children in the business early helps
explain why many children stay in the business when they grow up. In fact when I asked children of store owners' what they would like to do when they grow up, they would say "the family business." Lee's second son said,

I like to work here when I grow up, because I have experience in this kind of business. I have some experience in grocery store. If I start something else it might be difficult. If I go to college, I will study business.

However, conflicts do arise. When I first met Liang's family in 1989, his wife was working in the store, while her mother was sitting in the store taking care of their youngest son. When the elder sons came "home" from school, they would play with their younger brother, and the grandmother would sweep the floor. The two elder sons also helped with hair cuts. When Liang allowed me to talk to his oldest son who was attending University of Illinois at Chicago, the son said,

sometimes I want to read, but the customers come in, we will attend to the customers. Although I want to keep reading, I can read afterwards. Sometimes when customers come in, I can't help because I have exams the next day. When I tell my parents, they will let me go upstairs to study.

When I asked him what he would like to do when he finishes school. He said,

as I observe, I would like to do family business. But I have not thought well yet. You see in America, all the big businesses are family businesses. I may work for a while and then move up (go back to school, he majored in public health and would like to become a lawyer). But no matter what I do I would be helping my parents and work for them, help them with their business and work for them after my work.

By 1993, after Liang opened his second beauty shop on Argyle, I visited the family again. The oldest son had graduated from the university and was working in the store. He expressed the dilemma of working with his parents. His parents wanted him to contribute and help their business but he tried to avoid conflicts with his parents, as the two generations often disagree on how to run business. "After all this is their business," he said.

Although some children mentioned that they wanted to help their parents, not all parents want their children to work in a small self-employed store like themselves. Ms. Chou, the World Journal book store
manager, who live in Chinatown on the south side, said,

young people don’t have a chance to develop themselves in this kind of job. They should do a job that they like. This job fits middle aged people because they understand the mind of customers and the money is not good. It is relatively stable. We don’t want to suffocate their potential. Some part-time students go to school, in the afternoon they want to take advantage of the time and make some money to spend. That’s OK. Young people have their own interest. They don’t have the patience to sort and classify books even if they may like to read.

In addition to serving family needs, businesses also play a role in connecting residents to one another. For example, Doctor Cheng, from mainland China, used to work in a Vietnamese Chinese drug store, but recently opened his own clinic on west Winnemac. He visited the book store to buy a Chinese newspaper and also to get messages. He had left his business cards with Ms. Chou, the book store manager, so that his old customers could get in touch with him again at his new location. Some community organizations or families sent announcements of programs and events to stores as a way to reach customers and the rest of the community. Families also sent their announcements of family events such as weddings to the stores.

For non-Asian residents, the stores provide an opportunity to experience another culture, although most cannot afford to visit the stores regularly. Katie, a white welfare mother with two children said she felt she was visiting some Asian country, "Hong Kong or somewhere," when she walked on Argyle or visited a store. In the course of my observations in the stores, sometimes, I would hear non-Asian residents talk to store owners about personal problems. The owners would give them advice about what to do. An African American woman I met during a New Year Parade said,

they (Asians) are smart people because they tell proverbs. For instance, I once was not happy because I thought I could not get the things I expected. You know, when you want to have something but you can never have it. I was disappointed. They told me 'grass may be looked greener on the other side, but beware.' You see if I always complain, and complain, because I could not have what I wish to have I am not happy. Just take it as it is. If you see somebody has a fabulous car, you could not have but you want to. People who have the car may their problems because they have the car. I am 47 years old, I used to use a lot of make-up hoping to look better, but it is not
I used to take pills when I was under some tension, but I don't do it anymore. If I have emotions inside of me I just let them out. I feel much better. They have good doctors, they took care of people who are on public aid.

Many residents seem to be well acquainted with the business community. Dianne is a Native American who has lived in the neighborhood for several years. I met her at a New Year's celebration on Argyle and she became one of my earliest informants, taking me along to introduce me to different stores, telling me who had owned the store, at what period of time, and what they sold. She would point to the arts and crafts displayed in the store windows and said some of them were similar to Native American arts and crafts. "It seemed I found my long lost cousins," she said. She was also self-employed at that time, making and selling jewelry, typing and printing under contracts, and providing counseling to people who have been abused.

John, the liquor store owner, describes his feeling of being part of the community, even though his family lives somewhere else.

Over a period of time, you get to know your customers, not just what they buy, but you get to know them. Maybe a man would come over five, six times, and one day you will see him with his wife, so you will get to know his family and know the kids. It's really a personal business. You have happy moments in their lives and also have sad moments. You become part of the community... Some of the customers we have not seen for years because they either quit drinking or moved away. As they passed through the window they waved and some of them came in and just shook hands and said 'hello.' That's a great feeling. As a small business, it is much more of the personal touch. It is a neighborly type of thing, more interwoven, you do become part of the community.

Cultural Base and Cultural Experience

Because the businesses in the community are predominantly Asian, the Argyle community attracts Asians from both the city and the surrounding suburban area. They come to Argyle to purchase oriental goods and experience the cultural atmosphere. The Asian Small Business Association (ASBA) conducted a survey of shoppers on two weekdays and one Saturday when no special event was occurring. They found shoppers who came from all over the Chicago metropolitan area and from other three states in the
Midwest, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Michigan. Map 2, Argyle Street Market Areas, shows the location of the customer base in the Chicago Metropolitan area on the Saturday when a survey was conducted, there were more cars without a Chicago sticker (Nelis and Castillo, Inc., 1992). 7

Although the most frequent customers are local residents, customers from outside the community spend more. The book store owner explained that customers from outside are better educated and well-to-do, some come from further away and purchase greater quantities of books. The residents in the community spend less in buying books. In some cases, retail business owners and restaurant owners from surrounding states visit Argyle every a couple of weeks to get supplies. I met a saleswoman from Indiana at Kim's Jewelry. She bought over twenty silk blouses from the owner. These blouses sell well among "her own people" in Indiana. She and her husband usually came to Argyle every week, or every other week to get supplies for their own business. The competitive prices also attract customers from outside the community. According to a local business leader, grocery prices are 20-30 percent lower on Argyle than Chinatown on the south side of Chicago. Therefore, people from South Chinatown also come to Argyle. Two young women worshiping in Chua Turc Lam, the Vietnamese temple, on a Saturday morning, said they came to Argyle once every two weeks when they needed to return video tapes. When they came, they also went shopping and worshiping at the temple. "It is only one hour drive. It's a lot of fun to be here," they said.

Businesses represent an authentic aspect of another culture for outsiders to experience. So they attract customers from outside the community. Indeed, the Art Institute of Chicago organizes cultural tours to Argyle thereby contributing to its reputation as a cultural enclave. Tour participants are from different parts of the city and suburbs.

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7 This survey was conducted by identifying and recording the origin of out-of-state license plates and windshield stickers of cars parked on city streets and public and private parking lots within on half block of Argyle street (Nelis and Castillo, Inc., 1992).
Map 2. Argyle Market Area

ARGYLE STREET MARKET AREA

Nelis and Castillo, Inc.
Urban Planners
2736 N. Albany
Chicago, IL 60647
(312) 489-7162
Several universities and schools have organized student field trips to visit the community to enrich their educational and cultural experience.

**Economic Opportunities**

Argyle is a regional Asian shopping center which provides revenue not only to business owners but also to the City of Chicago through the sales taxes it generates. It has also produced a substantial increase in property tax revenues, as a result of which the area’s development has caught the attention of city politicians. In fact both city and state politicians have frequently visited in the community on different occasions. Formal recognition came when Charlie Soo, the Asian Small Business Association director, won the Governor’s Hometown award for excellence in economic development and community improvement. Local politicians have sought to capitalize on the economic vitality. For example, 48th ward alderman Mary Ann Smith remarked at a community safety meeting,

> as we know over $70 million are earned from this community every year, therefore, it deserves more safety. We are negotiating with the city, tremendous monies are coming to your area to secure the worst buildings in the area. The community deserves police service. This is a tremendously diversified area. We have police patrols in the area. We want the merchants to feel safe. The community has undergone the first transition. We will do nothing else but improve it.

Several community institutions and older business and property owners, such as the manager of the Summerset, a nursing home for the mentally disabled on Sheridan Road, hopes that further improvement of the commercial area in Argyle would benefit them too. Business development in the area has helped improve the safety, sanitation, and the physical make-up of the community.

Indeed, Argyle has become an example of revitalization in a low-income and high crime area. For example, a business delegation of the Milwaukee Department of City Development sent ASBA a letter after their members had returned from a trip to Argyle. The letter read,

> The Milwaukee representatives saw that commercial success is
possible even in the mist of a low-income neighborhood which has problems with crime, taverns and so forth.

In May, 1994, Mayor Richard M. Daley announced that $2.1 million grant from the Strategic Neighborhood Action Program (SNAP) would be used to improve residential and commercial property, store fronts, schools, streets, sidewalks, and other infrastructure in the community. The grant covers the area from Montrose to Foster, and from Sheridan to Broadway. Uptown community leaders believed that the program would set the stage for attracting more economic development and usher in an era of new vitality for Uptown. 48th alderman Mary Ann Smith predicted that someday "people will say, 'I used to live there,' and wish they had never left" (Bess, News Star, May 4th, 1994).

In conclusion, Asians are often portrayed as successful or as a "model minority" because of citing their family income and their educational and occupational achievements, but a closer look tells a more varied story. In the community, there are different Asian groups and individuals. Some are well educated and relatively wealthy and some are disadvantaged with little education. Some are well established and some are still struggling for daily survival. Average family income is apparently higher among Asians than for any other minority group, but the higher family income and business success are often the result of using family resources which include pooling the savings of family and close relatives to start a business, using family members as workers to work long hours, and holding several jobs with income shared among more family members. National data also suggests that median household income for Asians is higher than non-Hispanic whites, but median Per Person income for Asians is lower than that for non-Hispanic whites (Table 5). In four metropolitan areas (Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, and New York), which together house approximately 30 percent of all Asians household

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8 Under SNAP, which began in 1992, the city channels resources from several departments into a targeted area over a 12-month period. Other SNAP grants went to Austin, Southeast Chicago and the Near West Side (Bess, News Star, May 4, 1994).
income for Asians is also lower than that of non-Hispanic white ($37,200 versus $40,000).

Table 4. Median Household Income and Per Person Income

<table>
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<th>NH-white*</th>
<th>Asian Pacific American</th>
<th>African American</th>
<th>Latino</th>
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<td>Median Per Person</td>
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* Non-Hispanic white.

Source: Estimates based on observations drawn from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990 one percent Public Use Microdata Sample. NH-whites were sampled at a rate of 1 in 10, and African Americans and Latinos were sampled at a rate of 1 in 2 (Ong and Hee, 1994).

A 1990 study revealed that 18 percent of Asian families have three or more workers, while 14 percent of non-Hispanic white families had that number of workers in the family (AAPIP 1992).

Some Asians had experiences of running self-employed businesses in Southeast Asian countries before they came to Chicago. For these business owners, adjustments to a new business environment is the major task. For Chinese immigrants who came before the refugees, self-employed businesses provided them with a niche they found in urban area. Professionals who received higher education have experienced more cultural and structural barriers in finding jobs outside the community and moving up career ladders. However, even those who had business experience before coming to the U.S. found that self-employment or family business here is much different from that in their home country in terms of social status and the complexity of doing business. Comparing to findings from earlier studies, Asians nowadays are operating a much wider range of businesses, although statistical data suggests these businesses are still relatively marginal compared to those of other groups. Different types of businesses are operated by ethnic groups who came from different countries and places.
and at different times. These businesses link the Argyle community, the larger community, and the populations from different backgrounds in different ways.

Asian businesses in the community are also more likely to rely on traditional and informal style of operation based on relationships of personal trust and friendship. Because most of them operate on a small scale, using family labors, they are unwilling to involve themselves in public life. However, some business owners and organization leaders attribute the lack of involvement from the business community to cultural traditions or religion, unfamiliarity with formal procedures also play a part in their reluctance to take a more active role in community affairs.

The self-employment provides a way of making a living for many new Asian refugee and immigrant families. Because many family activities occur in the stores, the businesses help strengthen the family ties. The stores in the community serve as an anchor place for people from different backgrounds to interact with one another and search for emotional support and cultural understanding. For Asians, ethnic stores supply them with exotic foods and cultural products that they can not find in mainstream stores. Like symbolic ethnicity theory suggested, many Asian customers from all over the Chicago Metropolitan area and several Midwest states (e.g., Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan) frequently visit the stores, and they voluntarily identify themselves with this aspect of ethnic cultural life. In these stores, many can also speak their own languages and share their life chances.

Tensions among and within different groups were often observed, for example, between "new" Asian business groups and "the old," and among major Asian business groups. However, the old businesses welcome the new Asian businesses and the new name (i.e., New Chinatown) because these new businesses and the new image of the community helps improve business environment and therefore attract customers from outside. They also generate economic opportunities that benefit both the Argyle community and
the larger community area. Therefore, both local business community and
government agencies welcome the change and use the new name of the
community -- "New Chinatown" or Asian community in order to attract
mobilizing resources for further development and attract customers.
CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATIONS AND COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

The community persistence perspective contends that instead of disappearing, ethnic communities continue to exist but are becoming more complex. Proponents of this theoretical perspective argue that residents in ethnic communities tend to be skeptical about institutions from the outside, especially with the development of complex social organizations such as bureaucracies (Gans, 1962; Suttles, 1972; Hunter, 1988; Wellman and Leighton, 1979; Warren, 1988; 1978). Gans' research (1962) suggested that the residents in an Italian community in the West End of Boston selectively used community-based organizations depending on how these organizations were related to their own traditional culture. In this chapter, I examine how organizations and institutions in the Argyle area have developed and expanded, the complex network of organizations, and their internal and external resources. These organizations work to strengthen the cultural identities of different groups of Asian refugees and immigrants while at the same time promoting the assimilation of different groups into the mainstream. This chapter shows the potential and the difficulty of solving community-based problems in this diversified community. Each organization has a unique background, internal resources, and ability to reach out, and therefore each has a different impact on decision making in the community. This chapter shows that because community-based organizations represent different populations, they create multiple identities among their clients within the community through their service deliveries.

As discussed in Chapter II, before Asian refugees and immigrants moved into the community, several social service agencies already existed
in the Argyle community, for example, Travelers and Immigrants Aid, St. Thomas of Canterbury church, HAWK (Help Argyle, Winthrop and Kenmore Club), and Interchurch Refugee and Immigration Ministries, a part of the Church World Service. When the Chinese decided to move to Argyle in the early 1970's, Hip Sing Association was the first Asian organization to locate in the community. Herbert, the white grocery store owner on Argyle who has been in business since 1972, founded HAWK (Help Argyle, Winthrop and Argyle), together with other business owners and residents in early 1976, in order to prevent crimes in the community. He recalled how Asians began to address community safety and other issues since they moved in.

I used to be active in community issues. I was an organizer who advocated that community residents should take action to take care of their own community. We had a club. We made our complaint to the city government, requesting neighborhood control, for instance, police patrols to help us. We had a non-profit organization (HAWK). When the Asians moved in, we handed them the ring. At first, there were a few Chinese coming for the community meetings and we tried to include them. Then more and more people (Asians) came and now they took over. They take care of the community.

The Asian Small Business Association has been working closely with the Police Department and the 48th ward alderman to improve local safety. Since the middle of the 1970's, when the Southeast Asian refugees began to arrive in Argyle community, several human service organizations were founded to assist them with re-settlement and adjustment. The major Asian organizations founded during this time were Chinese Mutual Aid Association, Vietnamese Association of Illinois, Lao Community Service Center of Illinois, Cambodian Association of Illinois, and South-East Asia Center. In addition, two cultural/regional organizations meet the emotional and spiritual needs of the Asian populations. More recently, several Buddhist temples have been established. Immigrant and refugee service organizations and churches and other religious institutions see their mission as helping meet the needs of the refugees. For example, the Lutheran Chinese Church, St. Thomas of Canterbury Churches, Interchurch Refugee and Immigration Ministries, and Travelers and Immigrants Aid assisted with the initial re-settlement of refugees and/or immigrants.
These organizations and institutions have provided significant resources to the community. At the same time, their services helped enhance the cultural identity of different groups and formed the organizational structure in the community. Thus these organizations and institutions serve as major agents that connect the community with the outside through their funding, programs and collective efforts to address problems in the community.

Organization Evolution and Structure

Organizations and institutions that exist in the community can be categorized into four groups: Asian non-profit service organizations; Asian regional/cultural organizations; temples and churches; and non-Asian non-profit service organizations including Winthrop Towner, an affordable housing project owned by Travelers and Immigrants Aid since 1993. The organizations and institutions have played a significant role in shaping social relationships and the power structure of the community. Therefore they have significant influence on the patterns of the local community development.

Asian Service Organizations

In the Argyle community, there are four major non-profit Asian organizations serving refugees. These organizations are Chinese Mutual Aid Association, Vietnamese Association of Illinois, Lao American Community Services of Illinois, and Cambodian Association of Illinois. They are funded mainly by Illinois Department of Public Aid. The funding categories specified by the government determine their services. These four organizations as well as Ethiopian Community Association of Illinois are

1 Asian regional/cultural organizations also have formal structures and membership. However, they differ from other formal Asian organizations, in that they do not receive any public funding and are culturally oriented. They are usually started by people who came from the same region in their country of origin.
known as the five refugee agencies. Both Travelers and Immigrants Aid and Interchurch Refugee and Immigration Ministries have close contacts with the refugee organizations. One of the staff from Interchurch Refugee and Immigration Ministries said,

we worked very closely with them. We had staff meeting together. There was a consortium of refugee workers every second month. So we attended the meetings together. The Jewish Federation is responsible for organizing these meetings. They sent out bi-monthly notices to different agencies.

A staff member from Travelers and Immigrants Aid recalled,

everybody who is in refugee services attended the consortiums, including Chinese Mutual Aid Association, Polish Welfare, and other refugee organizations. The organizations may give a report on what they have been doing over the past month. We have guest speakers from the Illinois Department of Public Aid to describe new laws and regulations, or speakers from the board of education, all concerned with refugees' problems.

South-East Asia Center was founded in 1979. The organization leaders used to work with the Chinese Mutual Aid Association. Later, they left the Association and founded their own organization with the goal of addressing the needs of both refugees and immigrants, especially the elderly, and to build bridges among different Asian and non-Asian groups. The executive director of the South-East Asia Center reported that since none of the refugee organizations provide services to immigrants, they feel the need to do so. The Center is the only Asian service organization helping both immigrants and refugees who are from a variety of Asian countries.

These five Asian service organizations not only provide services to people living in the Argyle community but to Asian refugees and immigrants from all over Chicago. In addition, they also provide clients throughout Illinois and sometimes other midwestern clients with legal assistance and immigration-related assistance.

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2 Ethiopian Community Association of Chicago (also located in the community) was not studied in this research.

3 According to a staff member from Interchurch Refugee and Immigration Ministries that because Jewish refugees have come to this country over a long period of time, the Jewish Federation has a contract with the Illinois Department of Public Aid to act as the fiscal agent between the Department and any new refugee organizations.
Asian Regional/Cultural Organizations

Hip Sing Association and Teo Chew Mutual Assistance Association are the two major regional/cultural organizations in the community. They provide a self-help network mostly among people who are from the same region in China. Hip Sing Association is a nationwide fraternal Chinese merchant and cultural organization which was founded by early Chinese immigrants mainly from Taishan (Toishan) in Canton Province. There are 17 associations nationwide, according to the current president of the Association in Chicago. They often call themselves "old timers." The Association helped Chinese immigrants open their businesses and organize and sponsor cultural events in the community. The current president of Hip Sing Association is also the president of Chicago Chinese Council, a Chinese business organization which functions as a chamber of commerce. Historically, informal organizations like Hip Sing were often treated as secret societies and had a negative image in mainstream society. Nowadays, the Association is trying to change its image with the general public. As its current president stated,

we have that New Chinatown Chinese Council because I want to have a new image. I don't want the old businesses. You know the old timers. It was good for the old timers years ago, but now government tends to be hesitant to do business with them because of the image problem. The old timers needed that kind of organization to protect them, to convey, even to write letters to their own families back in China. Some of them did not know how to write... This kind of fraternal organization even helped them to transfer money back to their families in China.

In 1994, Hip Sing Association made a dramatic change and turned its office building into the Chinese Culture Center with the first Chinese library in the community. In addition, the center offers Chinese language classes to children. Taishanese as well as Chinese from many backgrounds, come to the library to read newspapers, borrow books and video tapes, although most are Southeast Asian refugees who live in the community. The librarian is a Vietnamese Chinese who can speak Vietnamese, Cantonese and Mandarin.

Members of Teo Chew Mutual Assistance Association are mostly from Southeast Asia who migrated there from Teo Chew, Canton. It is a worldwide
Chinese regional association and has chapters in twenty-nine countries. Thailand has the largest concentration of Teo Chew migrants and is the founding place of Teo Chew Mutual Assistance Associations. In Chicago, the Association has approximately 200 members and most of them live in the Argyle community or the Chicago suburbs. The organization describes itself as offering its members recreational activities in order to maintain health; providing welfare to its members which includes fees for weddings and funerals, promoting friendly relationships with people from all walks, and providing emotional bonds within its own group. The major purpose of the organization is "to sustain the culture, provide welfare, for people to help one another." A member of the Association said. During the day, the Association serves as a recreational center for the elderly. The senior citizens living in or outside the Argyle community gather together at the Association, drinking tea, chatting, and playing different kind of games. Recently, the Association has also began to offer Chinese classes to children.

Teo Chew Mutual Assistance Association has occasional informal connections with Chinese Mutual Aid Association and Hip Sing Association and they notify one another about important activities. However, its members see their organization as different from other non-profit organizations. Financially they rely on their own membership fees and individual donations. Its members also view it as different from Hip Sing Association, not only because they are from different regions of China, but also because they have had different experiences in the U.S. One member of the Teo Chew Association said, they are old immigrants who came hundreds of years ago. Do you know the railroad connecting the continent? They were laborers. They were sold as coolies in mining industry and railroad construction. The organization helped their own people. Of course, they sometimes also gambled.

In addition, Chinese Elderly Association on Argyle street provides a recreational place and helpful resources for the elderly Chinese. The
Elderly Association also organizes field trips to Chicago's famous places. According to social workers of several service organizations and churches, many elderly are left home alone and isolated when their grown-up children go to work and grandchildren go to school during the day. These places provide an opportunity for the elderly to meet and socialize with one another.

Temples and Churches

In addition to formal and informal organizations, there are several Christian churches (e.g., Chinese Lutheran Church, Indochinese Pastoral Center at St. Thomas Canterbury Church) and Buddhist temples functioning in the community. The fastest growing religious institutions in the community are Buddhist temples. Initially, each Asian group started their own Buddhist temples to provide services in their own language. For example, there are two major Cambodian Buddhist temples, Kampuchea Buddhist Society of Illinois, Inc. (or Watt Khmer Metta) and Wat Khemaram. Another temple on Magnolia, is established by Thais, called Wat Pharasriratanamahadhatu. Some of its worshipers are Thais and some are Cambodians. Most Laotians worship at this temple as well. Lao Community Service Center of Illinois is planning to open its own temple soon. Most Vietnamese in the community at beginning go to Guang-Ming Temple at 4429, North Damen Avenue. Nowadays, they have their own temple (Chua Truc Lam) located on Winthrop. The Chinese, mostly ethnic Chinese from Southeast Asia, opened their own temple on Sheridan and Carmen in June, 1995. Some of these temples operated out of department buildings in the community until the temples were able to purchase buildings with the contributions from the worshipers and their own cultural groups. Staff members of Asian refugee service organizations estimated that while more Asian have been attending Christian churches in the America, most still adhere to

* Most other organizations and institutions offer similar programs to help the elderly.
Buddhism. About 90 percent or more of Laotians, 75 percent of Cambodians, and 60 percent of Vietnamese believe in Buddhism.

According to temple worshipers and Buddhist monks, people go to temples which conduct ceremonies in their major language rather than seeking out the particular religious school they adhered to in their country of origin. Most Buddhist monks can speak several Asian languages as well as Pali — the Buddhist language, sometimes worshipers go to different temples to worship and monks go to different temples to help with ceremonies, especially on important Buddhist holidays. A Vietnamese Chinese woman I met at Charh-Giac-Tu temple on Carmen and Sheridan said, "for decades in Vietnam, I worship Buddha in Vietnamese. I went to Guang-Ming temple for several years when I first came to Chicago. Now, I can speak Chinese in the temple. I am still slow at chanting in Chinese, but I am catching up." Monks from different temples also attend meetings at Buddhist Council of the Midwest, addressing and identifying community needs, and deciding joint ceremonies.

St. Thomas of Canterbury church on Kenmore and Lawrence has over 70 years of history in the community. It serves local residents with different racial and ethnic backgrounds: whites, Latinos, African Americans, and Asians. In 1978, it established the Indochinese Pastoral Center and started to provide regular services to the refugees from Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese comprise the largest percentage of Asians group that go to Christian Church, although over half of the Vietnamese (60 percent) remain Buddhist. Catholicism was first introduced to Vietnam.

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5 Ven. S. Dhammika (1991:8) pointed out there is Theravada Buddhism, Zen Buddhism, Pure Land Buddhism, Yogacara Buddhism and Vajrayana Buddhism but it is all Buddhism and it all has the same taste — the state of freedom. Buddhism has evolved into different forms so that it can be relevant to the different cultures in which it exits. It has been reinterpreted over the centuries so that it can remain relevant to each new generation. Outwardly, the types of Buddhism seem very different but at the center of all types of Buddhism are the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path. The different sects of Buddhism have never gone to war with each other, they have never expressed hostility towards each other, and, to this day, they go to each other's temples and worship together. A Thai Buddhist monk at Wat Phrasriratanamahadhatu temple said, "we are all children of the same parents. When parents die, children come together."
in the 16th century by missionaries from Europe, France in particular (Hanson, 1991). Vietnamese from both the community and outside the community come to St. Thomas. Rosy, a church social worker said,

the community is growing from about a couple of hundred people to about two thousand. Normally we have about one thousand Vietnamese here for mass on every weekend. We have two masses. If there are big celebrations, people in the suburbs come in too. Most of them are Vietnamese. We also have Laotians, and Cambodians. We have about thirty families from Laos under our service. The Vietnamese are more westernized compared to other Asian groups. For instance, people mixed with Chinese (intermarriage between Vietnamese and Chinese), and people who lived in the city were more influenced by the French government. They are more adjusted and adapted to the western style.

The Chinese Lutheran Church also serves both community residents and Chinese who are from the north side of the city or northern suburbs, including students from Loyola University and Northwestern University. Most of these Chinese came from the mainland, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Taiwan. The congregation at this church is older in composition. The church also provides English classes, job placement, housing services, and a free lunch on Saturday.

About fifty people attended weekend mass at the Chinese Lutheran Church regularly from the beginning of my research. Some people came to the church a couple of times and then left. Previous research indicates that it is difficult for the Chinese to be converted to Christianity. The three major Asian religions Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, as well as other folk religions pictured the universe as a trinity of heaven, earth, and man; heaven directs, earth produces, and man cooperates and prospers. On the other hand, if man does not cooperate, he destroys the harmonious arrangements of the universe and suffers the consequences in the form of natural disasters, such as floods, droughts, and famines. In traditional religions, Heaven replaces the Judeo-Christian concept of God (Tsai, 1986:42). In addition, the burden of adapting to and making a living in a new country leaves little time for new immigrants to attend church. As Chiao, a new immigrant from Canton said,

the new ones come and the old ones leave (the church). The
older people who don’t work and have no family burden will more likely go and stay longer. People from the mainland come to the U.S. and would go to listen. After they have a job, they have to spend more time on work and family life. If they work also at weekend, for instance in the restaurant, they would be even more busy. Old people need spiritual support and young people aren’t stable. In addition, the church itself is not very appealing to me. They always repeat the same thing on Saturday and can not solve our specific problems. The church wants us to help (donations) and we can’t help either.

In addition to the religious institutions that most Asians attend, there are a couple of non-Asian churches in the community. For example, Ayo NIO #2 Church founded by African American immigrants, and more recently, the New Hope Christian Center on Sheridan Road. Uptown Ministry on Sheridan and Lawrence also attracts Asian and non-Asian residents from the community.

This religious structure among different Asian groups suggests that although certain groups may depend more on the community and the bonds within their own groups, all the major Asian groups may share a commonality based on religious influence. Asians who participate in Christianity may find themselves integrating into the mainstream activities more easily because of their connections to groups outside of the community and their prior acceptance of some aspects of western culture and ideology in the form of Christianity.

Non-Asian Organizations

A major local non-Asian organization is the Lakefront SRO (Single Room Occupancy) Corporation. Lakefront SRO is a private non-profit organization that focuses on developing affordable housing. It was founded in 1985 with the mission of fighting homelessness by preserving single room occupancy buildings in the north side neighborhoods of Uptown, Edgewater, and Lakeview. In 1994, it began working in communities throughout the City of Chicago. It has purchased, rehabilitated, and rented several business establishments and residential buildings in the Argyle community.

According to 1995 annual report, Lakefront SRO renovated three major
apartment buildings with about 393 total units that were known as "bad buildings" in the community. The Corporation also provides on-site social services at each building to help tenants solve the problems that led them to become homeless in the first place. The organization provides housing services to a diverse racial and ethnic resident population. In 1993, about 61 percent of its residents were African-American, 27 percent were white, 4 percent were Latino, and 7 percent were Asian American, with "other" groups comprising 1 percent of resident base.

Several other non-Asian organizations also provide services to the community. Interchurch Refugee and Immigration Ministries, Travelers and Immigrants Aid, Voice of the People, and the Illinois Department of Human Services are located on the border of the community.

The subsidized housing project, Winthrop Tower on Winthrop Avenue, appears as a separate and isolated institution in the community. It began as a HUD prepayment building and was owned by HUD for over ten years. In 1993, Travelers and Immigrants Aid purchased the building, intending to pass ownership on to tenants in the next few years (Nyden and Associates, 1996). It has its own resources, organizations and way of functioning. Its management is seldom involved in community initiated activities. In their study of urban communities, both Marciniak (1986) and Suttles (1968) note that a lack of connection with the surrounding community socially and emotionally isolates public housing residents from the rest of the community. Although isolated from the Argyle community, Winthrop Tower connects to a number of mainstream service organizations, institutions, and the government. It is run by a relatively different system. According to the Winthrop Tower manager in 1991,

about 80 percent of residents are black, either Afro-American, black American, or African descent. Among whites, we have Romanians, some Poles, a couple of Germans. Most Asian residents are Vietnamese...

We have a day care, Boys and Girls Clubs, and the People's church provides Project Chance. The Salvation Army works a lot with people. They refer people to us. We also work closely with Department of Public Aid and the Department of Human Services.
The rest of the community often views the housing project as a "stigma" to the community. This view is especially prevalent among those in the business community. They think the residents in the project are "dangerous" and the "cause of many problems" in the community. They refer to the many loiterers around the building. However, as I observe many of these people are the residents of adjacent kitchenette apartment buildings.

In contrast, Lakefront SRO and its residential buildings, are viewed more favorably by the community. Community affair manager of Lakefront SRO said,

whenever we decide to purchase a building, we would look at the physical structure of the building, what kind of neighborhood it is, and services available in the community. We try to build connections with the community. For example we go to the beat meetings. We are actively involved with ONE (see explanation in next section). Recently, we started our community based theater groups. Through these involvements, we improve our relationship with the community and meet our neighbors. Even though some people do not like us because the kind of population we are serving, we will tell them why we are here for and would try to build connections with community organizations. In this way, we can help our tenants to contact with community services, the community can help us supervise our tenants.

Lakefront SRO has more connections and communication with the Argyle community. The organization sends representatives to community safety meetings, is involved in renovating community-identified deteriorating buildings, communicates with other community-based organizations on common concerns, and is familiar with Asian cultures because of contact with Asian organizations and business leaders. The support systems established in each Lakefront building are seen positively by their community residents. Recently, its tenants and children in the neighborhood are going to put on another play in the series of stories of urban life at a community park on Marine Drive.

"Double Missions": Cultural Identity and Assimilation

Most staff of Asian service organizations are from the same ethnic
group they serve. Most Asian service organizations and religious institutions have two major goals which contradict each other. One is to help its own group assimilate into the mainstream. This goal is often realized by providing a series of programs, such as language training, employment training and placement, after-school tutoring, housing information, and citizenship application and preparation programs. The other goal is to maintain the traditional culture of each group. Problems sometimes arise from these two conflicting missions. As one of the leaders of the Cambodian Association put it,

our mission is very different. Self-sufficiency means all the people were put into the system, live with it. Their preservation means do not go, you are going to loose your own identity, loose your own culture. My role is like a broker to compromise how fast and how slow. If you change too fast, the community people will say 'no, we want to have our own language and culture. We do not want to be Americanized. We do not want to go to church, we want to go to temple.' But government funding demands all the people to become mainstream, you have to follow the system. This is a very controversial path.

He noted that these organizations need to help their people adjust to new culture, in part because this is often required by major public funding sources, "but this adjustment process needs to be facilitated by other programs dealing with cultural differences and the ills of past experiences of some refugees." Therefore, the organizations and institutions also provide programs like family counselling, caring for the elderly, individual psychological counselling, and cultural maintenance and holiday celebrations to ease the assimilation and adjustment. As Table 5 shows, cultural maintenance or support programs are as important as assimilation programs in some of the refugee organizations. While organizations help clients find jobs, learn English, and become American citizens, they also provide cultural supports to deal with problems that are associated with adjustment.
Table 5. Number of Programs and Clients of Refugee Organizations, FY'95

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programs</th>
<th>Number of Clients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>1,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship</td>
<td>1,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Economic Development</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children and Youth</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustment and Support Services</td>
<td>1,726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Health Program</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Integration</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Organizations and religious institutions help different groups to become assimilated into the mainstream, but also further maintain the cultural identity of each group. Residents in the community choose to affiliate with the organizations and religious institutions on the basis of language, country of origin, immigrant or refugee status, and age.

**Family Counseling**

Most service organizations, as well as churches and religious institutions and some Asian regional/cultural organizations, provide family counseling to immigrants and refugees. Adjustment programs of various Asian organizations "provide comprehensive services to families," as described by a Cambodian service organization leader.

Many refugee and immigrant families experience "reversed gender roles" in the U.S. In most Asian countries, men have a dominant position over women and children. In the United States, women have gained power by working outside the home and being involved in social activities. According to community social workers, women sometimes earn more money than men, they speak English more fluently, and they adjust to the new environment faster than men. Therefore, families need to adjust their previous relationships in order to continue functioning as a unit. Child-rearing practices in the home country also differ from those in the U.S.
In the Argyle community it appears that "men lost much their traditional control in the family." Social workers in Asian organizations try to address Asian family disorder in an informal and culturally sensitive way. Asians typically are not explicit about family abuse incidents or conflicts. They come to churches or organizations for "some kind of healing." Rosy, a social worker at the Indochinese Pastoral Center of St. Thomas Church said,

> we don't do pure social work like somewhere else. We do more faith, pastoral consulting than therapy. People did not know what to do when disputes happened in the family, so they come in and open up to me a little bit. I used my skills to pump out more. Because I am Asian like them, I have to respect certain issues that the culture would not allow them to talk about. You have to learn to be patient. When they learn to trust you, they tell you things. A lot of times, Americans have a hard time getting Asians to talk about certain problems. A lot of people do not come to me right away until they really have a big problem, for instance physical violence at home.

When refugee and immigrant families suffer from role reversal, husbands and wives become confused about how men and women should function in the family." Therefore when providing help, social workers also need to keep in mind "where they (clients) are from, which means providing counselling in a cultural context." In dealing with spousal disputes, Asian social workers suggest ways in which women can do things "in a more tactful way: give respect to their husband outside the home, but women can still have power at home. However, at home women should not make men do every little thing. That will make them feel that they are your maid." Although some of these perspectives are still new to Asians, some changes have taken place among this population. For example, "a lot of men are carrying children and groceries for women on the streets," said Rosy.

When children cause problem, such as truancy, juvenile delinquency, disobeying parents, running-away, parents usually do not understand what is happening. The power of peer groups over their children is a new phenomenon most Asian parents have never had to contend with. Thus, when addressing family disorder, abuse, and generational conflicts, social workers need to consider each person's position in the family. Most Asian
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countries are characterized by strict hierarchies, in which each
individual has a fixed position vis-a-vis others in the general society
and in all institutional arrangements (e.g., families). When dealing with
kid problems, Rosy said,

you have to let parents see that children are influenced by
their peers which has nothing to do with the family. You can’t
make them feel they fail as parents. They did their best to be
parents. In this country, people focus on psychological and
emotional care from the parents. They don’t realize it. It
doesn’t mean they failed to be parents. We have to give the
place of parents to the parents. You can’t make them feel
they are losing face. Then, you may introduce some of the
‘new’ perspectives. 6

Many refugee and immigrant parents work very hard to support their
children so that they can go to school. They have high expectations of
their children because this society offers more opportunities and also
because of their own experiences. "They want their children to learn well
in school and to be somebody," said Nang, a staff member from Lao
Community Service Center. However, parents often do not understand school
policies, rules, or the education system. In addition they must deal with
language barriers. They do not know how to help their children with their
school homework or communicate with teachers. Therefore, when things go
wrong, "we have to mediate between the school and parents and kids,
because we know both cultures and languages. We need to help parents and
educate the school. It is often a great disappointment (to parents) if

6 Most organizations and religious institutions have gang and drug
prevention programs. Immigrant, and especially refugee youth who spent a
lot of time coping with the past experiences, the generation gap, cultural
adjustment, and isolation, have organized gangs. The number of runaways
among Southeast Asian teens has also increased. Counselors in Seattle
estimate that one third of all refugee families in the area have had at
least one child run away from home (Ingrassia et al., 1994). Wing’s
article on work force policies (1994) indicates that in 1986-1987 over
half of Laotian students in Lowell, Massachusetts dropped out of the
public schools. Laotian and Cambodian students in San Diego not only drop
out at high rates, but are also more likely to aspire to low-status jobs.
She argues that limited English proficiency and recent arrival in the U.S.
undoubtedly contribute to the educational experience of these students. My
research in the Argyle community suggests Asian youth have different
experiences. Some are able to complete college, some find it difficult to
fit into the school system and drop out of the high school. Asian social
workers often talked about how Asian parents try to keep their children in
school, but lack of understanding of a different culture and adequate
skills.
their children do not do well in school and drop out," Said Nang. Although other programs like women's health and adult literacy also provide cultural orientation and parenting skills lessons, the staff members at Lao Community Service Center feel these adult programs are still under-funded.

In the Asian cultural tradition, the family is the basic social unit. Family issues dealt within the family. "If an individual has a problem, the siblings, uncles and aunts will help. You can run around within a family system," said Rosy. Over here, the family can no longer help the individual solve all problems, yet most Asians are not used to solving their family problems with outside help (e.g., family service programs) and most do not feel it is necessary to consult non-family members. Therefore, providing counseling in a cultural context and using personnel who understand the culture and language becomes crucial in providing effective family services. For instance, traditionally Lao individuals only talk about their individual problems with people of the same sex. At Lao American Community Services, women counsellors deal with women's problems and men counsellors deal with men's problems. This makes the clients feel more comfortable in talking about family problems. In most cases, the wife will seek services first, but eventually the organization will bring husband and wife together. From its beginnings in 1984 to 1991, Lao American Community Services has seen only one couple who came up for help end up in divorce (20 cases a year on average). However, family disputes continue in many of those families who have come in for counselling, according to a social worker.

The services provided by these organizations and by the churches and other religious institutions are meant to strengthen the family or help the traditional family function in a changing environment. They also try to make people feel at home. As director of programs at South-East Asia Center said, "all in all, the purpose of this organization is to get people a family. They feel they can come in any time, they feel like
communicating with each other. If we provide good services, the clients will pay back."

**Taking Care of the Elderly**

Another dimension of cultural adjustment is helping the elderly. In most Asian countries, the elderly live in the same household as their children and grandchildren. In the new country, although they still live together with the family, most elderly are left alone at home while all their adult children go to work and their grandchildren go to school. Many of the elderly feel lonely. Some elderly moved out of the community with their adult children and do not have anyone to talk to in the neighborhood where they live. Therefore, Asian service and regional/cultural organizations aim to provide a place for the elderly to go during the day. As I observe, at Chinese Lutheran Church, the most regular attendants are the elderly too.

The Indochinese Pastoral Center at St. Thomas of Canterbury Church plan to start an innovative program for the elderly who live both inside and outside the Argyle community. They consider it inconvenient for the elderly to commute to the Argyle community everyday and plan to build an apartment building for the elderly who are able to live independently. They are aiming the service at the Vietnamese elderly. In this way the old can live close and visit one another. The anticipation is that the elderly will actively participate in some activities, like exercises, and form a community through their common experiences. According to Rosy, the church social worker, this is a chance for the Asian elderly to live away from their families, but still give them the opportunity to have their children visit them, or for them to go home whenever they want. In order to meet the financial needs of the building the church also plans to rent some units to college students.

The South-East Asia Center operates a Gold Dinner Club for the elderly. Director of programs describes the purpose of the club in the
following way,

when immigrants come to a new country, the generation gap tends to be wider. The younger generations do not show enough respect for the elderly. The elderly usually feel lonely and isolated in their own home. This program is intended to help people get out of the home. This is an important way to get people to learn new things, make new friends, get in touch with each other. This is a cultural adjustment for the elderly.

Teo Chew Mutual Assistance Association provides a place for the elderly to go during the day. Some senior citizens who do not live in the community are dropped off at the Association by their adult children on their way to work and picked up after work. Some elderly came to the Association on the train or bus. When the old members of the Association pass away, each is entitled to a fair amount of funeral fees that stem from the benefits of membership. If the funeral money does not cover enough of the expenses for the individual family, the association will ease its own financial resources to help the family. With recent changes in Hip Sing Association, more elderly go to Hip Sing library to read newspapers and borrow books. These Asian organizations and institutions provide an alternative for families who care for their elderly.

Mental Health

Mental health is not only an issue among refugees but also among the immigrant population of this particular community. Louis Wirth (1938), in his article Urbanism as a Way of Life, suggests that population density and heterogeneity in the city increase the chances of social isolation and therefore mental disorder. Although this urban personality thesis suggested by Wirth is no longer generally accepted, in the Argyle community, many new immigrants and refugees experience loneliness and need psychological help. The refugees need to cope with changes in lifestyle as well as past traumas. As the executive director of the Cambodian Association said, "a lot of them have gone through the War, escaped the War, waited at the concentration camps, plus adjusted to a different culture. Many suffer from depression and give up trying."
Some statistics regarding the mental health status of Asian Pacific Americans are startling. According AAIP's research in 1992 (Asian American and Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy), elderly Chinese and Japanese American women have the highest suicide rate of all racial and ethnic groups. A 1987 study of 2,800 Southeast Asians conducted by the California State Department of Mental Health revealed that 95 percent of them needed psychological help, compared with 33 percent of the population in general. Recent federal studies revealed as much as a 300 percent increase in the suicide rate among Asian American children, which is attributed to pervasive racism, pressures to live up to stereotype, expectations of high academic achievement. For immigrant children, there are additional problems of acculturation. Rosy, the social worker at St. Thomas feels there are more incidents of mental disorder presently than there were a few years ago. Among Asians, mental disorder is not treated as it is in American populations. Rosy feels it is not easy to deal with mental health issues with Asians. She noted,

we do have mental health problems, but we don't deal with treatment. We just accept the situation, just like any Asian country. If they are retarded and normally function, we just care for them and protect them. We never bring them for treatment. Many people still don't believe it (mental illness) is a treatable disease. Few of them are open and cooperative.

The executive director of the Cambodian Association added, "people lost so much. Some are the only one still living of an entire family. When they came to this country, they felt lonely and isolated, that led (to) poor health conditions."

Buddhist monks at the temples use traditional meditation to help Cambodian youths heal from trauma. Bruce Hor is a college age Cambodian, and like many others of his age, suffered much trauma during the time of the Khmer Rouge. When he was only a child, he watched his grandparents, aunts, uncles and a five year old brother die. His most vivid and haunting recollection is of the Khmer Rouge forcing his entire village to "watch for hours as two people were tied to a pole and slowly beaten to death with shovels." He wakes from nightmares fearing the Khmer Rouge are in his
house to harm him. Going to the Buddhist temple has been a source of comfort. Meditation has enabled him to block some of his worst memories. By suppressing unwanted feelings he can maintain his dignity (an admired virtue and a sign of personal maturity in Cambodian culture) and still find healing within the context of his traditional faith and social community. A Buddhist monk explains the time-honored mental health function of the Buddhist temple in this way: "everyone has mental disease: greed, hatred and delusion. Everyone can overcome. Meditation helps you find knowledge to cure mental disease (Hansen 1991:50)."

Sati, a Thai immigrant youth, who attends Wat Pharasriratanamahadhatu temple, lives on the north side of Chicago. He used to go to a Thai Buddhist temple on the west side of the city, but now has decided to come to this temple because it is closer to home. He came to the temple to learn how to "meditate more deeply." He said he started to go to the temple in 1990 when he was seriously ill as a result of using drugs.

Once I could not sleep for three days. My uncle took me to a Buddhist temple. I talked to a monk for the first time. He suggested I go to a psychiatrist first. After I took some tranquilizer and had some sleep, I came back to the temple. Buddhist religion teaches me how to concentrate and stay mindful. It went well for two years and I have been drug free. Today he still attends the temple. "Whenever I think fast and my stress and anxiety level build up, I go to the monks and talk to them and meditate. It helps me to stay mindful and better understand my own thoughts and how my mind works instead of letting it have control over me and therefore getting lost." Similarly, a graduate student from Rosary College spent a lot of time in the temple during his summer vocation, helping the monks and getting help from them. Whenever, he felt lonely he would come to the temple.

Three temples that are in family houses are open every day. People can go in any time for services. The newer temples on Winthrop, owned by the Vietnamese, and the Chinese temple on Carmen and Sheridan are only open on weekends. The temples were purchased by the donations of
worshipers. At the three temples with resident monks living inside, there are always volunteers to help with cooking, shopping, and cleaning.

Cultural Programs and Cultural Events

Cultural programs, such as courses in the home language and arts, also attract clients who live outside the community. However, if most shopping customers are from outside the community, most organization clients live inside or close to the community. Whether people from outside the community come to the organizations for cultural programs depends on whether there are other resources available and how assimilated the group and the individual is. For example, 70 percent of Laotians live outside the community according to the Lao Community Service Center, but most of them still connect with their organizations and temples and come to the community for services, especially for cultural events.

Som used to work on a farm in Cambodia before coming to the United States. He did not have a chance to go to school to learn Chinese. He came to Chicago in 1979. At first, he lived on Argyle but now he co-owns a house in the Edgewater community area with his brother's family. He sent his four year old son to the Saturday Chinese language class and Wushu class at Chinese Mutual Aid Association. He said, "I am a Chinese but I can't speak Chinese. I want my children to know it." On Saturday morning, parents from outside the community go shopping at the stores on Argyle after they drop their children off at language classes at various organizations. People who come from outside the Argyle community are usually refugees and do not have other places to go for language and cultural studies. The more established Chinese and Chinese professionals are more likely to send their children to cultural and language programs at the University of Illinois at Chicago or Chinatown on the south side of Chicago.

According to parents and staff at organizations, the major reasons to have cultural programs, especially language classes, are to teach
children about their culture and so that parents have some control over the education of their children when they become more assimilated to the mainstream society. One member of Teo Chew Mutual Assistance Association said,

> it is important to have an organization like this. The old generation miss their home country, they do not wish to see the second generation grow up without knowing which country they are from and their own language. Those kids grow up with the American school system and pick up the English. Then it is easy for them to forget Chinese. In those South East Countries, in important cities or areas, the local governments allow Chinese to run their own schools. They all grew up learning Chinese. We all escaped the hardship and turmoil, we know what help each other means. The older generation do not want their next generation to forget who they are and their cultural heritage.

Assimilation for refugees and immigrants seems to be the long term goal. In order to realize this goal, the ethnic organizations and institutions try to help refugees and immigrants adjust to the new culture or fit into the new culture but in their own cultural context. Yuan's study of Chinatown in New York (1963) indicates that the Chinese community in New York has experienced stages of involuntary isolation and voluntary isolation. Once the self-help system developed in the community, people would voluntarily choose to invest or stay in the community. In the long run the self-help system developed in this isolated community has helped the Chinese immigrants to assimilate into the mainstream society. However, nowadays, it is probably hard to find this kind of closely knit ethnic community in urban areas. Even in South Chinatown, the holiday parade is no longer solely Chinese but has participants from many ethnic groups. People of particular cultural groups are either scattered over a wider urban area and submerged into the mainstream culture, or identify with their culture and form a cultural community, rather than thinking of themselves as residents of a geographically-based ethnic community.

Different refugee organizations and informal Asian regional organizations are involved in many holiday celebrations and cultural events in the community. These activities become one of the few opportunities available to connect to the home country for many refugees
before the U.S. moved towards normal relationship with their home countries. Celebrating their holidays in their own cultural tradition became a way to recall the past. In contrast to other cultural programs, these celebrations bring people of different backgrounds from both inside and outside the community together. They also bring business, service organizations, and regional/cultural organizations together, for these holiday celebrations are sponsored and participated in by a variety of organizations and people. At the Chinese New Year celebrations, the Chinese Mutual Aid Association, Hip Sing Association, and the Asian Small Business Association brought in western music bands, different kinds of recreational games, and a Wushu demonstration by students from Truman College.

In April, 1991, I went to a New Year's celebration hosted by the Cambodian Association at Senn High school. The Cambodians dressed up in their traditional costumes, served traditional food, and performed cultural dances and traditional songs. Holiday celebrations are for people to get together and enjoy their cultural traditions.

Thus, celebrating holidays and other cultural events not only allows different cultural groups to connect with their traditional cultures, but also provides an opportunity for other groups to become familiar with, and appreciate, cultural diversity. At the New Year celebrations, non-Asian residents danced to the bands as Asian youth stood by watching. Asian women and families, and tourists visited different stores. People of different racial backgrounds followed the dragon dance parade and enjoyed the holiday atmosphere. Organizations also take these opportunities to bring in outside support. On most of these occasions, the community invites important public figures from ward office, the city and the state to attend.
Internal and External Connections, and Organizational Network

The community-based organizations in the Argyle community provide important linkages between the local community and mainstream society, as well as linkages between different cultural groups inside and outside the community. Except for special events, there are not many connections between cultural organizations, business organizations, and service organizations, although members of the business community and the boards of Buddhist temples serve as board members of non-profit service organizations.

Because the four Asian refugee organizations face a similar problems of helping refugees settle down and become adjusted, deal with clients with similar experiences, and share the same funding resources, they have closer contacts with one another. Once a month staff from the refugee organizations, as well as Travelers and Immigrants Aid, the Jewish Federation, and the Illinois Department of Public Aid meet to discuss resettlement issues, policies, and legislation. Asian refugee organizations and other refugee settlement organizations often have joint programs focused on cultural adjustment like providing clothes, English training, cultural orientation, field trips, job training and placement, health education, citizenship, and youth after-school activities and career training activities.

In addition, Asian organizations also have connections with other civil and service organizations outside the community to solve some common problems faced by both the wider community as well as the Argyle community, such as the school reform program coordinated by Chicago Board of Education with Organization of North East (ONE), the Census promotion program, and drug and gang prevention. "We are linked by issues. For instance, if there are crimes, and the quality of education is poor, we are all concerned, because we are all involved." However, none of these organizations can solve these problems single handedly, the executive
director of Chinese Mutual Aid Association said. Most of time, not only the refugee organizations are involved but also service and civic organizations, politicians, and law enforcement agencies in the larger community.

Most organizations in the Argyle community are members of Organization of North East (ONE), an active civic organization located in Uptown. ONE, a product of Uptown's turbulent early 1970's, was originally sponsored by Uptown Center Hull House with the help of a small "core group" of about eight activists who wanted to create a broadly-based coalition of organizations to represent everyone in the community. To accomplish this function ONE took the form of an umbrella organization. Presently, its membership consists of 61 other community organizations brought together to work on issues of importance to the entire community. ONE membership includes churches, banks, and other businesses, ethnic associations; tenant and housing organizations, as well as local universities and colleges (Nyden et.al., 1996; 1991; Warren, 1979; Bennet, 1991). A staff member from Chinese Mutual Aid Association serves on board of ONE, and a staff member from Vietnamese Association of Illinois represent on its housing and economic development committees. Most of the large Asian service organizations are members of ONE. However, business organizations in the Argyle community are skeptical about the efforts of ONE. "They did not do anything to bring any physical change in the community," a business leader in the community said. At the same time, business organizations are cautious about competition from organizations outside the community.

The Asian Refugee organizations has worked with Voice of the People on an inter-generational housing project. According to various Asian organizations, Asians prefer living in extended families. However, the housing situation in Argyle does not accommodate this traditional style of family residence. Organizations building inter-generational housing think it will prevent well-established Asian populations from moving out of the
community. Voice of the People built 28 unite affordable inter-generational homes in the 5000 blocks of N. Winthrop and N. Kenmore and on the corner of Winona and Winthrop. Other developers are also involved in residential housing development in the area (Pearce, Apartment & Homes, October 15, 1993).

Another important reason for building connections with the outside is to tap external resources. Most refugee organizations are facing funding crises. According to Asian refugee organizations, approximately 80 percent of funding for refugee organizations comes from the federal government in the initial adjustment years. This funding has been reduced to between 55-70 percent among various refugee organizations. According to funding specifications, refugees are supposed to adjust and become citizens within five years. Even if they do not attain citizenship in five years, they are still treated as "adjusted" and are not entitled to further funds. "The priority is now given to the East Europeans," according to one social worker, who also noted that "even though most refugees became citizens, their needs are still there." Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy's research (1992) indicates that between 1980 and 1990 the number of Asian and Pacific Islanders in the American population increased 109 percent, yet their communities receive an extremely small percentage of total grants (0.2 percent out of $19 billion given over seven years, or an average 5 million per year).

In addition, the number of foundations providing support to Asian and Pacific Islander Americans has not expanded and is concentrated in five foundations (Ford Foundation, The San Francisco Foundation, The James Irvine Foundation, The Henry Luce Foundation, and The McKnight Foundation). The majority of the funding is directed to social service organizations, health organizations, and employment and economic development organizations with very little funding for legal rights, community development, advocacy and public policy. It should also be noted that the majority of funds given by the top five foundations was awarded...
for university research projects.

The four Asian refugee organizations have therefore developed strategies to further tap funding sources. They have written project proposals jointly with Travelers and Immigrants Aid, and sometimes with Voice of the People. The Vietnamese Association executive director explained that, "it is easier for ethnic groups to use collective efforts than Vietnamese alone, because we will have a large service population. Otherwise it is hard to compete with large populations like Poles, Latinos, or African Americans."

Although South-East Asia Center and Chinese Mutual Aid Association do not communicate with each other very often, both have connections with Chinese Service League in Chinatown on the South Side of Chicago. They attend each other's fund raising events and other important meetings. The residents of both communities try to find employment information at these three different centers. Chinese and ethnic Chinese have been quickly to identify themselves with national Chinese organizations and other human service organizations because there has been a well-established Chinese population in the U.S. and the city.

The newer groups like the Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians have also moved to established their national cultural networks. For example, Vietnamese Association of Illinois is connected with the National Congress of Vietnamese in America and the National Alliance of Vietnamese American Service Agencies. Smaller groups like Laos, while less "connected" are working on developing linkages. For instance, the Laos have published the first issue of Lao Human Phao Community Directory this year which listed all the Lao human service organizations and other important connections in the U.S. 7

As indicated in Chapter III, the business community contacts the outside mostly through informal channels and unintentionally as with

7 In Laotian language, "Human" means join together, and "Phao" means tribes.
tourists and the Food Fest. The business leaders have tried very hard to improve the physical appearance of the community so that the outside world will continue "investing" in the community. More resources flow into the community only when it becomes economically significant. In contrast, the human service organizations have always had connections with the outside. In order to bring more resources into the community staff members of some organizations also provide regular services to other organizations. Both executive director and director of programs at South-East Asia Center work with the Chicago Attorney General’s office, the Alderman’s office, and the Coalition on Limited Elderly Members. The executive director serves on the administrative board of the Chicago Public Library. Some also teach part time. All their information and earnings from providing services are put into organizational development.

In order to provide services in the cultural context, formal service organizations in the Argyle community have staff from the same ethnic background. These staff members are "bi-lingual and bi-cultural, they understood how to deal with Asians," according a staff member at South-East Asia Center, even though some Asian staff members do not have a background in the field of social work. The organizations also hire Americans or native-born Asians, because they know English, the bureaucratic system, and hence are able to do the necessary paper work. An employee of the Chinese Mutual Aid Association put it, if most Asian employees are providing direct services to the clients, most Americans in the organizations are doing managerial work.

Lopata (1964) in her study of voluntary associations in Polonia -- the Polish ethnic community -- suggests three basic functions of Polish voluntary associations. The first is to form and preserve the community as a distinct unit. The second is to form, develop, and manifest a close relationship between this community and the national cultural society from which its members emigrated. The last is to form, develop, and manifest a relationship between this community and the national cultural society
within which it now exits. Her updated research on Polish Americans (1994) further suggests that the Polish need to innovate in order to meet the demands of life in a foreign country contributed greatly to their construction of a complex local and national social structure. She also sees the interest in building social structures in Polonia among community members stemming from their diverse backgrounds.

The first function of voluntary associations suggested by Lopata is vague in the Argyle community because there is not one distinctive Asian culture. However, the other two functions still apply. Each Asian organization attracts and serves mainly the clients of their own group but some people cannot clearly identify themselves with one particular culture or country. For example, many Southeast Asian refugees have intermarried or came from other Asian countries. Therefore, they do not have one cultural tradition. As symbolic ethnicity theory predicts, these individuals choose to identify themselves with particular aspects of their cultural traditions depending on need. For instance, among Asians, in the Argyle community, individuals may identify and use different organizations according to different situations and issues. Liang’s son, who helps his father operate a beauty shop on Sheridan road, used to go to SEAC (South-East Asia Center) for school programs and for information about college and university when he graduated from high school. However, when he applied for citizenship he got help from the Chinese Mutual Aid Association. Tonny, a Vietnamese Chinese youth does not find it necessary to go any of the organizations for help. However, he sometimes visits the Vietnamese Association and reads the newspapers in Vietnamese in order to keep up with what is going on in that country. Mr. Zhao, father-in-law of the third son of the largest grocery store, attends Gold Dinner Club at South-East Asia Center, but also attends the Chinese Lutheran Church and benefits from the church programs.

Because it is hard to identify themselves with one particular culture, some people are more involved with cultural/regional
organizations, such as Teo Chew Mutual Aid Association, and the Chinese Elderly Association. For example, Lee, the Cambodian Chinese grocery store owner, identifies himself as "Cambodian Chinese." His only affiliation with organizations are Chinese Elderly Association and Teo Chew Mutual Assistance Association. Occasionally he also visits and pays tribute to the Buddhist Temple on West Argyle Street.

Partly for reasons of intermarriage and migration, but also because the cultures of different Asian countries have influenced one another for thousands of years. Immigrants and refugees from these countries are familiar with each other’s culture. According to a report on Illinois Vietnamese community compiled by Le, Vietnamese culture has adapted to many other cultures as the result of colonization and survival needs. Traditional values, heavily influenced by Confucian teaching, include reverence for education and learned individuals, respect for the elderly and people in positions of authority, pursuit of harmony rather than confrontation, and the superior social position of men over women. Although these cultural traditions have been greatly challenged in the new culture, their influence still exists. Influenced by Buddhism, both Cambodian and Laotian celebrate their New Year in April. On holidays, each cultural group celebrates within their own cultural communities, but some holidays like the Chinese Lunar New Year, are celebrated on Argyle street. Even though some Vietnamese refugees feel strongly that it is unfair to call the community "New Chinatown," they feel less resentful about celebrating holidays, such as the Chinese lunar New Year, together, since the Chinese New Year and Vietnamese New Year are on the same day. At a new year's celebration, Nya, the Vietnamese clothing store owner, said they were used to Chinese New Year celebrations in Vietnam. All the businesses liked to have dragons dance and fire works ignited in front of their stores. The Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotians were present at the

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8 Nguan Le is deputy administrator, Division of Planning and Community Services, Illinois Department of Public Aid.
The Asian refugee and immigrant organizations were founded because of the multi-cultural nature of the community and the different needs of each group. However, the functions of these organizations further cultivates different needs and defines the structure of interaction patterns in the community. These organizations, regional/cultural organizations, and temples all help strengthen the identification with the national culture.

Because many Asians in the community can not find a unified identity, as a result of intermarriage, or integration of different Asian cultures, or common interest, they identify themselves with the more inclusive and larger group -- Asian. Therefore, Asian service organization leaders, and business leaders are often seen at Asian Heritage Month events and other activities sponsored by Asian organizations such as Asian American Association and Asian American Institution.

Viewed at the level of geographical location, Asian service organizations, cultural/regional organizations, and temples/churches are connected to one another both inside and outside the community and have developed an organizational network. In contrast, the identity or the definition of the community as a geographical location is more fluid than solid. The concept of the Argyle community as a specific geographically bounded place emerges only when different groups and organizations, mostly business organizations and service organizations, feel they need to address the common issues and concerns of economic development, safety, and housing -- especially when urban planners, developers and organizations are also involved. It gives different groups who share the same geographic location a convenient and unified identity. This point will be further illustrated in Chapter V and VI. However, in contrast to community transformation and system theories (Gans, 1972; Suttles, 1972; Wellman and Leighton, 1979; Warren, 1988; 1978), the various Asian organizations help the community build three major sets of connections
inside and outside the community instead of two:

1) Vertical relationships which connect the community with the larger society;
2) Horizontal relationships which connect the community to locally based organizations and sentiments; and
3) Cultural relationships which can be both locally based and non-locally based.

This organizational network provides resources for solving local problems and also the specific problems of each group. Diversity and wider connections can help the community bring in diverse resources. However, it is often difficult to see the immediate results of their joint efforts as it takes time for such work to make its effects noticeable.

Different Resources and the Uneven Status of Different Groups

Not all Asian organizations in the Argyle community have the same resources. Some organizations lack the internal and external resources needed to grow. Smaller organizations which lack internal capacity are usually the groups who have access to fewer external resources.

The board of directors of organizations reflects the differences in the capacity and resources of a cultural or ethnic group. Most of the service organizations that I know about have diversified and resourceful board members, but the board members of other organizations present a different picture. For example, the majority of board members of the Lao American Community Services are former police officers in Laos. The police officers had the highest education in Laos. Since Laos has no degree granting institutions, people go to France or other countries to receive their higher education. Many Laotians finish high school, but very few can afford to go to France to pursue higher education. Therefore, some who wanted higher educations went to police officer schools in Thailand. When they came back, they were hired as police officers. They were well respected in Laos. Here, most of these former officers are working in factories and lack resources. They were chosen as representatives of their own community because of their past reputations.
Organizations lacking internal resources, such as strong leadership within their cultural communities from which to draw board members, find harder for them to tap outside resources and provide day-to-day services. As the executive director of the Cambodian Association put it,

I think the system is not fit to what we are doing. Few people understand what we are doing, especially the effectiveness of the board director. If you look at the mainstream American organizations, most of the social services, most programs are organized. Those groups have strong people, professionals. Then, they have money and they create the programs to serve the purpose. But, for the refugee community, the government provides the funds to do not just providing service but also the board development as well. We have to help the board at the same time we help the refugees. Because most board members are refugees themselves, they don't understand the system. They struggle to survive, go to school, take care of family, and at the same time help the community. We lack the leadership in this country. Most of the board members are not well educated. They don't speak English. They want to do something for their community under such a circumstance.

During 1975 to 1979, almost all the educated people in Cambodia, such as teachers, officials, police officers and monks, were killed. The executive director noted that,

the Americans do not understand how the refugee community is organized. We grow from a flower and come to the leaf and branch and tree. And now we feel like where we can set our roots. This means that not until we find the center of our community, we can not grow back.

According to an organization introduction provided by the Cambodian Association, between one and three million Cambodians out of a population of seven million, died under the Pol Pot regime. The Khmer Rouge, a radical communist fringe group stripped and destroyed the Cambodians of land, wealth, and their intellectual, cultural, religious, spiritual and educational resources. The refugees, the survivors of the Cambodian holocaust, were those with the fewest resources for coping. Most had no formal education, were illiterate in their own language, and very few knew English. Most came here with little money, few possessions, little or no family, and horrific memories of what they had witnessed. No other Asian refugee group came with as few resources as the Cambodians. A Cambodian Buddhist monk from Kampuchea Buddhist Society of Illinois, Inc. compared their own spiritual community with other Asians. "The Thais have a well-
established community and they have support from their native country. But, we do not have any of this." This temple is now in the process of merging with another Cambodian Buddhist temple in the community because of financial difficulties.

In addition to internal resources, the size of each ethnic group, the length of its residency in the U.S., and the degree of exposure to bureaucratic systems greatly affect an organization's abilities to continue long term support to their clients and to respond to funding changes. The internal capacities of each organization will influence their ability to connect with the outside world and mobilize outside resources, and consequently will affect the organization's position and the group's position in the community.

The Illinois Lao Community Service Center is a major service provider to 1,200 clients in Chicago and Laos in Illinois. However, because of funding cuts due to assumed refugee naturalization and a small service population, the organization has only two full time employees and two part-time temporary staff members even though their needs for adult literacy, senior education, and after-school tutoring far outstrip their staff capacity. The organization's staff hope for funding to support these programs in order to "help older people to change their way of life which will help the family."

Associated with the pressure of funding cuts, is the task of educating the founders of non-profits to the needs of the community. Some organizations blame their problems on a lack of community support on their own group. Unlike Chinatown, the Argyle community does not have a clear concept of community based on a single culture. Therefore, each group, especially when it is still struggling to survive in a new culture, cannot pool their resources effectively to solve some problems. Other organizations see this lack of support as stemming from the Asian cultural tradition. "The basic unit of association in Chinese society is family. Problems are solved in the family, and all the income and earnings belong
to the family. They do not need to pay taxes in their societies to benefit the society and the people who are in need," said a social worker at the South-East Asia Center.

The Chinese Service League in Chinatown south serves more people. The Vietnamese are a relatively large group in the community and many had experience working with the Americans. The Vietnamese understand how to work through bureaucratic procedure which have the potential to benefit them. According to a staff member at the Cambodian Association of Illinois, "these people (the Vietnamese) are more vocal. If you are quiet, nobody knows that you have a problem. The state representatives need votes, they need more people, and vocal people. If you are a small organization and a small ethnic group surrounded by many organizations and larger groups, then day by day, you will be absorbed and disappeared."

National statistics shows poverty rate for Asian Pacific Americans is 14 percent in 1990 versus nine percent for non-hispanic whites. In four metropolitan areas (Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, and New York), which together house about 30 percent of all Asian Pacific Americans, the poverty rate for Asian Pacific Americans is 13 percent versus seven percent for non-hispanic whites (AAPIP, 1992; Ong and Hee, 1994:34). As noted in Chapter III, simply looking at household or family income can be misleading. In addition, the broad standard racial and ethnic categories commonly used in demographic and poverty studies tend to blur the differences among small nationality and ethnic groups. O'Hare's research (1995) on child poverty among Asian subgroups indicates that child poverty rates range from below 10 percent for the children of Japanese, Filipino, and Indian ancestry to above 40 percent for those of Laotian, Cambodian and Hmong ancestry. Seven Asian subgroups had below average poverty rates and four had child poverty rates lower than that of non-minorities. In general children from Southeast Asian countries, such as Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, have higher poverty rates than other Asian American groups.

Winthrop Tower, the public housing complex, functions as a separate
institution from the rest of the community. It has more connections with other formal institutions, like HUD and the Department of Public Aid. If Winthrop Tower management and other community organizations could communicate with each other in the manner of Lakefront SRO, it might help change its image within the Argyle community. Some non-Asian residents who do not live in the housing projects find they lack cultural support, although they receive regular financial supports from different sources. Some Asian organizations occasionally provide services to these populations. For example, according to a staff member at South-East Asia Center, the organization enrolls children of other racial and ethnic backgrounds in their day care and after school programs and helps East European refugees fill out applications for public aid.

In conclusion, through various programs, Asian non-profit service organizations, regional/cultural organizations, and religious organization in the community have provided both emotional and technical support to their groups to assimilate into the mainstream. However, because of past experiences, lack English language skills and cultural differences, the assimilation process for these people, especially refugees, has been difficult. Other support programs, such as family counselling, adult literacy, daycare for the elderly, are necessary to deal with the "side-effects" of the assimilation. As a consequence, however, these Asian organizations also function as "cultural keepers" to maintain immigrant/refugee culture and strengthen cultural identities within their own group.

The majority of individuals of different Asian groups identify with their own culture through their organizations and institutions, yet there are also Asians uncomfortable with identifying themselves with any particular organizations, because intermarriage among Southeast Asians and country of origin. These people are more likely to pick and choose among the programs of all organizations depending on what their particular need are at any given moment whereas a person who identifies more strongly with a particular cultural group (e.g., Vietnamese) would be more likely to
affiliate with Vietnamese organizations only.

In addition to Asian organizations, there are several non-Asian service and religious organizations in the community. Most of them provide services to special populations (e.g., Lakefront SRO for the homeless, and Winthrop Tower for the low-income, Immigrants and Travelers Aid for the low-income, immigrants and refugees who need support). These organizations (as well as those Asian organizations) are struggling to survive through legitimizing their missions and service approaches in this increasingly "Asian" community. Therefore, although most businesses are Asian in the Argyle community and the number of Asian population has increased, there is a potential for these non-Asian organizations to redefine the community as non-Asian while cooperate with Asian organizations.

Similarly, because of its diversity in Uptown and lack of resources, new immigrants and refugees service organizations find themselves benefit from connecting with one another, and connecting themselves with the organizations in Uptown and beyond to address broader common issues, and mobilize resources. For example, the four refugee organizations have joint programs with one another and other non-Asian organizations in the community and outside. However, because of diversity and lack of a sense of common territory or community, it is also hard to see an immediate result of joint efforts in solving local problems. Therefore, Asian service organizations like regional/cultural organizations also connect with their own cultural community outside the geographic location.

Asian population as well as organizations and institutions have developed three major sets of relationships. The first is the relationship with larger society which is often called "vertical relationship" by previous sociologists. The second is horizontal relationship which is built with the local community. The third is a cultural relationship, which can be both vertical and horizontal, that is based on both local territory and beyond. Because of the diverse nature of the Asian population and many shared cultural characteristics and common interests,
the organizations and residents also find it convenient to identity themselves with the larger and more inclusive category, of "Asian," in addition to their national culture.

While all Asian organizations and institutions need to find more resources both from external and internal sources, some organizations of smaller Asian subgroups feel more concerned about their future survival. Compared to the rest of the community, Winthrop Tower has a unique internal system and is isolated from the rest of the community. In contrast, Lakefront SRO has developed relatively wide connections with the rest of the community. It is also viewed more positively by the rest of the community and makes a significant contribution to development in the Argyle community.
CHAPTER V

DIVERSIFIED BUT SEPARATE

The theories on racial and ethnic relations have ranged from assimilation (Persons, 1987; Jiobu, 1988) to pluralism (Gordon, 1964; Kallen, 1924; Papgood, 1926), and the more critical perspectives that emphasize the unequal status of different racial and ethnic groups (Portes and Rumbaut, 1990; Fan, 1926; Lieberson, 1980; Grønbjerg and Associates, 1978). Unlike the early Chicago School's ecological model (Park, 1982; Bogue, 1974; Louis Wirth, 1938; Zorbaugh 1976), more recent sociological studies of ethnic community suggest that the "natural areas" that distinguish different urban areas are residents' responses to fear of invasion from adjacent community areas. In fact the concept of "defended neighborhood" can be applied to even the smallest area such as blocks (Suttles, 1972, 1968; Gans, 1962; Hunter, 1988). The development of ethnic communities in urban areas are ethnic solutions to the sentiments of prejudice and discrimination in the larger population. Consequently, some ethnic communities provide a survival strategy in the short run and assimilation in the long run (Grønbjerg and associates, 1978; Yuan, 1963).

In this chapter I look at community residential interaction patterns through the lens of self-help networks among different groups, and residents' interactions with community organizations and businesses. At the business and organization levels, different racial and ethnic groups have interactions and cooperations, but among individual residents these kinds of interactions are greatly reduced. The interaction patterns demonstrate how "defended neighborhoods" and "racial and ethnic frontiers" are created and how controversial issues surrounding shared resources -- welfare, jobs, and public space (streets) -- can challenge pluralism. I
argue that although there is weakness from divided resources and actual separations in a diversified community, a good chance exists to improve mutual understanding when people of different backgrounds live next to each other. However, a number of misunderstanding and stereotypes are harbored within each group and between the "old" and "new" residents. These misunderstanding and stereotypes are often caused by lack of communication at the individual level. I also see the potential for people who live in this diversified community to define community by culture and race and choose racial and cultural identities voluntarily.

"We Live in Different Worlds"

As discussed in Chapter III, the majority of businesses in the Argyle community are Asian. Different kinds of business establishments serve as places to bring people of different backgrounds together. However, in residential areas, or from the residents' points of view, the gaps or distance among people of different backgrounds appear much wider and interactions at the individual level are not as frequent.

The Argyle community presents a potpourri of different ethnicity. Even the Asian community is further differentiated by sub-groups. Chinese immigrants came to the U.S. and settled in the community before the arrival of Southeast Asian refugees. Some Chinese helped their relatives immigrate to the U.S. from China, especially after the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act. Most of these Chinese either reside in single family houses or two story family dwellings in the Argyle community or nearby areas. Refugees from Southeast Asia were re-settled in the community in the late 1970's. Among Southeast Asian refugees, some moved from other places in search of their own community. Other Asian residents, mostly Pakistanis, clustered on Sheridan Road and Foster. Some Koreans live in a Korean senior center on Winthrop. Finally, Asians who live in surrounding areas along the avenues of Western, Sunnyside, Bryn Mawr, and the
community area of Albany Park, frequently visit the community -- shopping, meeting their friends, and using the services of their particular ethnic organizations and religious institutions.

Some Asian business owners began to move out of the Argyle community and live in communities of Edgewater, Lake View, Roger's Park, and the suburbs. Those who invested in the community at this time, especially professionals such as bankers, lawyers, CPAs, dentists, and physicians, had already purchased houses in the suburbs before they invested in the community. So they form a "part-time" specialized resident group.

The majority of the residents in the community are non-Asian (see Figure 1 in Chapter II). Some of them have been living in the community for decades. These residents include whites, African Americans, Latinos, American Indians, and special populations like the elderly, and mental patients, the latter live in Summerset, Illinois' largest nursing home for the mentally ill, and in other residential buildings on Kenmore and Winthrop.

Residents who live in the condos and high rises along Marine Drive seldom mix with Asians and other residents on the west side of Sheridan Road. Some take the elevated train to work, but walk quickly through the street. Some come to shop occasionally. According to local residents, they are "upper-middle or middle class residents who at least can afford to buy properties along the lake." Most Latinos reside on the west side of the Argyle community. They frequently visit the community -- shopping for gifts, clothes, and sometimes food and drink. Apparently, the residents of different groups share the same geographic location, but as one resident described, they are "living in different worlds." These separate and isolated interaction patterns can be attributed to the facts that people who share this community speak different languages or dialects, come from different cultures and religious backgrounds, have different life experiences.
Language

Many Asian residents in the community do not speak English at home. Some do not speak English at all. The language barriers Asians experience have distanced them from the rest of the community residents and have contribute to their fear of walking on the street alone, their fear of going to places beyond the Argyle community, and to some incidents of mistreatment. Within the Asian population, people speak different languages and dialects, therefore language and dialect also determine the interaction patterns among Asians. Asians from the same country generally speak the same language and dialect and thus have more chances to interact with one another. On summer evenings or late afternoons people often stay outside their apartment buildings, and in front of stores to chat with one another in their native language or dialect. Because many Southeast Asians originally migrated there from other countries (e.g., the Chinese immigrated to Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Hong Kong). South-east Asians of Chinese origin can communicate with one another in Cantonese, Teo Chew dialect, Toishanese, or sometimes Mandarin. Some Chinese who lived in Southeast Asian cities went to Chinese language schools and can speak Mandarin, but most Chinese in the community speak the Teo Chew dialect, Toishanese, or Cantonese. As Mr. Kan, the "old timer" Chinese restaurant owner said, "they (people from the north China) can hardly find a job in Chinatown, because they don't speak Cantonese." Yu is a Vietnamese Chinese, whose father has a business on Argyle street. His mother speaks only Cantonese. So if he dates someone, he wants her "at least to speak the same dialect and be able to communicate with the family." My mother does not want me to marry someone whom she can't talk to," he added.

Asians living in the surrounding areas, especially adolescents and young adults, often come and visit their friends in the community. A Vietnamese youth named Ra lives on Sunnyside Avenue. He is the only one in his family who was able to come to the U.S. I met him when I was attempting to interview a Vietnamese family on Winthrop Avenue. No one in
the family spoke English, so a teenage boy in the family ran outside and brought Ra in from the street to help them interpret. Ra explained to me later,

I have a lot of friends in the neighborhood. But all of them are Asian. Some are Vietnamese, some Chinese. Even with Chinese we speak the Vietnamese language. When I meet friends in cafes we talk about what to do over the weekends, going bowling or to night clubs. Most of the friends are from the same regions but came at different times. Some of them came five years earlier or later than I did.

These examples illustrate that people who speak the same language or have a common language to communicate in are more likely to develop lasting relationships than just encounters. They also seem to have more things to do together -- hanging around, going to different places, talking about the same experiences. Pan, Meng, and Chan are three elderly Chinese women (in their sixties) who attend the same church in the community. Pan immigrated from mainland China, Meng is a refugee from Cambodia, and Chan is from Taiwan. Meng only speaks limited Mandarin and English. Chan speaks more English. Both Chan and Pan speak Mandarin. They are good friends and often visit one another, although Pan often comments on Chan's Chinese pronunciation because Chan offers private Chinese language lessons. In 1992 Pan went to visit Taiwan with Chan and stayed at Chan's home in Taiwan.

Ron, a young white janitor who caretakes in a kitchenette apartment on Winthrop, indicates that although he knows many people in the community, he does not have any friends. He said,

I am most interested in politics, religion, and sex. But here people do not know the religion. Most people here are hard to talk with. I meet black, white, Hispanics, and Asians most of the time. But most Asians are not good at languages. Well, if you don't talk to each other, how can you be friends? Communication leads to friendship.

Asians who speak the same dialect or foreign language, and are also likely to develop communication and self-help networks among themselves and tend to concentrate in jobs requiring minimum English language skills. Therefore, language also shapes interaction patterns in the workplace which is often an extension of community life for many Asian residents.
Ling, the Cantonese immigrant, explained that when she first arrived in Chicago her uncle helped her find a job at an electric factory in Uptown and took her for the interview. Ling Ling's uncle came to the U.S. twenty years ago and works in a factory in the suburbs. Ling Ling's experience conforms to the emergent ethnicity perspective (Yancy, et. al., 1976) which suggests that the connections immigrants have in the U.S. determines their immigration and career experience. Often the experience and status of immigrants who came earlier decides the experience and status of the family members who follow them to the United States. However, the length of time in the U.S. also changes their experience and status. Ling told me that her uncle's family worked in suburban factories. They are "skilled workers" now and are paid for $6-8 per hour instead of minimum wage. They also own a house in the community where Ling and her parents and brother have lived since immigrating. Ling described her work as,

an assembly line job with minimum pay. I do not need to speak much English. If I don't understand what the supervisor said, I can ask co-workers who have worked for many years and understand those routine languages. But the thing is that you can't always ask. Sometimes, I bring those questions home and ask my relatives. They have been here longer and know those things.

Her supervisors at work are Latinos who do not speak English well either. Some of her co-workers are Chinese who came from the same region as her and live in the same neighborhood. When I first met her at the South-East Asia Center, she had just finished her Saturday English class with two of her friends who came from the same region, work in the same factory, and live in the same neighborhood. Her English teacher is an American who is taking private Chinese lessons from Chan, the elderly woman from Taiwan. In addition to the full-time job in the factory, Ling also works five hours a day in a Chinese restaurant on weekends. Because she does not speak good English, she can only "pack food for take-out customers."

Mr. Sun came from Taishan (Toishan), Canton in 1988 with his wife, and two children. When they first came to the U.S., they lived in Mississippi with his brother's family who sponsored them. He recalled,
in July, 1988, four months after we came to the United States, the whole family moved to Chicago. Here is a big city and easy to find jobs. There are a lot of people from Taishan, Canton. There are some reasons for us to move here. Here we had some folks from the same hometown. It is impossible just to have a job without a place to live.

His first job in Chicago was furniture manufacturing. Now he is working for a factory which makes electric products, such as fans and heaters. He is not satisfied with this job. He wishes his English was better so he could do the things he wanted to do. He feels,

the biggest barrier for me is English. Otherwise I will go to do business. Right now, my job does not use the skills I learned before. But it is a promising job and I will be satisfied. The boss told me I have a chance to be promoted as a technician and a raise of wage.

Thus, language defines the interaction patterns of Argyle residents which, in turn, extend to the workplace when they interact with and introduce one another to work. However, most of these kinds of jobs need only minimum English language skills are not well paid. If the store owner speaks a little English and Mandarin in addition to his mother tongue (e.g., Vietnamese or Cambodian) he/she might have a more diversified customer base. National statistics also show the impact of English and education on income. The median yearly income for Asian Pacific Americans with limited English is $20,000 for males and $15,000 for females. Figures are similarly low for males and females with less than a high school degree: $18,000 and $15,000, respectively. Persons with both limited-English-speaking ability and low levels of education, a double handicap, earn less than $10,000 yearly at full-time and year long employment (Ong and Hee, 1994).

Staff at some Asian organizations feel that language differences sometimes produce misjudgment and mistreatment of Asians. A often told story is that of Bill Wu, an immigrant from Canton, China who came to the U.S. in the early 1950's. During a medical check-up, Bill was nervous and refused to cooperate with the nurse. Because he could not speak English, he was "diagnosed" as mentally ill and sent to a mental institution where he stayed for 31 years. In 1983, then Cook country public guardian Patrick
Murphy's office contracted with the South-East Asia Center to present Bill's final hearing. Murphy's office won the case and the Department of Public Health had to pay Bill $100,000 in compensation. Then president of the Center and the board members agreed to take care of Bill. As one of the staff members recalled, "some board members said it could happen to any of us. Besides we thought it might help create jobs." Bill was released to the community and South-East Asia Center purchased a permanent resettlement home for him next to the Center. After 31 years of treatment in the mental institution, Bill has lost all his memory and needs constant care. Bill Wu is not only talked about by people in the community, but is also used as a reminder, through his appearance at New Year's receptions and other events, to the Asian community that people like this still "need help." Another case is about an elderly woman who went a department store to buy a coat for her sister. At the cashier station she was stopped by a shop assistant and accused of shop-lifting because she was wearing the same kind of coat sold in the store. Later, this old woman was released when an English speaking Asian social worker came with her family to explain about where her coat came from.

Culture and Religion

There are profound differences between Asian culture and other subgroups' cultures in the community. Cultural and religious differences affect the social interaction patterns between Asians and other residents. Sociological studies that emphasize structural distances among different racial and ethnic groups tend to overlook the importance of understanding and accepting each other's culture and cultural history as an important step in narrowing the social distance between groups. In turn, the social distance among different groups may further generate racial and ethnic tensions.

Ra, the Vietnamese boy who interpreted for me, not only considered language a necessary condition for making friends (as quoted in the first
section of this Chapter), but also for maintaining his own cultural and individual values. He said the family member whom he helped with the interview soon became his friend, because "he speaks nicely, no bad language. To me, those who think about how to work, think about family are good friends." Both language and cultural values emerged as the criteria for making friends.

Because of physical, cultural, and religious differences, Asians are more likely to be subject to racial slurs in the community. A Buddhist monk in the community "felt very sad" when he was "looked upon as an enemy on the street," especially when he thought he was a well respected person in his own culture. He said,

Asian people (in the community) like each other because they respect each other. If you go to some Asian people's families, you can go any time and they will invite you any time. Other people don't invite you. They look at you with negative feelings. They don't like your way. They don't accept your way. They don't know how to respect each other. If you go to the street, they look at you as if you were strangers. They don't say hello. They don't show good behavior.

"As soon as they see me, they would yell at me loudly...They show their prejudice against me by their negative words and attitude," he wrote in a paper for his psychology class at a community college in 1993. He also showed his discontent with the treatment that Buddhist monks have received. "In 1987, near Los Angeles, the neighborhood residents protested against a Buddhist monk living in a monastery. A year later, a monk and his uncle were killed in the community. In 1993, six monks, one novice, one young man, and an old woman were killed in their temple in Arizona. In neither of these two incidents were the killers found."

Other monks showed more tolerance to offensive remarks and used their own religious teaching to cope with prejudice. A Cambodian Buddhist monk remarked, "according to Buddhist teaching, a peaceful heart makes a peaceful family; A peaceful family makes a peaceful community; a peaceful community makes a peaceful country; and a peaceful country makes a peaceful world. If you want people to smile at you, what would you do? You need to smile first." Another Buddhist monk from Thailand said, "sometimes
people threatened us loudly and angrily, but I am not afraid. I do not care. That is ignorant."

Buddhism espouses a nature of law in which everything has its cause and effect. Life is suffering which is often caused by endless and useless wanting. So when we give up useless craving and learn to live each day at a time, enjoy without restless want the experiences that life offers us and patiently endure the problems that life involves without fear, hatred and anger, then suffering can be overcome and we will become happy and free (Ven. S. Dhammika, 1991; Ven. Dr. C. Phangcham, 1993).

Because of language and cultural differences, the most popular entertainment after work and school for the majority of Asians in the community is to watch home videos, although there are also video customers from outside community, for example, university students, suburban and out of state residents. There are six video stores in the Argyle community. The video tapes are either produced in home country of the residents or Chinese films that have been translated into their native languages. It is also estimated about four or five other stores -- grocery stores, gift stores, and general stores -- also lease video tapes. For example, there are very few Thai residents in the community but three Thai grocery stores both on Broadway and Lawrence rent Thai video tapes and sell Thai newspapers to the shoppers from the suburbs or other community areas. There are altogether four Thai businesses in the community. Ron, the young white janitor on Winthorp Avenue, said,

these people do not have a good education. The well educated moved out. Most people I know are blacks, but we are living in different worlds. Asians in this building are watching home video all the time, which is boring. Most blacks do drugs and prostitution.

As Sapir (1967) suggests in *Culture, Language and Personality*, language is the perfect symbolism of experience and a great socialization force. In the actual context of behavior it can not be divorced from action. It is the carrier of an infinitely nuanced expressiveness. He emphasizes that language is more than a mere technique of communication. The life of human
society is dominated by the verbal substitutes for the physical world. Therefore, both the language barriers and lack the same cultural experience and life chance determine the interaction patterns among residents.

**Immigrant and Refugee Life Experiences**

In addition to language and culture, immigrants and refugees also have different life experiences from the rest of the community. While most earlier non-Asian and Asian residents who live in the Argyle community have settled down with their routine lives, the newly arrived Asian refugees and immigrants are still struggling to adjust to a new environment and establish themselves.

Refugees can go to Truman College, a community college on Wilson and Broadway, to study English. However, immigrants sponsored by their relatives are not entitled to any government support for the first three years. They feel the need to take any job that is immediately available. So although some of them go to Truman College for English classes, they find it difficult to continue after a while. Making a living in the new country is even harder for immigrants of middle-age with a family. In addition to cultural adjustment, they have to take care of their family and raise their children. The majority of immigrants living in the Argyle community do not have adequate language skills, nor previous experiences in running family businesses. This often means they have to alter their earlier American dreams. Mr. Sun, the immigrant from Canton said,

> in Chinese, we often say "start from zero," which means you have nothing to begin with, start from the scratch on one hand, on the other hand you can have a new beginning. But, I started from the negative, because I have two children to support. I could go to school, start a new life otherwise.

Both he and his wife work full-time in factories with minimum wage. Most of these immigrant families "have the whole family working together and pool the money together," as one of Ling Ling's friends described. Ling said she goes to the public library on Ainslie and Magnolia to study
English in the evening. Sometimes, she is too tired to read and goes to bed. She said,

I don't have time to go anywhere else. I need to get up early in the morning, preparing for work. Besides, I don't know the way and can't talk much either. I can't go far away. I am never afraid when I go to Argyle. If you can speak the language, you will not feel different when you come to this different country.

She hoped she "could go to college someday. People say we can have assistance, although not much, because we are immigrants and low-income."

Doctor Cheng, from Mainland China, is trying to improve his English and dreams of getting his medical license. At the same time, he practices traditional medicine such as herbology and acupuncture, in case his long term career goals will not be realized. He said,

every day I see patients, read books, no time for leisure. I haven't gone to any movie or theater. I don't have friends in the neighborhood. Patients are my friends. I live alone in a single room apartment. The rent is $200 a month. Many people think this area is dangerous, but I can't say anything about it. Now, my ideas have not been realized. So, I have to live here.

Doctor Lu came from Taiwan in 1962 and worked in a hospital. In 1982, he moved into this community. Now, he is retired and lives on his $400 per month retirement pension. He was reading a book on Chinese medicine book when I came to interview him. He said,

I am studying Chinese medicine. I will perhaps open a Chinese medicine office. When I came here, you didn't have to have a medical license. Herbology does not require one. The trouble is that not many people come to see you, not many people believe in it.

He lives in a single room in a kitchenette apartment building in Argyle. Unlike most of the residents in the community, he does not have a television set. However, he is well-informed about what is going on outside the community.

The Argyle community is also known as the International Shopping Center and the street signs created by the Asian Small Business Association attest to this nomenclature. As the name of this shopping center suggests, the Argyle community, especially its residential areas is diversified. However, the social interaction patterns, especially among
its residents, tend to be confined within their own groups because of differences in language, dialect, culture, and religion, and life experiences. Nevertheless if people speak the same language, and/or affiliate with the same community organization or religious institution, they may find more chances to interact with one another beyond their group boundaries.

Controversial Issues

In the community, people interact with one another more along the lines of languages, cultural and religious backgrounds, and life experiences. However, people in the community do feel angry and uncomfortable with one another over the issues of public aid and use of public space. The tensions surrounding these issues may well cross the above lines. In addition, to a lesser extent, people who came to the community earlier blame those who came more recently for the problems in the community.

Public Aid

A substantial number of the residents in the Argyle community depend either on public aid or retirement pensions. According to census statistics, the average median family income in Uptown was $22,378 in 1990, ranging from $52,151 in census tract 314 along the lakefront to $10,288 in the Argyle community, census tract 312. About 58 percent of the total population in the community lives below the poverty line. According to the Illinois Department of Public Aid, approximately 2,457 persons or 38 percent of the total population in the Argyle community received public aid in the form of AFDC or MANG (Medical Assistance No Grants) in January of 1996 compared to 15,749 persons, or 25 percent of the total population in the entire area of Uptown (Figure 4. Percent of Persons on Public Aid, 1996).
Loan, a middle aged Vietnamese woman, moved to the U.S. in 1990. She was first re-settled in California. Four months later she found out one of her best friends from Vietnam was living in the Argyle community so she moved to Chicago. She has a 24 year old daughter whose father was an American soldier. She did not want to come to the America right after the War, because she was the oldest child in her family and needed to take care of her relatives. However, when she found it was difficult to stay in Vietnam, she decided to come. "My daughter has blond hair. She could not get a job in Vietnam. I could not work, because I was involved with an American," Loan said. She came with her daughter and her sister's son whom she adopted.

Her daughter has a job and lives on her own. She and her adopted son share a small kitchenette apartment on Winthrop. Her son sleeps on a twin
bed and she sleeps on the floor. She told me she is on welfare because she cannot read and go to work. As she was afraid she might get lost outside the community she did not go to Truman College to learn English. Therefore, she went to English classes at South-East Asia Center on the next block. She explained why she has no work,

I am living on welfare. I have food stamps, rent, and medical care every week. I have $193 in food stamps, $268 in welfare. I pay $240 rent. The currency exchange will take off $4. My son works after school. I don't know how to work. I went to a Vietnamese store and they asked whether I speak Chinese or English. To keep the house, I don't read and I don't know how to operate the washing machine. It's hard to get a job. I never went to school in Vietnam. Only start from here.

In addition to welfare payment, she also receives about $200-300 every two to three months from her brother who came to the U.S. earlier.

Katie is a white single mother with two young boys. She grew up in the neighborhood and went to elementary school at St. Thomas. She dropped out of high school when she got involved with a boyfriend who provided her with everything "money, clothes, the things that even my mother wouldn't give me." With him she had her first child who died at birth. In 1974, she broke up with him. Then, she met her eldest son, Andrew's father. Ever since Andrew's born she has been on and off the public aid. Andrew's father later moved out of the state. The public aid she received is about $380 dollars a month.

People in the community identify and socialize with one another based on whether or not they are on public aid. In the course of my observations, I saw people hanging out on the street ask each other whether they were on welfare. Being on welfare suggests that they have some common experiences and may therefore have a basis on which to associate.

Some property owners and Asian business leaders think people who depend on welfare are the major cause of many problems in the community. A Greek property owner who moved to the community in 1961, loudly scolded a group of people, mostly African Americans, standing outside her property. Surprisingly these people just left quietly and caused no
trouble. She explained "they just lost their self-esteem." She said,

> I came to this place in 1961, all the people were white. People were business like and missed work. Now, people do not work. They get pay-checks. They are spoiled. They pay rent once a week, then no money, steal, go to court. Stealing, killing people, every thing. People took things away and kill you. People like this are no good. They go to the office for possibility of welfare. It is not right for people to live for today and not know about tomorrow.

There used to be a Currency Exchange on Argyle street. The majority of its customers were welfare recipients who came to cash their welfare checks. Herbert, the grocery store owner on Argyle, told me that one day "the owner of the Currency Exchange lost his lease. He had been here for a long time. Now, those people have to go to Sheridan and Winona to cash their checks. It would be difficult in winter time." While he praised the Asian community for greatly improved safety in the community, he was also sympathetic with people who had to go one or two more blocks further to cash their checks. However, according to some Asian business owners, the area outside the money exchange became a high crime area -- people often got robbed or mugged. The two other currency exchanges are located on Sheridan. Business owners often consider Broadway and Sheridan as safer places.

Because a substantial number of residents live below the poverty line and receive public assistance, public aid often emerges as a topic of many conversations and becomes the focus of tensions in the community. Some "old" residents in the Argyle community are resentful of "the newcomers" from Asia. They think Asians might take away their share of public aid. As Ron, the young janitor at a kitchenette building, said,

> the blacks and whites say "these slant eyed gooky rice farmers, all they do is to take out welfare money. But I think this is jealousy. They work hard. They had nothing when they first came.

Delgado and Levitas (1994) also presents an alternative vision about immigration and economy. They suggest that immigration issues are less about economics than they are about politics, race and culture. Most immigrants work at low-paying jobs that many citizens will not accept.
Eighteen percent start new small businesses, supplementing the sector which creates most of America’s jobs. According to Delgado and Levitas (1994), a 1992 Department of Justice Study found that less than one percent of immigrants legalized under the 1986 amnesty program had received federal assistance, Social Security, SSI, worker’s compensation, or unemployment insurance. Less than one-half of one percent received food stamps or AFDC. Their paper suggests that most AFDC recipients among immigrants in California are recent refugees from Southeast Asia and the former Soviet Union. Ong and Blumenberg’s research (1994:121) suggests that between 1986 and 1992, federal funding on Health and Human Services for refugee assistance dropped from $421 to $411 million. After adjusting for inflation, what seems like a modest drop in funding amounted to a 27 percent decline between 1986 and 1992. When normalized by the number of newly admitted refugees, the level of federal dollar spending per person dropped by 64 percent. The decline in federal assistance has not translated into a decline among refugees in their reliance on welfare. Instead, refugees have shifted to regular public aid programs. A 1992 survey shows that two-thirds of Southeast Asian households entering the U.S. in 1985 still relied, wholly or in part, on public assistance. This is roughly the same usage rate among refugees who arrived in the 1990's. Since most of these refugees did not qualify for federal grants, their payments came primarily from state-operated and funded programs.

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1 According to data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the smallest businesses (0-4 employees) created 2.6 million net new jobs. Large companies (500+ employees) created 122,000. All other business size classes lost jobs. In manufacturing, only the smallest businesses (0-4 employees) added jobs. The greatest growth was seen in the service industry. During the 1989-1991 period, the service sector added 1.9 million jobs. All but 475,000 came from small firms (those with fewer than 500 employees). Approximately 1.1 million came from firms with 0-4 employees (U.S. Small business Administration News Release September 30, 1994; Dennis, Phillips and Starr, 1994).

2 Ong and Blumenberg’s research (1994) indicates the most salient difference among ethnic and racial groups on welfare is household structure. Close to 90 percent of all Southeast Asian AFDC households contain two parents. In contrast only 43 percent of non-hispanic white, 21 percent of black, and 40 percent of Latino households contain two parents.
Although immigrants occasionally benefit from the services of some organizations, they are often unhappy about their lack of support compared to refugees. In contrast to refugees, immigrants in the community are not entitled to any public support, especially during the first three years, because they entered the United States with sponsorship from their relatives. Mr. Sun, the Chinese immigrant from Canton said,

refugees who come over often do not work, especially those youngsters about 20 years old, staying outside until late and make a lot of noises. Vietnamese are more comfortable than us. We have to work. Many people help them and they receive government money. Their association only helps them, because they are refugees and we are immigrants and are sponsored.

A discussed in Chapter III and Chapter IV, the "old timer" Chinese who started to build New Chinatown in 1974 also compare their experiences of immigration at an earlier time with the refugees of today.

Streets

The residents and those who work in the community also disagree on how to share public places, especially the streets. In his study of the Addams area, Suttles (1962:73) suggests that street life provides an opportunity of transient interaction between groups for gossip and for interpretive observation. Street life, then is a vital link in the communication network of the Addams area and, as a result, governs much of what the residents know of one another beyond the range of personal acquaintance. Street life in the Argyle community is segmented along racial and ethnic lines, although there occur brief encounters among individuals of different groups. However, streetlife seems more vital in the communication network among certain groups than others.

The average family size for Southeast Asian households is close to five persons, while the average family size for other welfare households is about 3.5 persons. Southeast Asian welfare households also differ significantly from other welfare households in terms of education and English language abilities. Thirty percent of Southeast Asian refugees in AFDC households arrive in this country having had no formal education. Among all individuals in AFDC households only 7 percent have had no schooling. In addition, a large majority of Southeast Asians in AFDC households have limited facility with the English language.
Since many apartment buildings are not air conditioned and are small and crowded, the summer months find many residents congregating in front of their residential buildings in the evening and children play in the yards after school. But most residents turn in before dark. Those who stay out late at night or during the day, and swear, drink, fight, are often seen as a threat to the rest of the community. An African American woman I met on the street said she moved to the neighborhood less a year ago during the winter. At that time, "there were not that many people standing out in the street." Now, she says that the neighborhood is too rough and that she is considering a move.

It scares me when I come back from work. But, maybe the rent is better in this neighborhood? That is the reason why I moved here. I used to live on Lake Shore Drive... I don't know what's wrong with those people. They probably don't work. Maybe the stores, the business can hire them. But, maybe they don't want to work.

The way that different residents use the streets often cause misunderstandings and feelings of insecurity, especially among Asians who are from different cultures and lack the English skills to engage in proper "street etiquette." A Cambodian girl, whom I met at a New Year's party hosted by the South-East Asia Center, said she is often scared of walking on the street with her friends. Major, the old African American man who moved to the neighborhood in the early 1960's, and now lives in a building owned by Lakefront SRO said,

you don't hear the Chinese curse and raise voices, they mind their own business. But the blacks and whites have a lot of disturbing going on. You have been around (to) hear people say bad words. They say it out loud. They don't mix up with Chinese.

People engaged in street antics tend to gather outside the El train station on Argyle street, or stand outside the bars and liquor stores. When they get drunk, they begin to swear and fight on the street. A Cambodian restaurant owner complained that when people got drunk, they began to call Asians different names such as "Viet Cong," Asians often interpret these epithets to mean the abusers are war veterans who are unhappy about their past experience.
Both business leaders and property owners are concerned about the public image of the community. Police patrol officers sometimes take away drunk pedestrians and disperse "fighting" groups on the streets. Raucous streetlife is seen as a bigger threat to the restaurant businesses, because most of them close late. Restaurant owners worry that street problems will stop customers from coming in the evening.

However, the streets provide a place for some residents to meet friends. For example, Mark is a white Vietnam war veteran who lives in a kitchenette apartment on Winthrop. He visits Argyle street every day, "to see stores and walk around, run into friends in the neighborhood. Most of time I am alone." The reason for him to meet friends on the street is "because they are not close enough to visit at home," so whenever he feels like talking to someone he goes to the streets.

Timing and Manner of Entry

In addition to the tensions around public aid and street life, when and how residents move to the community is also a focus of tensions, especially when certain issues are involved. These issues include the causes of problems in the community, how the problems should be solved, or what name should be given to the community? Asian residents are particular conscious of whether they came to the U.S. as refugees or immigrants.

The Vietnamese who came in the first refugee wave often consider themselves as more "fortunate" than "the later comers." Most of earlier

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3 According to the studies of Strand and Jones, Jr. (1985), Ong and Blumenberg (1994:116), between 1975 and 1991 over a million Southeast Asian refugees were re-settled in the U.S., arriving in two waves. From 1975 to 1978, 178,000 refugees came to the U.S. Of these, 83 percent were Vietnamese and the remainder were largely Laotians. Shortly thereafter (1985-90), a protracted Cambodian famine forced an additional 150,000 people into Thai refugee camps. Ongoing political turmoil in Vietnam motivated over 85,000 people, mainly ethnic Chinese, to risk travel in small crafts never meant for the open sea. Finally, refugees from Laos fled to Thailand as communists drove Hmong from their highland homes and seized businesses largely owned by ethnic Chinese. Rising antagonisms toward refugees in countries of first asylum such as Thailand combined with the continued massive exodus from the region prompted the U.S. government to admit additional refugees. After these two major waves, a small number of refugees came to join their family or their American
wave of refugees worked in the government or in businesses affiliated with the U.S. Phan, the pharmacist, had a nephew who worked for an American company before the fall of Vietnam. In 1975, the American whom his nephew worked for brought his nephew and the whole family out of Vietnam as his employees. Compared to many newly arrived refugees, Phan seems more successful: he owns a building, runs a pharmacy store, and is also involved in the travel and real estate businesses. Recently the family moved the suburbs.

According to Phan, the time of entry reflects differences in population characteristics and also the opportunities still available in the community. He said,

people who came here at the beginning had the advantage of timing. Second thing is that they used to be at higher levels. That is why they were afraid of the communists. It is hard for them at the beginning because the community was so small, but they have more chances to get back to what they used to have. People who came in the 1970’s were harder because there were not many opportunities left. They (early refugees) don’t want to talk about the past. When they came to the America, they just work hard, including me. They already have something and when people came later, it is hard for them to catch up. The only difference is timing. Some of them may catch up. I am talking about average people.

Ong and Blumenburg’s study (1994) indicates that the first cohort of refugees consists largely of the more privileged segments of the population, with advanced education and previous professional work experience. In contrast, the second wave represented a wider range of socio-economic backgrounds. This cohort was more likely than the first to include individuals with lower educational levels and rural rather than professional, work experience (Ong and Blumenberg, 1994; Le, 1993; Back and Carrol-Seguin, 1986). According to Census statistics for California for adults between the ages of 18 and 54, 65 percent of the 1985-90 refugee cohort had limited English language abilities, while only 50 percent of the 1975-79 cohort fell into this category. According to 1990 census, 59 percent of the 1985-90 refugees had less than a high school children.
education, compared to only 38 percent of the 1975-79 cohort.

Differences in population characteristics by time of entry are also reflected in differences across ethnic groups. In California the percentage of adults with limited English language ability varies from a low of 30 percent for Vietnamese to a high of 83 percent for Southeast Asians of Chinese ancestry. The respective percentages for Cambodians, Hmong, and Laotians are 54 percent, 60 percent, and 55 percent. While only 34 percent of the Vietnamese had less than a high school education, 81 percent of the Southeast Asians of Chinese ancestry did. The respective percentages for Cambodians, Hmong, and Laotians are 59 percent, 67 percent and 63 percent (Ong and Blumenburg, 1994:119).

Some African American residents blame the African Americans who moved to the community more recently for causing problems in the community. Major, the old African American man looked at the past fondly, in the 1960’s, it was nice up here. After the middle of 1960’s, it went down. When the blacks started to move in here, then the whites moved out. They go out to the suburbs. Then the blacks and Hispanics moved in. They will not keep up the street.

Jackie, a middle aged African American single mother with three children believed the major problem in the community was caused by "too many black people, gangs. They fight with each other." However, the convenient transportation facilities, low rent, and the diversity attract many African Americans who lived on the south side to this community. Many of them still have relatives living on the south side of the city and the El train transportation proves convenient when they need to visit their relatives. An African American resident, who moved to the Argyle community two years ago, said he likes the community. "It is nice to see different people." The American Indians in the community often feel close to the Asians. They find certain connections between their own culture and the Asian cultures.

Some African American residents are resentful of Asians moving into the community. As one African American customer from the east side of
Sheridan Road said,

these guys came only 20-40 years, or first or third generations. Blacks have been here for five hundred years. These guys just came here and built a Chinatown. The blacks are left out. This is a black community. I don’t like Koreans or Chinese coming to a black neighborhood, selling black products, wigs, retail products. To me this is racist. If they go to the white neighborhood, no one would buy their products. They do not care about community. They did nothing to help people. They only come here to sell.

However, he does not like them selling their own products either. "If they sell they should sell something that everybody can buy, like this auto parts store. The auto parts store is owned by an immigrant from Nigeria.

In contrast to the more isolated ethnic communities of earlier times, such as Chinatown, or the "Black Belt" on the south side of Chicago, the Argyle community is shared by people of diverse backgrounds and hence people from different cultures have more opportunities to interact with one another. Community events, wedding celebrations, and business settings provide residents with an opportunity to view each other’s culture. However, even though they have chances to interact with other groups, in their private lives people of different groups seem to "live in different worlds," because they do not speak the same language, share the same culture, or practice the same religions. They also have different life experiences. The community seems even more divided around the issues of public aid, how to use the public space such as streets, and when and how people move to the community. The streetlife of some residents obviously threatens the rest of the community. However, streets also serve a vital social function. Some people meet their friends and spend the day on these streets, especially during warm weather. In a community with crowded housing and few recreational areas, the public streets provide an arena for socializing.

Self-help Networks

In addition to the connections with organizations and institutions
discussed in Chapter IV, residents of the community have also developed many informal self-help networks. These networks are vital for the daily survival and well-being of the residents. These informal networks have understandably developed along racial and ethnic lines, because people who speak the same language or dialect, came from the same region, or have the same life experiences find it easier to interact with one another in the community. The majority of the non-Asian "old comers" receive help and assistance from mainstream organizations, such as the Chicago Department of Human Services. The most important emotional and spiritual supports are from churches within or next to the community, and from friends and families. The majority of Asian organizations, as well as institutions such as churches and temples, not only provide financial supports but also cultural and emotional supports.

In addition to emotional and cultural supports, the informal self-help system helps community residents find jobs, housing, training programs and other services. For example, Pan, the elderly woman who immigrated from mainland China, lives in a large one bedroom apartment on the west side of Broadway with subsidized rent provided by the church that she attends. Through friends in the church, she is connected with some restaurants in the community. Once a while she will receive orders from the restaurants to make dumplings at home for them.

Although many recent Asian refugees and immigrants do not live in the community, or moved out the community when their situation improved, those who live around Sunnyside, Western, and Bryn Mawr avenues and other adjacent areas often come to the community to play, visit their friends, and attend after-school and elderly programs. The Argyle community continues to serve as an emotional and cultural base for them. Asian immigrants and refugees who stay in the community prefer to live close so they can visit each other easily. This is also a major reason for population growth in this "Asian community."

The patterns of mobility and residential settlement among immigrants
in urban areas have been discussed in many sociological studies. Research by Portes and Rumbaut (1990) suggests that immigrants have become concentrated in six major U.S. cities (New York, Los Angeles-Long Beach, Miami, Chicago, Washington D. C., and San Francisco) because these cities provide close proximity to ethnic job markets and are also places from which it is easier to reach and return to their home countries. As discussed previously, the re-settlement patterns of Southeast Asian refugees in the U.S. are determined in part by geographic variations in the number of voluntary organizations willing to sponsor initial settlement and by the residential preference of the Southeast Asian refugees (Ong and Blumenberg, 1994). Although refugees have less choice about where they settle compared to the immigrants, once settled, some begin searching for their friends and employment opportunities in urban communities.

Loi, the single mother with two grown-up children from Vietnam, is a good example of this. Although she has many friends whom she "met here, going home together after English class," a friend she knew from Vietnam is the only one whom she can "visit at home any time she wants." Yu, a Vietnamese Chinese and his family used to live in Ohio when they first came to the U.S. Later, they moved to Argyle where his father opened a family business. Yu's family, therefore, came to Chicago because of greater employment opportunities.

In general, Asians in the Argyle community tend to make long-term commitments to family members and friends. The majority of Asian families in the Argyle community take care of the elderly in their households, and Asian self-employed businesses are more likely to use family resources. For example, Ms. Chou, the manager of World Journal book store quit her job in 1995 to take care of her new-born grandchild. Mr. Sun, the Chinese immigrant from Taishan, Canton and his family lived in an apartment building when they first moved to the community. Next to his apartment building, an old couple who came from the same region many years ago, owns
a two story three-bedroom apartment. The old woman met Sun's family outside the building and asked them whether they wanted to move into her building. She offered them a lease and also offered to babysit with Mr. Sun's two young children. When friends get together, Sun said,

most of our friends are Asian. We know some whites, some Hispanics, but we can hardly be friends, because of differences in language. Mainly Chinese. Chinese from all over, Shandong, Fujian. It is the chance to meet and most help I get is to understand the United States. We often get together talking about the situations in America and how we should do things. We also exchange points of view and help each other on smaller problems such as how to repair and buy a car, to buy a house, there are a lot of tricky things involved: interest rates and installments.

As he speaks both Mandarin and Taishan dialects, timing seems less of a problem than dialect. He is well accepted by older immigrants who are from Taishan.

A number of welfare recipients whom I interviewed work at temporary jobs, especially the "old comers" who do not have language barriers and have developed networks in the community. Most say they work because "public aid is not sufficient to support the family." This pattern of behavior is especially popular among non-refugee women who are single mother or elderly. Most refugees who are still on welfare are those who do not have adequate language skills, formal education, or previous urban working experience.

When I asked Katie, the white single mother with two boys, whether she worked, she hesitated and said "no." Her seven year old elder son, sitting next to her, interrupted immediately, saying, "mom, you work. Of course you work!" The jobs that she can find are cleaning apartments when someone moves out, working as a waitress in a restaurant where her aunt is working, or babysitting for a friend. Occasionally she also shares her one bedroom apartment with someone for a short period of time. Her weekly job income averages about $50-100 dollars when she can find a job. She said, "I wish I had a steady job, better paid, to get off public aid and insurance. So that I could pay for school things for the kids, cleaning things in the house, and pay the utilities." Her son went to St. Thomas
school where she used to go. "It's a good school, but it really changed a lot, but it is small. People know each other. The old principal asked me whether I could work on school lunch program, because we are still short on tuition. But, I could not take the job." If she works, she can only take cash. "I can't get married, maybe the two boys have two fathers. I do not want them to go through what I have been through. I want to go to work, but I want to stay with the kids. It is hard to find a job for me partly because of lack of education," she said.

Residential buildings, stores, restaurants, and other facilities provide job opportunities for the residents in Argyle. Churches and other entertainment facilities outside the community provide places for people to go. For example, Christine, a white woman resident in a kitchenette apartment often goes to church with her friends from the apartment building and once in a while goes bowling on Western Avenue. African Americans in the community are more likely than other groups to turn to the streets for friendship and companionship. The emotional bonds among African Americans in the Argyle community do not lead or motivate them to jobs. Most organizations that they get help from, such as the Salvation Army, and Department of Human Services only provide them with temporary formal services. The African American woman I met on the street at a Chinese New Year Parade said,

this is such a nice crowd. They stick together. They stay in their own race. So they can do things they want to do. They have organizations to help their people out. Not like blacks. Blacks are not organized and they are scattered. I am from New Orleans and I have black and white blood. We do not have organizations. I have problems. No one can help me.

The Winthrop Tower manager suggests the same, "the residents need someone to talk to them on daily basis and help them become motivated." Churches in the African American community usually play an important role in economic revitalization and community services, but there do not seem to be a sufficient number of these organizations and institutions in the area to provide this kind of support.

In conclusion, the Argyle community is a diversified community
compared to many earlier ethnic communities. At both the business and organizational level, the community provides opportunities for interaction, understanding, and cooperation among different ethnic groups. However, the residents of these different groups seem to "live in the different worlds," because they speak different languages, came from different cultural and religious backgrounds, and experience different life styles. Their contacts are limited and most likely to occur in community business establishments, institutions and organizations, or through events hosted by organizations. The tensions among these different groups often go beyond cultural differences and focus on issues of public aid, how to share the streets, and the manner in which particular ethnic groups move to the community. While some residents and business owners fear people who gather on the streets, other residents depend on the streets for friendship and companionship. Although residents and business owners complain about this "streetlife," they have not come up with an alternative meeting place for the people who depend on the streets for their social life.

Just as other community studies have documented, informal self-help networks have developed in the Argyle community. These informal networks provide cultural and emotional support to the residents and lead to job and job training opportunities for some residents. However, those who do not have language skills, or education and working experience feel it is hard to find a job. Groups that lack infrastructures in the community are often left out. Therefore, although the populations of different ethnic groups live and work within the same community area, which provides the opportunities for mutual understanding and cooperation, it still needs to create channels of communication at the individual level to eliminate misunderstandings and reduce tensions.
CHAPTER VI

IMAGE AND DEFINITION OF THE COMMUNITY

As discussed in Chapter II, the Argyle community has been given a number of different names since the first group of Chinese merchants started to purchase property and build a "new Chinatown." It has been called "Chinatown North," or "New Chinatown," which is symbolized by a Chinese pagoda at the Argyle El train station. It has also been called "Vietnamese Refugee Camp," "Asian Village," and "International Shopping Center" as noted on Argyle street signs. While its commercial areas have become increasingly Asian, the residential area of the community is composed of not only Asians but African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, and whites. Each group moved to the community at different times. Although these people share the same geographic location, they have different definitions of the community and different ideas about what the community should be called or what are its characteristics and its problems. In this chapter, I discuss how the Argyle community is defined and the forces that influence community image-making.

What is Community -- People, Place, or Business?

Although the Argyle community has several names, people who share the community, especially the residents, are often unclear about the boundaries of their community and what their community should be named. Some residents did not seem to care of they knew what the community they were living in was called, while organization and business leaders feel strongly about the image and the name of the community. To them, the name of the community not only represents their own identity and interests, but
also the group of people they represent. Changes in the community name over time illustrate the conflicts and compromises among different groups in their attempts to find common ground. It also shows how different groups have tried to redefine the community.

In general, there are three major ways that the Argyle community is defined internally. First, the community is defined on basis of the name of the major street and the larger community where the residents live. For example, when asked "Do you have a name for the community that you are living in (or working in)?" some residents said "it's Argyle street." Others would called it "Uptown." A few replied, "Cook County."

Second, people define the community on basis of the types of people who live in the community. Among people who define the community in this manner, some replied, "it's Chinatown." This response was especially common among "old timer" Chinese and some business owners who have witnessed the transition of the community over time. This definition is based on the official name of the community. Others explained the community in a more complicated way and referred to the race and income of the people who live in the area. Some residents believed that because the residents are not all Chinese or Asian, the community should not be called Chinatown. Jackie, an African American lady argued,

Argyle street is not a Chinatown. People call it Chinatown. I don't think so. I have been here for 17 years. Chinese people only live here, but it is not a town. Chinatown is on the south side, block after block, but here it is just a street and a bunch of stores.

The elder son of Liang, the beauty salon owner, commented, "what does community mean? This is not a community like Chinatown. There are other groups, Vietnamese, for instance, and also people who originally stay in this neighborhood." The manager of a Pakistani discount store on Sheridan Road described the community as "a low-income," "a public aid area." Later, he quickly amended his assessment by saying "a medium-low-income area. Most people who come to the store are African Americans, and foreign born, and Chinese and Vietnamese. There are also quite a number of seniors
who live in the centers. People (who) live beyond Foster are different."

Like Suttles (1972) suggests, when people find it difficult to define their community, they are more likely to name their community based on the official names of the street of the area -- "Argyle street," "Uptown," or even a larger urban area. Mr. Sun, the new immigrant from Canton said, "it's just a name. I just call it Argyle Street. Sometimes, if it is not clear, I would say it is New Chinatown." An Asian bank officer in the community commented,

they call it a New Chinatown, but this is not accurate now. It is OK to the Chinese. How will the others consider it? I would call it the Uptown community. Chinese are proud of their own community. Most Vietnamese can speak Mandarin, but Cantonese is more popular.

Although the community has a mixed up population and New Chinatown is somewhat a misnomer, he still feels that this "new" Chinatown is influenced by the Cantonese like most Chinatowns.

The third way that the people define the community stems from how the way the community is known to outsiders, which, in this case, is based on the business, or industry, in the area. A few residents call the area the "Oriental shopping center." Lu, the retired Chinese medical doctor from Taiwan would rather call the community "a food street, because no matter where you go, Chinese are always known for their food." Among non-residents, the Argyle community is best known for its exotic Oriental businesses.

Earlier sociologists argued that natural or physical boundaries reflect the social boundaries among different communities. They also suggested that communities have been increasingly inter-woven into the complex, larger society thereby losing the character of traditional communities (Hunter, 1988; Warren, 1988; 1978; Suttles, 1972; Gans, 1962). While the Argyle community shows the development of connections with the outer society, unlike the examples given in those earlier community studies, it does not have clear boundaries for many people who work and/or live in the community. Instead, residents identify themselves with their
own cultural group and later redefine their community accordingly. As a result, the name of the Argyle community has changed over time. Although the community is officially known as a New Chinatown, current residents use multiple definitions. The economic development generated under the same name on the basis of one particular group -- Chinese or Asian -- has helped to sustain the diversity of the community. Like many of Chicago's communities, the Argyle community is also known for its ethnic businesses, and people who are identified with its ethnic businesses.

The residents of the Argyle community have complained about crime, inadequate street sanitation, and poor maintenance of housing stock, yet most of them want to stay in the community because of its proximity to the lake, its reasonable rents, its access to transportation and shopping facilities, and its diversity of people.

While people question whether the Argyle community is a community, and how it should be defined, others believe that the community would be more like a community if it built facilities like parks, playgrounds, ethnic museums, and other entertainment facilities, more parking space to attract and hold store customers as well as keeping well-to-do residents from moving out. However, because of its diversity, collaborative efforts only focus on the issues that cut across groups such as school reform, employment training, and crime prevention.

**Forces Influencing Community Image Making**

In the above section, I discussed the changing image and multiple definitions of the community. In this section I deal with the forces influencing the image making, such as why the community changes its name and how it maintains different definitions.

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1 For instance, some communities are known for its people such as Little Italy on the Near West Side, Swedish town on Clark street, north of Foster, Chinatown on Cermack. While others are more known for its industries such as the Union Stock Yard and Pullman in history.
The shops and exotic food, restaurants, arts and crafts, and the Chinese pagoda at the El train station create the impression on outsiders that this is a Chinatown or an Asian community. This is the "official" city definition of the community; it is listed in Chicago’s tourist books and other documents as "New Chinatown." Because economic development benefits the community in many ways, this image of the Argyle community has been generally accepted, although many residents are not Asian and many older residents and organizations do not want the community to become increasingly Asian.

However, other businesses, organizations feel the increasingly Asian character of the community has created positive change and they would like continue in this direction. Although safety is still a major concern, it has been improved with the development of business area. The business owners believe that the community name gives the area an identity which further attracts customers and investors from the outside. But, they also agree Argyle is a racially and culturally mixed community. John, the liquor store owner observed,

I like the way the community has been changed, because the Oriental moved in. The Oriental is diversified group. Each group consider themselves as separate. They have Chinese and Vietnamese, Cambodians, some Thais. Each group really considers itself different from the other ones, but it is good to call this area a Chinatown, or New Chinatown, because it attracts costumers from surrounding areas. It gives the area an identity, just as Andersonville is considered Swedish Town. It is enough to give an idea. If people look for Oriental food or restaurants, they come to this area, or Chinatown on Wentworth for that type of food, that type of restaurant.

Urban planers, developers, politicians, and organizations in the larger community of Uptown are glad to see some positive changes happened in one of the worst areas in Uptown. They use the definition of "New Chinatown," or Asian community as they address community improvement issues, allocate resources, and mobilize voters.

Different groups, especially the larger ones in the Argyle community as well as Uptown, often disagree with one another over community image. The Vietnamese, especially Vietnamese business leaders from the first wave
of Southeast Asian refugees, felt strongly about what the community should be named. Phan, the pharmacist argued,

some people wanted to call it a Chinatown. That was before the War. The Chinese wanted to build a Chinatown, but they failed until we came in 1975. They are only a few. To call it a Chinatown overlooked other people. It looked unfair to me. The Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotians, all Asians. So this should be an Asian Village.

Jenny, a Vietnamese woman, came to the U.S. as a student before the Vietnam War. She and her family live in the Suburbs. In 1988, she started her own restaurant in the community. She thinks that the Vietnamese would loose their cultural identity if the community is called Chinatown. She said, "about ninety-nine percent of the population in the community are Vietnamese. Some are Chinese, Thais. It is fair to call the community an Asian Village. Most Chinese from Vietnam speak Vietnamese."

During the 1980's the Vietnamese referred to the Argyle community as "the Vietnamese Village" or "Little Saigon." This was opposed by other groups, especially the "old timer" Chinese who started to build New Chinatown. They were the most likely to call the community a Chinatown. A Chinese business leader showed his discontent in the following comment,

it is a Chinatown but it is also different from South Chinatown. The Vietnamese wanted to claim this community as theirs, but it is wrong. The Vietnamese Association at the beginning claimed that most of the population here was Vietnamese so that they could get money. Most people here are Chinese, we call them ethnic Chinese. If you look at the stores closely, you will notice many of them run by Chinese.

The "old timer" Chinese who started to build the New Chinatown felt unhappy, yet helpless, about the name change of the community. As time passed by, they lost their interest in maintaining the name of the community, although they still disagree with certain groups who want to change community image. A Chinese business owner, affiliated with Hip Sing Association said,

we took the government money (payment for purchasing their downtown properties) and not only that -- we asked the wealthy members (of the Association) to buy properties in the Argyle area. We started our project and we carried it on. Somehow, down the line, some opportunists came to this community. Some people tried to claim the credit that does not belong to them. 'We Vietnamese started this and that.' So I always believe if
we Chinese believe one thing we are able to do it. We took out time and put in a lot of effort. We came from a long way. This is different from Vietnamese mentality. They just want to cut in and try to make a few quick dollars and then try to make use of the American system.

During a follow-up interview later, he changed his attitude and added, "I do not care about the name of the community, as long as business runs well."

Older business owners, who had been in the community before the Chinese tend to call the Argyle community a New Chinatown. However, they are unhappy about population transition. Herbert, the grocery store owner who opened his business in the early 1970's has been thinking about moving his business out of the community. He had not moved because he cannot afford the rent at a better location.² Like most business owners in the community, he blame Winthrop Tower for ruining the community. At the same time, he also suggested that the Asian community was trying to get rid of some of the so-called "bad elements" in the community, such as the currency exchange on Argyle street.

In addition to the influence of businesses and the conflicts among different groups, the tradition and legacy of the larger community, organizational structure and networks have also influenced community image creation. Historically, Uptown is known for its diversity. Different civic and service organizations have been working hard to maintain this image of Uptown (Nyden et. al., 1990; Bennet, 1991; Marciniak, 1981; Warrence, 1979), and legitimize their missions and approaches. Lakefront SRO offers lower rent to Asian businesses which have to relocate under the condition that the businesses provide long term services to the residents the organization are serving.

Two Vietnamese brothers owned an Oriental business. One of the brothers later planned to open a business of his own. At that time, a fast food restaurant in a building managed by Lakefront SRO was for sale.

² Affordable property values is another major reason why many Asians who live outside the community invest in it.
Lakefront SRO helped arrange the business transition from the American fast food restaurant owner to the Vietnamese. However, the Vietnamese owner had to agree to keep selling the same inexpensive fast food, and let the two previous employees, both Americans, continue working in the restaurant. A staff member of Lakefront SRO described the transition,

I told them they can't sell that restaurant because there are other residents in the neighborhood, not only Asians. There are poor people who really need that kind of restaurant. What would happen to these people if they took over the business. I told them 'you can't have this business unless you keep it as it is.' The two employees are still working in the restaurant and they (Vietnamese owner and employees) work well together.

The organizations which provide services to a special population like Lakefront SRO decide that the Argyle community will continue to be racial and ethnic diversified despite its name and the name of the community may be further contested.

Some recent scholars (Nyden et. al., 1992; 1990; Grønbjerg et. al., 1993; and Bennet, 1991) suggest that the tradition of diversity in the community areas like Uptown, Edgewater, and Rogers Park have laid a foundation for economic development. They believe these community areas can serve as a development model for balancing gentrification and the needs of low-income residents. My research suggests that the economic needs of the low-income population can be met, to some extent, in the Argyle community because of its diversity of population, types of organizations, nature of housing supplies, and the wide range of service facilities in the community. In addition ethnic businesses have played an important role in maintaining a positive image of the community. Indeed, the Argyle community is often identified with, and recognized by, its ethnic businesses. However, people in the community are often unclear and confused about business dimensions and residential dimensions in defining the community. It is obvious that tensions exist among different groups, both at the individual and the group levels, in regard to community image making and cultural identity. The Argyle community is increasingly defined by its people and its industry, and, as such, the community and its
development are no longer simply based on geographic location.
CONCLUSION

I began this research by asking how "New Chinatown" developed, why the Chinese needed to build the second Chinatown, what the differences were between this "New Chinatown" and Chinatown on the south side of Chicago, and whether there was any connection between the two communities. I found that despite its name, the community is composed of people from many different racial and ethnic backgrounds. This led me to consider several more questions such as how the older neighborhood residents accepted the Chinese, newer immigrants and refugees; how the new immigrants and refugees compare to the old immigrants and residents; how the different ethnic groups are socio-economically stratified, and why the community is known by different names in addition to "New Chinatown," how people culturally identify themselves. I am interested in this study also because people outside often wonder whether this community is Chinese or Vietnamese, why the community has different names in addition to "New Chinatown," which major Asian groups live here, whether they are successful business owners or impoverished refugees and immigrants, and how Asians start their businesses. I found that the harmony and cooperations among different ethnic groups exit, but only at certain levels and within certain facets, of community life. Tensions among different groups, are at times, very strong. Asian is a very diverse group, although its sub-groups share many commonalities. The name of the community have been created, maintained and contested by different groups that relate to the community.

This research begins with a review and contrast of literature on race/ethnic relations and urban communities. Because communities in the large cities is comprised of various race and ethnic groups, studies of race/ethnic relations and urban community are inseparable. Two main
theoretical approaches in the study of race and ethnic relations are examined. One is the cultural perspective. From the cultural perspective, sociologists maintain that new immigrants and minorities will eventually assimilate into the mainstream, with the exception of minority business owners. Cultural pluralists insist that different immigrant cultures contribute to the American system and co-exist in their differences. The symbolic ethnicity perspective notes that today, ethnicity has become a system of clearly defined symbols in which people choose to identify themselves with different aspects of their ethnicity voluntarily. From the structural perspective, emergent ethnicity echoes symbolic ethnicity. However, it attributes the different experiences of groups to changes in the social structure, instead of individual voluntary choices. From a more critical perspective, sociologists argue that the experiences of different groups, and individuals from the same group, are determined by their disadvantaged positions as a result of social conditions.

Ethnic community is viewed by different sociologists either as a way immigrants gradually assimilate or as a response to discrimination in the larger society. Human ecology maintains that community is a symbiotic entity. It also suggests that ethnic community is only a temporary arrangement. Human ecologists see the disappearance of ethnic communities as a sign of assimilation and a consequence of urbanization. The community persistence argument, alternatively, holds that community sentiments still exist among certain ethnic group. Other sociologists maintain that community in mass society has been greatly transformed, and community sentiments vary across communities, individuals and time. They argue that communities need to develop more formal organizations to provide critical internal and external functions for basic survival and resources utilization.

The Argyle community is located in the north central part of Uptown which is known as a most diversified community area in the Nation. Being part of Uptown, the physical environment of the Argyle community reflects
the historical change and characteristics of its larger community area. Located in the heart of an historical preservation area in Uptown, Argyle is full of landmarks that identified Uptown as a center of show place and motion pictures, and a home of middle class families. Being declared as part of "inner city" in the 1960's, it impoverished with many dilapidated buildings and a heterogeneous population of the poor. However, Argyle has been notably improved since the 1970's when the Chinese merchants and refugees from the Southeast Asia moved in. It has been recognized recently as a miracle of "economic success."

The Chinese merchants of Hip Sing Association chose to relocate at the Argyle community when their downtown property was purchased to clear land for the expansion of federal courthouse. The Chinese relocate to the Argyle and started their ambitious dream to build a New Chinatown. That is how the community is officially named as "New Chinatown." Local business community and government agencies were enthusiastic about this ambitious dream of Chinese merchants and eager to find out how the second Chinatown would benefit them and promote local development. However, despite of tremendous efforts made by the Chinese and early enthusiasm of the local businesses and government agencies, "New Chinatown" did not develop in the way its early Chinese investors expected, because of further deteriorating situation in the neighborhood and unanticipated early retirement of Hip Sing Association president following an accident. The in-flux of Southeast Asian refugees in the same decade continued the growth of the community and the community became "Asian." Although the community did not develop the way that the Chinese expected, the reasons for them to relocate to this community were financially sound. Low property values were an important factor, yet other physical characteristics, for example, its convenient transportation and access to the lake, made it an ideal place.

As suggested by the ecological model, the Argyle community is a symbiotic entity. It has its businesses, organizations, facilities. However, contrast to the ecological model, among its residents and people
who work in the community, there is not a consensus about the definition of their community and its boundaries because the community is not racially and ethnically homogeneous. Although the community is known as "Chinese" and "Asian" and it serves as an important Asian cultural center in the Chicago metropolitan area and the Midwest with its exotic Asian stores, Buddhist temples and Asian service organizations, different groups in the community are engaged in a long-term process of sharing and negotiating space instead of replacing one another.

There are several distinctive groups of Asian businesses (e.g., "old timer" Chinese, refugees and ethnic Chinese, other Asian groups and non-Asians). Self-employed Asian businesses have provided opportunities for new Asian immigrants and refugees to make a relatively sufficient income in the new country. Many of them began to move out the community when their situation improved and became "part-time" residents. Therefore, like some sociologists in the view of structural conditions and the disadvantaged suggest, ethnic businesses and community help some disadvantaged ethnic groups' assimilation in the long run. Earlier theories from the cultural perspective explain that the concentration of self-employed businesses among certain ethnic groups are caused mainly by their cultural heritage that could be used as an adaptive mechanism. Light (1972) in his study of Chinese and Japanese businesses in California suggests the kinship ties, rotational credit and traditional informal organization of business provide a cultural advantage. Most of the Asian business owners in the Argyle community rely on family savings and resources to start and operate businesses. Yet, I found many Southeast Asian refugee business owners either had family tradition or previous experience in operating a family business in their home countries. As emergent ethnicity suggests, compared to the older generations of Asian immigrants, such as the "old timer" Chinese, these "new" business owners had easier access to other resources outside the family and community, although the overall markets and products of Asian businesses are still
marginal compared to some other groups. The Racial discrimination and the
disadvantaged perspective (Yoon, 1990; Hsai, 1986; Li, 1980; Wong, 1982;
Nishi, 1979) seems to apply most closely to the experience of professionals and the "old timer" Chinese in the business community. Some professionals chose to run small self-employed businesses in the ethnic community because of constraints they have experienced in mainstream professions and occupations. The "old timer" Chinese business owners still recall their difficulties in running self-employed businesses in the past and compare their experience with that of the new immigrants and refugees. They and their family members were forced into self-employed businesses by the Anti-Oriental campaigns and institutional discrimination.

An often neglected role of community businesses in previous studies of ethnic business is their provision of emotional bonds to community members, a cultural base or center to Asians, and a "cultural window" to non-Asians outside the community. Argyle businesses help Asian residents maintain their culture identity as well as interact with residents of different groups. In the role of "middleman minority" ethnic businesses connect with different peoples, that is, the businesses have offered opportunities for Asians and non-Asians in the community and Asians and non-Asians outside community to come together. For example, businesses provide Asian residents and non-residents with a cultural base with ethnic goods and services in a culturally familiar context. Asians who are already structurally assimilated (e.g., live in the suburbs, work in mainstream professions and occupations) still come and visit the Argyle stores, purchasing things that they can not find in other mainstream stores, speaking in their own languages, and talking about their experiences with others who share their life chances. For non-Asians residents, the businesses settings provide places to meet and talk. The stores also link to the rest of the community by offering a place for people to spread news and information in the community.

Compared to earlier studies, the range of Asian businesses are
wider. Various types of businesses link to the community and the outside in different ways. Traditional businesses which include laundries, groceries, gifts, clothes, dry cleaners, beauty shops, jewelry, and restaurants are operated mostly by Southeast Asian refugees and do not require professional training. These stores attract Asian and non-Asian residents from the community, as well as customers from the outside community. The majority of customers of these businesses are Asian, although the number of non-Asian customers, especially restaurants customers have increased. Modern service enterprises and firms require more professional training. They include banks, law firms, accounting firms, travel agencies, realtors, architecture and interior design, and health related businesses such as pharmacies, dental clinics, and medical clinics. These businesses were developed later and serve mainly the community residents and Asian business owners. Traditional medical services such as herbiology, acupuncture, and massage have patients from outside, but their customers are not many because health insurance do not cover traditional medicine. The rest of the businesses attracts mainly Asian customers. These businesses provide entertainment, communication and education-related services, such as book stores, electronic products, video shops, and photo shops. In addition to Asian businesses there are also a mainstream department store, several grocery stores and restaurants, remaining non-Asian self-employed businesses, and increasing number of new non-Asian small businesses. The non-Asian businesses have to identify their customers and the products that most Asian stores do not carry in order to survive.

The Argyle businesses have played a crucial role in community image creation. Even though the Argyle community consists of different ethnic groups, it is still referred to publicly as "New Chinatown," "Asian Village," or "International Shopping Center," because of its well known ethnic businesses. Through business dealings or economic development ventures, ethnic businesses of the community have contributed a sense of
unity and geographic location to the community. When the community is called "New Chinatown," "Asian Village," or "International Shopping Center," "the cognitive map" in the minds of outsiders is that Asian businesses concentrate in the area. Local business community and local government agencies, and non-profit organizations often use the official name of the community so as to attract external resources, customers to the community, and to sustain and expand the development to the larger community area. Thus, despite the diversity of residents, the image of the community as Chinese and Asian has been maintained.

In addition to its businesses, the Argyle community is home to a number of non-profit service organizations, religious institutions like Buddhist temples, churches, and Asian regional/cultural organizations. Among Asians, there are several service organizations dealing with refugee re-settlement and cultural adjustment. As these organizations became more established they began to deal with some long-term problems in their cultural communities. Asian organizations provide a cultural context or tradition to facilitate or ease refugees' and immigrants' assimilation and adjustment to the mainstream. Therefore they offer adjustment programs (e.g., employment training and placement, citizenship application and education), while at the same time they operate programs to handle the problems associated with assimilation and adjustment (e.g., family and mental health counselling, elderly care, cultural celebration and education). As a consequence, they further strengthen the cultural identity among Asians.

Each Asian organization attracts and serves mainly the clients of their own group. Different from business customers, organization clients are those who have less resources outside the community. Smaller groups, such as Laotians and Cambodians, depend more on their community organizations. However, some Asians cannot clearly identify themselves with one particular culture or country. For example, many Southeast Asian refugees have intermarried and/or migrated from other Asian countries.
Therefore, they do not have one cultural tradition. Like symbolic ethnicity theory suggests, these individuals choose to identify themselves with particular aspects of their cultural traditions depending on their needs. For instance, among Asians, in the Argyle community, individuals (e.g., Vietnamese Chinese,) may identify and use different organizations according to different situations and issues.

While Asian refugee and immigrant service organizations provide services mainly to Asians because of funding expectations from outside resources and clients’ needs, non-Asian organizations like Lakefront SRO, Winthrop Tower, Immigrants and Travelers Aid, Voice of the People serve specific populations or specific needs of all the population (e.g., homeless, low-income). In order to legitimize their funding they need to provide service to all the groups. The existence of multiple organizations in the Argyle community decides that the community will be diverse and the image of the community as Chinese or Asian are thus contested.

However, in order to provide effective services to the community, these non-Asian organizations often cooperate with Asians as well as rest of the community. For example, Lakefront SRO has various connections to the community through participating Chicago Alternative Policing program, meeting with Asian community organization leaders, and creating entertainments to promote community relations. Therefore, the community views it more positively. In contrast, Winthrop Tower, a subsidized housing complex owned by Travelers and Immigrants Aid since 1993, is still a more isolated institution and separated from the rest of the community.

Asian organizations sometimes cooperate with one another to address their community problems, because many problems that these community based Asian service organizations are facing cannot be solved solely by one organization (e.g., crime prevention, school reform), also because lack of resources. For example, four Asian refugees work together to identify common problems and write joint project proposals. They also developed programs with Immigrants and Travelers Aid and Voice of the People (e.g.,
inter-generational housing, youth employment training). The Chinese refugee organization (CMAA) also identifies itself with Chinese service organizations in Chinatown on the south side of Chicago. In addition, these Asian service organizations also have connections with other well established organizations in the larger community (e.g., Organization of North East) to deal with problems that are specific to the Argyle community as well as the more generalized problems faced by the larger area, Uptown, of which Argyle is a part.

Each ethnic group also has its own business organization, although these business organizations have not functioned as well as some business owners expected. Service organizations and business organizations have different orientations. Although I did not see them interact with each other often, they did tend to coordinate their activities around the initiation of cultural events and celebrations of ethnic holidays as well as dealing with the most pressing problems in the community such as community safety.

In contrast to the community transformation argument (Wellman and Leighton, 1979; Warren 1988; 1978) which identify two set of community relationships (vertical and horizontal), four major types of Asian organizations in Argyle (service organizations, cultural/regional organizations, religious institutions, and business organizations) have developed three sets of relationships. The first is a vertical relationship in which the organizations have connections with organizations outside community. The second is a horizontal relationship which the organizations co-operate with each other and other smaller groups within the community. The third relationship consists of cultural connections in which different Asian sub-groups identify with themselves both within and outside the community. Cultural relations among Asian organizations can be further categorized as national cultural groups and Asian cultural group, because many Asians from the same national group can not find a unified identity as a result of intermarriage and migration,
Asians from different countries share many cultural and religious traditions, face similar challenges and have common interest. In addition, each Asian organization has also developed national cultural network within its sub-group.

Sociologists of community persistence and transformation suggest (Janowitz, 1967; Greer, 1962; Hunter, 1988; Mynnhan 1963) that the community has become an emergent phenomenon that sees local sentiments as new social constructions of reality that are not simply holdovers from a previous era. The local sentiments is varying across space and time. Community is consciously defined and articulated in belief systems that many range from being relatively vague "image" to highly integrated, Utopian world view. The primary structural ingredient of the conscious community is the development of a more formal community organization that provides critical internal and external functions for maintaining local solidarity and sentiments. However, in the Argyle community, the community sentiments and attachments vary under different names from one situation to another. The community as a distinctive geographic location can be solid and real when organizations and the city address economic development and community organizing. However, among individual residents, community boundaries become unclear. The community is often defined as the types of people rather than geographic location. For example, the individuals in the community can identify themselves with national ethnic groups (e.g., Cambodian, Chinese, Laotian), or sub-groups (white, black, Asian), or socio-economic status (e.g., low-income). They can identify with different community organizations fully or partially according to their needs. This optional identities of individuals are cultivated and strengthened by the complex of organizational network in the community. Although there are conflicts among various organizations, they often need one another to mobilize outside resources to solve both individual and common problems.

Because the internal capacities and size of the Argyle ethnic groups
are different, different ethnically-based organizations have different resources and connections and, therefore, different positions in the decision-making process. In this complex organizational network, groups which lack organizations and resources may be under-served or under-represented.

I find although different ethnic groups who share the same territory interact and cooperate at the organizational level (e.g., business transactions, non-profit organizational cooperations), at the individual level, inter-group interactions are greatly reduced. This lack of inter-group interactions is caused mainly by their differences in language and dialect, culture and religion, and way of life. The issues on public aid, street life, when and how people move to the community challenge cultural pluralism and often further divide the community. The tensions on these issues among the residents and organizations are tense sometimes and can cross racial and ethnic lines.

Informal self-help networks provide emotional and social bounds to the community residents and often lead to the programs that are provided by different service organizations as well as employment opportunities. However, these networks have developed along race and ethnic lines and among people who speak the same language or dialect. The emotional and social bounds do not lead residents to job opportunities, if they do not speak one of the major dialect or language which is common in the community, do not have formal education and previous urban working experience.

The study also makes me think about how community should be defined. In addition to "New Chinatown," the official name of the community, among individuals in Argyle, there are several definitions about their community. First, the community is defined on basis of the name of the major street and the larger community area where the residents live. Second, the community is defined by its people (e.g., Asian, Chinese, Vietnamese, black, Greek, or diverse). Since many different ethnic groups
live in the community, people often find it hard to give a name to their community or assign its boundaries. However, when people have the socio-economic status of the residents in mind, they would say this is a "low-income area" or "public aid area." When people feel unsure about what they should call their community because of its diversity of people, they tend to use the street name or even names of the larger community or region. Third, the community is defined by its major industry or business. Thus, the community is often named after its ethnic businesses -- "New Chinatown," "food street," "International Shopping Center."

The image of the Argyle community has undergone several changes. In addition to "New Chinatown," -- the official name, the Argyle community is also called "Asian Village," "International Shopping Center," "Vietnamese Refugee Camp," and "Little Saigon." The different names of the community were created, maintained, used and contested by different people related to the community (e.g., businesses owners, property owners, non-profit organizations which serve different populations, residents, housing developers, and government agencies) so as to attract diverse customers, investors, and funding resources from outside while maintaining their own group and cultural identities. Therefore, although the image of the community was apparently created in a natural process, it is has maintained and used consciously.

Although people from different groups and represent different aspects of the community disagree about what the community should be called, and how community should be defined, most of them agree that the community has improved. Considering the tradition of diversity and organizations in Uptown, the image of the Argyle community may still undergo changes. No matter what is its name, however, it obviously has added an ethnic flavor to Uptown and the city, and further solidified the image of Uptown as a "port of entry."

Some established Asian residents move out the community to surrounding city areas or suburbs in recent years, yet other Asians
continue to move in. Pakistanis are one of the newer Asian groups to come to the area. Whether the overall Asian population will remain the same, or whether the community's Asian image will change, depends on how well the community improves its physical environments, especially its housing and safety conditions. Most Asians in the community prefer to live in extended families. Therefore, they need family housing and large and multiple-units apartment buildings. When their children reach school age, the decisions on where to send their children to school and safer environments become more important considerations. While the recent trend of housing development in the community has led to overall improvements and attracted outside funding it has not been sufficient to change low-income image of the community. In the meantime, without infrastructure development such as greater housing and physical improvements, it will be hard for the community to sustain long term development and a stable population. The business community and service-oriented organizations cannot solve problems such as housing and safety single handedly. Although several non-profit housing developers have joined the housing development of the community, a more comprehensive planning and funding base needs to be established since the physical condition and housing stock of the Argyle community are badly deteriorated.

Finally, like any other group, Asians in the Argyle community are diversified in many ways. They are not a homogenous group. Some are more successful and some are truly disadvantaged. Some have been in the U.S. for many generations and some are new. They are from many different countries and places -- Korean, Pakistan, Indian, the Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodian, Laos, Thailand, mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, or other places in the U.S. They speak different languages and dialects, and have different backgrounds and experiences. Aggregated demographic analyses often overlook the differences within Asian population, and therefore neglect the needs of these sub-groups, especially Laos, Cambodians and Vietnamese, because many in these groups lack formal
education, western experience, and "modern" employment backgrounds. For these people, adjustment to the new country will be a long process. The myths about Asians, especially the myth of "success" may overlook the specific needs of sub-groups with the Asian population and jeopardize their chance to participate in urban policy making.
Research Method and Reflections

This dissertation research was conducted in three stages. In the spring of 1989, I made my first field trip to the Argyle community as part of my fieldwork project for a qualitative methods class from Dr. Judith Wittner at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Loyola University Chicago. Because of my work for that class, I developed an interest in the community and wrote several class papers about different dimensions of site (e.g., immigrant families, family businesses, and the growth of a Chinese community). This preliminary research laid the foundations for my dissertation research. After I had completed my graduate coursework I continued my unstructured field research in this setting.

Following the defence of my dissertation proposal in February of 1991, I refined the focus of my observations and interviews. From my exploratory research I decided businesses, organizations, and residents were decided as three major components of the Argyle community. Three interview questionnaires were designed and used for my interviews with community business owners, organization staff members, as well as residents (see Topics of Inquiry in the next section of the Appendix). Through looking at these dimensions of the community, their interconnections and relationships, I feel I could understand what made this community unique while at the same time examine the issues of immigrants and refugees adjustment, the relationships between the "old" and "new" residents and businesses, and the history of the community as discussed in Chapter I.

Some questions such as "Do you have a name for this community?" "How do you think the community can be improved?" were asked to business owners, organization staff if it is relevant as well as community
residents. Some questions were particularly designed for the interviewees in that particular aspect of the community, such as businesses, organizations, or residence. This technique helped me discover how people in three different aspects of the community feel about some of the common issues (e.g., community safety, community image, connections to their cultural organizations).

The major research methods I used were participation and non-participant observations, informal conversations, and formal interviews. For example, I observed and participated in church and temple services, holiday celebrations within several different groups, help with after-school tutoring programs. I went to the stores and restaurants where I observed business activities, transactions, and business/customer relations. I also went to English training classes, community meetings, and attended the receptions that community business leaders held for tourists from the city. During the field observations, I conducted many informal conversations with community residents, business families, shoppers, visitors, and police officers. In addition to observations and conversations, I conducted 65 formal interviews with organization leaders and staff members, business leaders, small family business owners and employees, church workers, Buddhist monks, residents, and shoppers. The number of interviews and the categories are listed as followings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizations</th>
<th>19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service*</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple/Church</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural/Regional</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Asian</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Businesses</th>
<th>22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Asian</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Asian</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Non-residential Shoppers/tourist | 3 |

* Counted by number of organizations instead of employees that are interviewed.
When I found concept indicators and themes during the research, I would go back to the interviewees to get more in-depth information or go to new interviewees to confirm and explore these concept indicators and themes with other interviewees whom I contacted later. Some interviewees and informants became my "consultants." From them I got ideas, explanations, and help when I needed them. During field observations, I had many informal conversations with community residents, business families, shoppers, visitors, and police patrol officers.

The more structured interviews began with staff at community organizations and churches, for I felt these places are relatively easier to access and because the employees of organizations and churches were most familiar with the process of formal interviewing. The formal interviews with business people and observations went on simultaneously, because I spent a lot of time in business settings where I had lunch and read my notes while waiting for the next interview.

In April of 1996 after completing my first draft of the dissertation certain themes and arguments became clear. I conducted several more in-depth interviews with several organization leaders, business owners, and Buddhist monks to strengthen, and/or verify these themes and arguments.

Most interviews and conversations were conducted either in English, or Mandarin Chinese, or in combination of the two. Interviewees who were willing to participate in this research, but who spoke neither English nor mandarin Chinese, were usually able to get family members, friends or neighbors to interpret for them. Many new immigrants and refugees who speak very limited English. Thus, it took much longer to complete interviews with these informants. However, most of them seemed to enjoy talking with someone who would take time and effort to communicate with them. Sometimes people would like to associate themselves with someone who came from outside as a researcher and seek for the help that they needed. For example, a few days after I interviewed a Buddhist monk, he called me on the phone and said that president of the Temple was coming to discuss
"some new development." He asked whether I could come. So I went down to
the community. The monk and the president told me that the temple was in
financial difficulties. They asked whether I knew how to raise money to
save their Temple. They also showed me an invitation from Imagine Chicago,
a program funded by National Endowment for the Humanity. They asked me to
explain and figure out whether they should attend the program. At several
occasions, business owners handed me their business cards and urged me to
help them distribute.

Throughout this research process, I found it difficult to have
Asians talk about their families and private lives to an "outsider." The
formal interviews with residents using structured questionnaire began
during the summer of 1992. During warm weather, more people stayed
outdoors later or kept their doors open. This gave me increased access to
a variety of people. During the day, I mostly met people who were
unemployed. In the evening and weekends, I was able to interview people
who worked during the day.

In comparison, interviews with business owners was relatively easy.
Although quite a number of business owners turned down my request for an
interview, their doors would open most of the time, and I could observe
the activities and listen to the conversations between the owners and
customers. For example, I scheduled an interview with a family business
several times. Every time I showed up, they would find some reason to
cancel and reschedule the interview. However, observing activities and
listening to conversations in the store enabled me to find out valuable
information about the connections between community businesses and ethnic
customers outside community. It later helped me develop the idea that the
role of business as a cultural base for particular ethnic groups to turn
to. However, the majority of business owners were willing to talk to
someone when they did not have many customers.

In most cases, people were willing to be interviewed when they
learnt to trust me and understand what I was doing. For example, my
interviews with Mr. Kan (the "old timer" Chinese restaurant owner), Liang (the Vietnamese Chinese beauty salon owner), and Induni (an Indian laundromat owner) were completed after sitting at their business settings on a number of occasions. Often people asked me not to take notes for several times, so I had to conduct the interviews in an informal way.

Sometimes revealing my identity jeopardized my interviews. For example, Ling Ling (a Cantonese immigrant) and her friends treated me as one of their friends at the beginning. She called me at home when I did not show up at a Saturday English class. However, she and her friends completely distanced themselves from me when I told her that "I was a graduate student involving in a research for a university." She said "things are too complicated" and they did not want to get involved. In comparison, Non-Asians were more willing to talk about themselves and their families.

Sometimes people also learned to trust me when I associated myself with public figures, with whom they were familiar and trusted, such as Charlie Soo, director of the Asian Small Business Associations. My association with Diana, the American Indian who has lived in the community for several years and frequents many stores also increased people's trust of me. Through their introductions, and sometimes building janitors, or at places like laundromats and churches, it was easier to find people who felt comfortable talking to me.

From my observations, there are several reasons why the community members not to trust outsiders, or are unwilling to talk to the "outsiders." First, some business owners are afraid of competition from other similar stores crowded in a small geographical location. They do not want to reveal much about their own business performance for fear that others may gain a competitive edge with such information. Some business owners resent the so-called "successful stories" about Asian businesses and do not feel they are doing as well as the general public thinks. Second, many new immigrants and refugees have not quite settled yet, and
have not attained citizenship, or still have immediate family members left behind in the home countries. Older Chinese immigrants experienced the discrimination under the exclusive immigration law in the past. Some people were concerned and fearful about the consequences of the interviews in terms of who would have access to the information. Third, people who had no formal education and spoke little or no English or mandarin often did not understand the concept of interviewing or comprehend the questions. Under many such circumstances, I needed to explain to them the purpose of interviewing and rephrase my questions. For instance, Induni, the East Indian laundromat owner, told me that someone once tried to interview her several years ago but she refused because she did not understand the purpose of an interview. Now, she knew better why people ask these kinds of questions. Fourth, sometimes, I also found that some men did not feel comfortable talking to me, because in their culture, women would not approach them with these questions.

Compared to 1989 when I first started my fieldwork during my doctoral study, it seems harder to have access to the interviewees in the community nowadays. I could easily find someone to talk to in most non-profit organizations without an appointment in 1989, but now the community becomes more closed to the researchers because of recent attention that the community has caught to the public and more people become interested in knowing about it. When I conducted my final in-depth interviews, one non-profit organization denied my request for an interview.

My interest in this community initiated me into fieldwork and quantitative research methods. I used to feel more comfortable with numbers than face-to-face interviews. However, I found fieldwork very enjoyable: the conversations with different people, walking on the street, and going to the stores to observe different behaviors. Observation and interviewing produce a much deeper understanding of the community and its residents. I do not think I would have understood my subject matter without those observations, conversations, and interviews.
The coding and interpreting of field notes proved to be more labor intensive than explaining statistical data, because there were more choices and options in terms of categorizing the data. Coding and analyzing my field notes often reminded me of the people I contacted. I remember Diana, the American Indian woman, one of my earliest informant, showing me the first "Japanese" grocery store, first Vietnamese fast food restaurant, and taking me to an Indian "pow wow" at the American Indian Center. I remember San O at South-East Asia Center and how she worried about their funding and future. Now her organization is providing one of most effective and popular services in the community. I remember Mr. and Mrs. Kan telling me how they first moved to Argyle in the 1970's and their comparison of their experiences with those of the newly arrived refugees. They retired and now sold their restaurant to a "new comer." I remember Charlie Soo, the "Mayor" of New Chinatown, enthusiastically showing me different stores on Argyle and bringing me to different community events and meetings. Many other people and events also came to mind: Katie, a welfare mother, talking about her life experience and expectations for her children in her backyard; Dim Sum at Yu’s home on a early Saturday morning; retired Doctor Lu offering me watermelon in his kitchenette room on a hot summer afternoon; and walking home alone after interviewing restaurant owners on cold winter nights. Many people who participated in this research thought I was going to write a story about them and I think the best way to thank them was to finish this research.
Topics of Inquiry -- Interview Guide

This interview schedule was designed to provide a guideline to ensure each interview would be effective. However, it was not designed to set limits on inquiry, since each interview had the potential to be different and might provide information I did not know yet.

Open-ended Interview Topics and Questions (1)
(2/14/1991)

Social Service Agencies and Their Relations to the Community

Part One: Social Service and Business Agencies in the Community

1. Organization
   a. When established
   b. Any location and/or organizational changes since established? If yes, why?
   c. Goals
   d. Organizational structure
   e. Affiliations with any other agencies/organizations: inside and outside the community, vertical and horizontal relationships, since when and how?

2. Programs
   a. How would you categorize your activities and programs?
   b. Why do you think these programs and activities necessary?
      Ask about each of these potential programs:
      Cultural: e.g., language school, holiday celebrations
      Economic
      Education
      Settlement
      Joint programs with any other organizations: in and out of the community, with Asians and non-Asians, within your group and other groups
      Probe: What issues bring the organizations together

3. Clients
   a. Demographic characteristics of the clients: racial and ethnic backgrounds, social and economic status, age, gender, time and origin of immigration; how do their clients get along with each other?
   b. Where do most clients live: in and outside the community; how deliver services to clients who live in different geographic locations?
      Probe: Patterns of residence and mobility
   c. General needs and problems of clients from each group: job, housing, family, legal (be specific and describe), do people who live in different geographic locations have different needs?
      Probe: What do clients of different backgrounds think of each other?
4. Community and culture

a. What role does the organization play in the community?
b. What has been accomplished? How helpful is the organization to meet the needs? Any disappointments or gaps in your services? (i.e., tried but made less impact than hoped.) What happened? What problems are unable to deal with? What are the major changes and what brought forth the changes (special efforts etc.)?
c. How to relate to other organizations, relate to the city, other community areas, Chinatown on the south side, other racial and ethnic groups
d. Why locate in the community (or here)?
e. Which holidays are celebrated by the agency? Invite other participants or celebrate jointly? Why host holiday celebrations? The purpose of celebration.
f. What do you like and dislike about this neighborhood?
g. Do you live in this neighborhood?

7. Funding

a. Government: local (state, city) and/or Federal
b. Private: donation (foundations, business, individual, church), United Way, fees, special events - looked for any new funding? From where? Why?
c. Any changes

8. Staff

a. Background: where are they from? Educational background; Any previous experiences working with immigrants and refugees, or in social work?
b. Racial and ethnic backgrounds: proportion of each, pattern of change, advantage and disadvantage of having each
c. Composition of board members, their roles

Part Two: Agencies in larger community

9. Do you have a name for this community? Who lives here?

10. Do you know any other agencies in the community? If yes: How do you know them? Describe the relationships. Why need these relationships?

11. What did the community look like when you moved in? Any changes? What do you see as its problems? What do you see as solutions to these problems?

12. What do you like and dislike about this community?

Open-ended Interview Topics and Questions (2)
(5/13/1991)

Community Based Businesses

Part One: Businesses

1. Business background

a. When did you start this business? What type?
b. Why do you locate your business at this place? How did you find this location? How did the community look like when you started the business? Any changes?
c. Ever engaged in a self-employed business before arriving in the U.S., what type of the business
d. What motivates you to get into the business?
e. Have any partner(s)? What is the relationship with partners (e.g., relatives)?

2. Resource

Financial
a. How capitalized current business (loan from family members or relatives, bank, money brought from home country, partnership, own savings (individual, husband and wife, extended family)? Involved in any rotating credit association?
b. Is the store rented or owned? Since when?

Human
a. Who are the employees, relationship to the owner, ethnic backgrounds, number of employees hired, full time, part time.
b. Advantage and disadvantage to hire employees of your choice
c. How did you find your employees?
d. Any family member(s) working in store? What is the relationship to you, age. What type of work do they do? Working hours, dates (weekdays, Saturdays, Sundays)
e. What kind of family activities happened at work place
f. Do you want your children to do the same job? Why or why not? what type of job do you want them to do in the future, do you want them to live in the same community, why or why not
g. How do children negotiate time with parents and how do they like working in the family business?

3. Business relationship (with the community and the "outsiders," with in-group and out-group customers)

a. From what countries do you get most of your supplies? Why?
b. Who are your major customers (racial and ethnic backgrounds)? For what reason do they visit the store? What do they buy? What language they use (for each group)?
c. Do you have customers from outside the community? How can you tell? Why do they come here for according to your opinion?
d. How do you think your customers in general?
e. Are you a member of any business organization? Position held? What help do you get from the participation? How do you think these organizations should be improved?

4. Individual experience

a. Differences between running business here and in your home country, or at other places. Major problems or difficulties in managing business. How do you satisfied with your business?
b. Have you ever expanded your business at this location; own other stores, and/or other type of business, locations of other stores, annual gross sale (before taxes)

Part Two: To Customers

1. Personal background
a. Where do you live? Since when?
b. Racial and ethnic backgrounds
c. Age
d. Gander  
e. Income/education/religious backgrounds if possible

2. How useful are the business establishments (stores) to you?  
b. Which type of business do you visit most often?  
a. How often do you visit each of these businesses?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Business</th>
<th>Once a day</th>
<th>Twice a week</th>
<th>Once a week</th>
<th>Twice a month</th>
<th>Once a month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

c. When to visit each? For how long?  
d. For what reason do you visit these stores?  
e. How do you like or feel about these businesses in the community?  
f. What do you like most about the businesses in the community?  
g. What do you dislike most about businesses in the community?  
h. How do you think that the business community can be more useful to you?

**Interview Topics and Questions (3)**  
(7/1991)

**Community Residents**

**Part One:** The first part of questions are related to your relationship with the neighborhood you are living in and your daily activities.

1. Do you have a name for this neighborhood?  

2. Do you think it is your neighborhood?  

3. How long have you lived at this address?  
   Probe: Month ____, Year ______

4. How long have you been living in this neighborhood?  
   Probe: Month ____, Year ______

5. Have you lived in Chicago all your life? (If "yes", go to #7, if "no", probe and go to #6)  
   Probe as to immigration history and migration patterns. Where did you live before you move to Chicago?

6. Where were you born?  
   Probe as to family history:  
   a. Which country and region the ancestors come from  
   b. How would they identify themselves and why?

7. What do you like most about this neighborhood?  
   Probe:  
   a. Rent is reasonable  
   b. Transportation is convenient  
   c. People who live here  
   d. Convenient for shopping  
   e. Safety of the neighborhood
f. Proximity to relatives

8. What do you dislike the most about this neighborhood (probe)?

9. Where do you buy your groceries most of the time?
   a. Oriental grocery stores on Argyle
   b. American grocery stores on Argyle
   c. Super markets close to the neighborhood
   d. Other (specify)

10. Where do you buy clothes? (Check all that is relevant)
    a. In Oriental stores on Argyle
    b. Stores in Uptown
    c. Thrifty stores in the neighborhood
    d. At downtown
    e. Others (specify)

11. Do you have any friends in the neighborhood?
    Probe: Do you socialize more with people in the neighborhood than
    people outside the neighborhood, for example people at work.

12. Would you say that all, most, some or none of your friends the same
    race as you are?
    How would you describe your friends?
    a. Most of your friends are ............. White ______
       African American ______
       Asian ______
       Hispanic ______
       Other ______
    b. Some of your friends are ............. White ______
       African American ______
       Asian ______
       Hispanic ______
       Other ______
    c. None of your friends are ............. White ______
       African American ______
       Asian ______
       Hispanic ______
       Other ______

    Identify the race as specifically as possible and probe:
    What do you do when you and your friends get together?

13. Would you say that you have friends in the neighborhood who are from
    same country as you are?
    a. All of your friends are from the same region of the country
    b. Most of your friends are from the same region of the country
    c. Some of your friends are from the same region of the country
    d. None of your friends are from the same region of the country
    e. All of your friends came to the U.S. at the same time
f. Most of your friends came to the U.S. at the same time

c. Some of your friends came to the U.S. at the same time

d. None of your friends came to the U.S. at the same time

Probe: How about children's friends? How friends help?

14. Do you have relatives living in the neighborhood?

Probe: advantage to have them around? What kind of help you get from them?

15. What do you call Argyle street (show map)?

16. Do you sometimes visit Argyle street?

17. How often do you visit it? (Check one that is most close to your situation)

   a. every day
   b. once a week
   c. twice a week
   d. more than twice a week
   e. once two week
   f. once a month
   g. never have been there
   h. other (specify)

18. For what reasons do you visit Argyle street? (Check all that are relevant)

Probe as to how connected to it:

   a. Shopping
   b. Eating Oriental food
   c. Eating American food
   d. Seeing a dentist
   e. Cutting hair
   f. Celebrating holidays
   g. See a physician
   h. Visiting service agencies
   i. Buying gift
   j. Meeting friends (where and what do you do usually)
   k. Other (specify)

19. Some people call this neighborhood a New Chinatown or North Chinatown, do you agree?

Probe: Why, or which part of neighborhood is considered as New Chinatown (a boundary of territory)

20. How safe do you feel about living here?

   a. Very safe
   b. Safe
   c. Unsafe
   d. Not safe at all
   e. Other (specify)

21. How well do you think the police protect this community?

   a. Very well
   b. Well
   c. Poor
22. Do you think this community is safer now than when you first moved in?
   Probe: How or in what way?

23. How satisfied do you feel about living in this neighborhood?
   a. Very satisfied
   b. Satisfied
   c. Dissatisfied
   d. Very dissatisfied
   e. Other

Part Two: The following questions are designed to examine your relationship with social services and formal institutions inside and outside the community that you are living.

24. Do you have a doctor? Where?

25. Which kind of medical treatment do you likely to have when you are sick? (Check only one)
   a. Traditional medicine (such as herbology, acupuncture)
   b. Western medicine

   Probe: Reasons for preferring particular kind of medical treatment

26. Do you have health insurance (probe)?

27. Do you have dental insurance (probe)?

28. What is your religious preference, if any? Is it Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhism, Greek Orthodox, Jehovah’s Witness, or other religion, or no religion.
   Probe: What is it and where do you go for religious service?

29. Do you attend religious services?
   How often?
   a. More than once a week
   b. Once a week
   c. Once two week
   d. Once a month
   e. Other (specify and explain)

30. Do you know the name of any organizations in your neighborhood? (If "yes", go to #31, otherwise go to #33)
   a. Voice of the People
   b. Uptown People’s Community Service
   c. Hawk Block Club
   d. Department of Human Services
   e. Travelers and Immigrant Aid
   f. Asian Human Services
   g. Cambodian Association of Illinois
   h. Chinese Mutual Aid Association
   i. Chinese Chamber of Commerce
   j. South East Asia Center
   k. Vietnamese Association of Illinois
   l. Other (specify)
31. How are you involved with any of these organizations?

   Probe how:
   a. Using their services
   b. Attend meetings
   c. Read their literature
   d. Donate time/money
   e. Other (specify)

32. How did you know them?

33. Are you involved with any occupational and professional organizations outside the community? Probe.

Part Three: Questions in this part are related to your work and the housing conditions

34. Are you working? (If "yes", go to question #36, if "no", go to question #35)

35. If you are not working, what is your source of income?

   Probe: When was the last time you worked, why not working now SSI or Supplemental Security Income for the aged, blind, disabled or HIV-positive, food stamps, earned income tax credit, general welfare assistance, (Ask if having children under 18) AFDC or Aid to Families with Dependent Children, (ask if have children under 6 WIC food program for children)

36. What kind of job are you doing right now?

   What industry, for example: registered nurse, personnel, manager, supervisor, be specific

37. Where is the location of your work?

   a. Downtown
   b. In Uptown
   c. Suburbs
   d. On Argyle street
   e. At home
   f. Other (specify)

38. How long have you been working here?

39. Is it a full time job?

40. How many hours did you work last week for pay?

41. Do you have jobs other than this one?

   a. How many
   b. What kind of jobs are they
   c. Why do you keep them

42. Since you came to Chicago have you ever changed your job? For what reason?

   Probe as to
   a. How many times do you change job since ...?
   b. When was the most recent time you change job
c. How difficult to find a job
d. How do you find the job (or who helped)
e. Does the job requires the skill you learnt before

43. How satisfied do you feel with your current job(s)? (explain)
   a. Very satisfied
   b. Satisfied
   c. Dissatisfied
   d. Very dissatisfied

44. Which language do you speak at work most of the time?
   a. English
   b. Your native language (specify)
   c. Both
   d. Other (specify)

45. How often do you speak English language at home?
   a. Always
   b. Sometimes
   c. Never
   d. Other (describe)

46. How well would you describe your English language skill?
   a. Excellent
   b. Good
   c. Fair
   d. Poor
   e. Can’t speak English at all

   Probe:
   a. Where did you learn English
   b. How does English bother you

47. Do you rent or own a house?

   Probe: What kind of house is it?

48. Number of rooms _____?

49. Monthly rent ______?

Part Four: The last part of questions are about your own personal background

50. How would you describe you racial background?

51. From what nation or parts of the world did you or your ancestors come?

   (Circle all that apply)

   West Europe
   a. England/Wales
   b. France
   c. Germany
   d. Greece
   e. Ireland
   f. Italy

   Africa
   u. all
   Caribbean
   v. Puerto Rico
   w. Cuba
   x. other Caribbean
   South/Central America
g. Scandinavian (Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland)
h. Scotland
i. other West. European
j. Poland
k. Russia/Soviet Union
l. Other East. European
m. Japan
n. China
o. Korea
p. The Philippines
q. Vietnam
r. other Southeast Asia
s. India
t. other Asian

52. I am going to read a list of weekly wages, which best describes your individual income in the typical week?
   a. Less than $100 per week
   b. between $100 and $199 per week
   c. between $200 and $299 per week
   d. between $300 and $399 per week
   e. between $400 and $499 per week
   f. between $500 and $599 per week
   g. between $600 and $699 per week
   h. between $700 and $799 per week
   i. $800 or more per week

53. What is the level of education you completed or received credit from? How about your spouse?
   a. 4th grade or less
   b. 5th grade - 8th grade
   c. 9th grade - 11th grade
   d. 12th grade
   e. trade or vocational school (1-3 years)
   f. College or university (1-3 years)
   g. College: 4th year
   h. Graduate study

54. Where did you complete the education?
   a. In the U.S.
   b. In home country

55. Sex of respondent
   a. Male
   b. Female

56. Age ........................................... ____ years

57. Marital status
   a. Married
   b. Divorced
   c. Single
   d. Separated
   e. Widowed
f. Other (specify)

58. Do you have children?

59. How many children do you have?

60. Where do you send them to school?

61. How do your children like the school?
   a. Like it very much
   b. Like
   c. Dislike
   d. Dislike it very much
   e. Other
   
   Probe: Why like or dislike

62. How satisfied are you with the school?
   a. Very satisfied
   b. Satisfied
   c. Dissatisfied
   d. Very dissatisfied
   
   Probe: Why

63. Where do your children play?

64. Members of household (other than respondent)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>If working or recently employed</th>
<th>Weekly wage</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>occupation and location of job</td>
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65. How do you think this community can be improved?
   
   Probe as to any changes since you moved here

66. Do you plan to move to another residence?
   
   Probe: when, where, and why?
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VITA

The author, Jing Zhang, is the daughter of Wei Zhang and Xijuan Yang. She was born in May, 1955 in Beijing, China. She received her elementary school education at Beijing University Elementary School and her high school education from Beijing University High School. In May, 1981, she graduated from University of International Business and Economics, Beijing, China with the Bachelor Degree in Economics.

In September of 1985, she studied in School of Management, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. In August of 1986 she was granted a Graduate Research Assistantship and Tuition Fellowship in Sociology and Anthropology at Loyola University Chicago and started her graduate study in Sociology. She was awarded her Master of Arts in Sociology in January, 1990. In August of 1990, Jing Zhang entered doctoral program in sociology at Loyola University Chicago. She was selected as Loyola University Teaching Fellow for 1991-1992 and University Dissertation Fellow for 1992-1993. She was awarded Community Research Fellowship in Community Development by United Way of Chicago, the Hilda B. and Maurice L. Rothchild Foundation and Loyola University Chicago for 1994-1995, and participated in writing 1995 Chicago Community Development Needs Assessment. During her doctoral study, she was a part-time lecturer in Sociology at Loyola University Chicago. In January of 1997, she was awarded her Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

In addition, as part of her duties as a Graduate Research Assistant and the Community Research Fellow, she assisted with research projects on suburban economic development policy orientation, founding changes and the management of nonprofit organizations, universe of metropolitan nonprofit organizations, comparative study of international crimes-three methods, and homicide in Chicago. In fall of 1988, she presented a paper titled,
"Urbanization in China" at Sociology GSA convention, Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Loyola University Chicago. She co-authored a paper with Dr. Richard Block titled, "Burglary: An International Comparison of Three Measures" which was presented at Law and Society Association Annual Meeting in 1990. In September of 1991, she presented a paper titled "A New Community in an Old Neighborhood: Diversified but Separate" at Midwest Eco-community Conference. In April of 1992 she presented a paper "A New Community in an Old Neighborhood: Culture and Economic Dimensions" at Midwest Sociological Society Annual Meeting. Since 1990, Jing Zhang is a member of American Sociology Association and a member of Mid-West Sociological Society.
The dissertation submitted by Jing Zhang has been read and approved by the following committee:

Philip Nyden, Ph.D., Director
Professor, Sociology
Loyola University Chicago

Kirsten A. Grønbjerg, Ph.D.
Professor, Sociology
Loyola University Chicago

Kathleen McCourt, Ph.D.
Professor, Sociology
Loyola University Chicago

Gerald D. Suttles, Ph.D.
Professor, Sociology
The University of Chicago

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date: Nov 22, 1996

Director's Signature