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Immigrant Cultural Citizenship:  
Construction of a Multi-ethnic Asian American Community

Hye-Kyung Stella Kang

A dissertation  
submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2006

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:  
School of Social Work

UMI Number: 3241913

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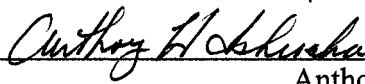
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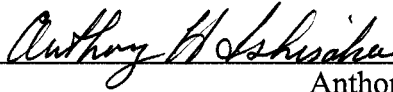
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Anthony Hideki Ishisaka

Reading Committee:



Anthony Hideki Ishisaka



Susan P. Kemp



Edwina S. Uehara

Date: November 14, 2006

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**Abstract**

Immigrant Cultural Citizenship:  
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Hye-Kyung Stella Kang

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:  
Associate Professor Anthony Hideki Ishisaka  
School of Social Work

This dissertation examines the role of cultural citizenship in the construction of immigrant community identity. Immigrant cultural citizenship is the process by which immigrant individuals create a legitimized social space for themselves while contesting and negotiating hegemonic discourses that seek to define and limit their subject positions. This study explores immigrant community identity development by examining discursive constructions of the International District (ID) of Seattle, WA. Applying post-structural and post-colonial theoretical frameworks, this study investigates the particular social, political, and historical contexts within which the discourse of a "multi-ethnic Asian American community" arose through an example that is located in specific geographical and historical positions.

This study traces the intertextual chains through which the subject position of the ID was and is produced, deployed, and changed via a critical discourse analysis of mainstream and community newspapers, in-person interviews with community members, community history archives, and government documents. The data illuminate three major challenges that impact the evolving process of community identity development. The population changes, influenced by immigration policy changes, resulted in the influx of new ethnic groups in the ID. The urban development boom in Seattle which swept through many traditionally ethnic communities changed local geographies. Forces of globalization bring increased

transnationalism and may alter the ways that capital is invested in the community and used by its members.

The analysis of data suggests that the ID as a subject is produced and sustained not through a consistent and stable articulation of a singular identity but through multiple, contested, and contingent articulation of history, contribution, and change. Similarly, the ID is not produced through unilateral regulatory control of the government or other regimes of a civil society; nor is it completely produced by the inventions of the community members 'outside' those controls. Rather, it is constructed through constant processes of engagement, contestation, and negotiation between the community and the various larger social and political structures, as well as among community members themselves. The discursive changes produced by such processes illuminate the possibility that immigrant communities may be able to change the discourses that produce them.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my committee—Professors Anthony H. Ishisaka, Edwina S. Uehara, and Susan P. Kemp—without whose tremendous support and guidance this project would have been impossible. Much thanks to Eddie, whose brilliance and generosity never failed to leave me inspired, reaching for a whole new universe of thoughts. My heartfelt appreciation to Susan, whose kindness and clarity always helped me find my way home. My utmost respect and admiration to Tony—my Chair, my teacher-father—for the way he lives his life each day, which is a true touchstone of the scholar, teacher, social worker, and human being.

I wish to thank my family for their prayers, which sustained me throughout this program. A warm appreciation to my friends (esp. MJ sisters) for their love and laughter, which helped me through those wearisome days.

I am indebted to The Wing Luke Asian Museum for allowing me to forage into its rich archives for data. Lastly, with a grateful heart, I recognize my activist elders in the International District, whose love and passion for the community have been the true inspiration for this project.

## **Dedication**

To my immigrant mother, Dr. Keum Ja Bae,  
for her journey and her prayers.

## INTRODUCTION

*America is not a land of one race or one class of men. We are all Americans that have toiled and suffered and known oppression and defeat, from the first Indian that offered peace in Manhattan to the last Filipino pea pickers. America is not bound by geographical latitudes. America is not merely a land or an institution. America is in the hearts of men that died for freedom; it is also in the eyes of men that are building a new world. America is a prophecy of a new society of men: of a system that knows no sorrow or strife or suffering. America is a warning to those who would try to falsify the ideas of free men.*

*America is also the nameless foreigner, the homeless refugee, the hungry boy begging for a job and the black body dangling from a tree. America is the illiterate immigrant who is ashamed that the world of books and intellectual opportunities is closed to him. We are that nameless foreigner, that homeless refugee, that hungry boy, that illiterate immigrant, and that lynched black body. All of us, from the first Adams to the last Filipino, native born or alien, educated or illiterate—  
We are America!*

—Carlos Bulosan  
America is in the Heart

This dissertation explores immigrant cultural citizenship through investigating the discursive construction of a multi-ethnic Asian American community. My interest in this project stems from my own experience as an immigrant Asian American social worker. The quote above, an excerpt from *America is in the Heart* by Carlos Bulosan, a Filipino American activist and writer, was one of my first introductions to my Asian-American citizenship.

I was not always Asian American, however. In my native Korea, race and ethnicity were not my markers; my gender and my family status were. I was not Korean or Asian; I was a 16<sup>th</sup>-generation daughter of the Eun-Yul branch of the Kang family, originating from Jin-Jue. My family registry, which was part of the

larger national family history registry, so defined me. However, when I immigrated to the U.S., I quickly learned that my 'race' (then often called 'Oriental') was my most immediate salient marker here. The troubling part was that I felt little connection to the images and ideas of the 'Oriental.' They were just as foreign to me as I was supposed to be to mainstream America; and yet it seemed this foreignness was to be my ascribed identity in the U.S. It was a confusing and uneasy situation; yet I was unable to quite articulate what it was that made me feel what made me feel such confusion and dis-ease. When I went to college (by which time my 'race' had become 'Asian') and started taking Asian American Studies classes, I finally found the language (or, in poststructural fashion, perhaps the language spoke me instead) for this uneasiness: 'Otherness.' Studying Asian American history, it seemed to me that the only consistent theme that constructed Asians in the U.S. was their perpetual foreignness, the 'Otherness.'

It was not until I became involved in Seattle's International District (ID) community that I realized that this hegemonic and Othering construction of Asian Americans was not the end of the story. Encountering local Asian American history, I learned how various Asian Americans constantly attempted to elude hegemonic discourses by arduously deconstructing and re-writing their meanings, just as Carlos Bulosan had done in the 1940s in the excerpt above. Witnessing—and later participating in—incident after incident of community activism, I realized that the identity of a community was not a stable, wholesale construction but rather one that was constantly challenged and evolving, simultaneously opening up possibilities and

redefining and reproducing enduring relations. Having been socialized in the ID community, my own meaning of being Asian American became inseparable from being part of this multi-ethnic, diverse, conflicted, dynamically political, and marginalized yet fiercely activist community.

When I started practicing in the field of social work, my uneasiness with ‘Othering’ constructions was exacerbated as I repeatedly encountered psychology and social work literature on Asian Americans, especially Asian immigrants, which (re)produced them as the ‘Other.’ Over and over, Asian Americans were portrayed as the ‘culturally different,’ while the legitimacy and privilege of the ‘center’ went unquestioned: e.g., Asian families are patriarchal. Much the same was the construction of Asian American communities in the literature: e.g., Asian communities prefer to keep their problems to themselves. I found these constructions of Asian Americans and Asian American communities seriously under-theorized. Even with the best intentions, the result of less than adequate theorizing is troubling, for limited and hegemonic theorizing yields limited solutions that in most instances uphold the status quo. Indeed, in the literature, the solutions to Asian immigrants’ problems often seemed to focus on just helping them to better acculturate (which looked rather like coerced assimilation at times). As the solutions focused on those ‘culturally different’ individuals changing their ways to adjust toward the ‘center,’ presumably nothing in the environment needed to be changed or confronted. Furthermore, the interventions were often narrowly focused on the level of individuals and their functioning. The kind of dynamic community-level

participation I experienced in the ID seemed totally lost in the literature as a possibility for social work intervention. In fact, there seemed to be very little effort to pursue social change, the ostensible mission of the social work profession, and to apply its principles to interventions with Asian immigrant populations. In short, what seemed sorely lacking in social work theorizing about immigrants and immigrant communities was thoughtful discussion of what Aihwa Ong (1996) describes as 'immigrant citizenship': "a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society" (p. 738). The purpose of this dissertation study is precisely to address this lacuna.

This dissertation seeks to investigate and illuminate the role of cultural citizenship in the construction of immigrant communities through the use of poststructural theories of discourse. Poststructural theories, while not unified or unequivocal, maintain a position that language and discourses are not neutral or pure but biased and partial. Instead of aiming to propose "grand theories" which profess to report universal truth, poststructural projects are interested in elucidating meaning in relation to the particular social, political, and historical contexts in which language is spoken or written (Schraver, 2001). Thus, this study examines the particular social, political, and historical contexts in which the discourse of a "multi-ethnic Asian American community" arose through analyses of a local example (the ID of Seattle, Washington) that is located in specific geographical and historical positions.

Immigrant communities are often perceived as 'ethnic enclaves' that are isolated, self-sustaining units separated from the larger society. This construction of

the immigrant community is problematic as it ignores the immigrant communities' contribution to the larger society, illegitimizes such ethnic enclaves' bid for socially just participation, and impedes their access to resources. For example, many ethnic enclaves are ignored by city and state governments during urban revitalization periods, whereas their integrity is frequently jeopardized by various urban construction projects (Lin, 1998). On a similar note, during WWII, the U.S. government removed 120,000 Japanese Americans (both Japanese immigrants and their U.S. born children) from the West Coast and imprisoned them in internment camps, whereas Japanese Americans in Hawai'i by and large escaped such imprisonment and numerous Japanese American soldiers fought for the U.S.

The construction of immigrant communities as isolated ethnic enclaves solidifies the binary discourse of citizen/immigrant which produces Asian Americans as the marginalized "immigrant other" vs. the U.S. citizen as the privileged "center" (Lowe, 1996). This marginalizing construction of immigrant communities as isolated ethnic enclaves by institutional practices is disconcerting. Yet it is just as problematic to assume that immigrant communities simply adopt this external construction without contention. Such an assumption rather uncritically privileges social structure and discounts the agency of immigrant communities to mobilize and assert their rights as citizens of civil society. At the same time, over-privileging the agency of ethnic minority communities is just as problematic because in doing so we fail to recognize the cultural inscription of state power and other forms of regulation from which immigrant communities cannot easily escape. The construction of

immigrant communities must be understood with attention to the dialectical play between structure and agency.

Ong (1996) describes this dialectical play as cultural citizenship. Extending Foucauldian theory of discursive formation of social subjects, Ong defines cultural citizenship as “a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society” (p. 738). Ong’s formulation of cultural citizenship as a dialectical process refuses to privilege either the regulating power of the nation-state to simply dictate the immigrants’ subject position or the immigrants’ ability to freely choose their position without acknowledging the constraints imposed upon them by the nation-state in civil society. Ong’s definition of cultural citizenship illuminates the struggle between various regulatory regimes in state agencies and civil society that produce particular subject positions (Ong, 1996) and the agency of marginalized groups in negotiating and asserting human, social, and cultural rights (Rosaldo, 1997). This dissertation study defines cultural citizenship as a dynamic dual process through which ‘immigrant community’ as a complex subject position is produced.

Consistent with this poststructural theoretical position, this study explicates ‘construction’ as a discursive formation. This position departs from the traditional paradigms that take subject positions (e.g., race, ethnicity) as natural and stable or universal and essential (Schriver, 2004). Instead, poststructuralists such as Foucault maintain that social subjects are produced through discourses and are unstable and specific to their social, political, and historical contexts. In this usage, discourses

constitute a particular version of a social subject (e.g., immigrant community as ethnic enclave), and such a version defines and establishes what is ‘true’ or ‘real’ at particular moments (Carabine, 2001). Construction in this study refers to the production, deployment, and maintenance of a subject through discourses in specific social, political, and historical contexts.

‘Immigrant’ in this dissertation study refers to both 1<sup>st</sup>-generation Asian American immigrants and their descendants. This definition may appear to be problematic, but does not necessarily obfuscate the differences in cultural, social, and political meanings between these two groups, which are readily and mindfully acknowledged here. Rather, this definition acknowledges *and* problematizes the binary discourse of citizen/immigrant that historically produced, and continues to reproduce, the position of Asian Americans (i.e., descendants of Asian immigrants) as “the immigrant other” (Lowe, 1996).

‘Community’ in this study includes but is not limited by the social work definitions of community (i.e., as place, as functions, as middle-ground between the individual and the society, as ways of relating to each other, as a social system, as a source of social and cultural capital, as identity-based groupings, as relationships in cyberspace [Schriver, 2001]). Rather, this study approaches community in its symbolic capacity for mobilizing identities that are specifically located in historical, socio-political, and spatial contexts (Gilroy, 1994).

By employing Foucault’s theory of discourse as a framework for understanding the construction of immigrant communities, this study advances

previous investigations in several respects. Although a great deal of progress has been made in understanding the effects of ethnic identity on immigrant health and mental health, the dynamics of contestation and negotiation that constitute the very discourse of immigrant identity remain under-researched. Similarly, while the social work community practice literature emphasizes the importance of identity in organizing in communities of color (or other “identity communities”), there is little exploration as to how a shared community identity is produced, thus treating signifiers like race and ethnicity as proxies for the specific historical, political, and social dynamics that constitute a specific local community. As a poststructural project, this dissertation study anchors the exploration of these issues in specific geographical and historical positions. As indicated, this project seeks to investigate the discourses which construct the ID of Seattle, Washington, as a ‘multi-ethnic Asian American community.’

### **The International District**

The ID is an appropriate case example for this dissertation study for a number of reasons. The ID is historically a contested terrain. Since its establishment in the late 1880s as an urban ethnic enclave, the ID has served as a reception area for multiple waves of Asian immigrants. It survived anti-Chinese riots in the late 1800s, the involuntary relocation of its Japanese-descent residents through internment during WWII, two highway constructions, the construction and demolition of a major sports stadium, and many other threats and encroachments from the ‘outside.’

It also has a long history of community mobilization to struggle against such outside threats. This community has a history of internal conflicts as well. This complex history makes the ID similar to other urban immigrant communities. Studies in urban communities regarding ‘defended neighborhoods’ show how social conflict, community identity, and political mobilization can occur simultaneously in response to an outside threat (Gotham, 1999).

The ID is unusual in its multi-ethnic, pan-Asian American character. Most other Asian immigrant communities elsewhere in the U.S. tend to be constructed as single-ethnic group communities (e.g., Manila town, Korea town, Little Saigon, etc.). The multi-ethnic character of the ID affords an opportunity to further analyze the specific local themes and contexts that constitute this unique discourse. With its complex dynamics and history, the ID provides a rich source of information relevant to such analyses. Through a Foucauldian discourse analysis, this study intends to elucidate the struggle in, as well as over, discourses that produce, sustain, and change the ID as a multi-ethnic Asian American community.

### **A Brief Introduction to the International District**

The historical information in this section is based on Doug Chin’s (2001) *Seattle’s International District: the Making of a Pan-Asian American Community*, unless otherwise noted. Physically speaking, the ID is an approximately 40-square-block neighborhood located just south of Seattle’s downtown business core. The first Asians to arrive in Seattle and in this area were Chinese laborers during the

1870s; by the late 1870s Chinese workers and merchants formed the Chinese quarter near what is now the Pioneer Square in downtown Seattle. During the late 1880s anti-Chinese riots reached their height in Washington State. Many Chinese were killed, and hundreds of Chinese workers were forcibly deported from Seattle. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act halted the immigration of Chinese to the U.S. Both the riots and this Act contributed to a significant reduction in the Chinese population in the U.S. and in the Seattle area.

The second Asian group to arrive was the Japanese, who first came in the late 1880s. Japanese immigrants developed a flourishing Nihon-machi (Japantown) near Main Street in the current ID. After the great Seattle Fire and the Jackson Street Regrade Project, the Chinese shifted from the original Chinese quarter and began to develop Chinatown near King Street, which is now part of the ID.

The 1924 National Immigration Act, which restricted the immigration of Japanese, created the need for cheap labor, prompting the increase of Filipino immigrants. Filipino laborers started arriving in Seattle in the early 1930s, and Seattle, and the ID in particular, served as a migratory base for these workers who labored in seasonal jobs up and down the West Coast.

During the decades of the 1920s through the 1950s, the ID was a multi-ethnic (Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and African American) neighborhood, partly because of the restricted mobility of people of color. In 1942, Executive Order 9066 forcibly removed Japanese Americans from the West Coast and placed them in internment

camps, all but dismantling Nihon-machi and the integrity of the local Japanese community.

In 1951, Seattle Mayor William Devin issued a proclamation designating the area “International Centre” (The Seattle Times, 1951). During the 1960s, the construction of inter-state freeway 5 bisected the ID, forced many residents and commercial enterprises to relocate, and also restricted the expansion of the ID. During the same era, the ID experienced an economic downturn, ensuing physical deterioration, and the loss of a residential base.

The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 eliminated the national origins quota and allowed immigrants from Asia to enter the U.S. in large numbers. As a consequence, the ID experienced a dramatic increase in the number of Asians (Huston, 1973). In the early 1970s the Ozark Ordinance closed down a significant number of deteriorating hotels in the ID, restricting residential options. The ID, mostly neglected by the City of Seattle up to that point, was even more disenfranchised by the City’s new regulations. In 1972, the construction of the Kingdome, a major sports stadium, began on the edge of the ID. The movement against the Kingdome construction brought younger Asian Americans—and their political activism—back to the ID (Tsutakawa, 1999), joining forces with Asian American community activists working to improve the ID at that time. The anti-Kingdome movement stimulated the creation of much-needed social, health, and housing services in the ID, and the City of Seattle designated the ID as a Special Review District in 1974.

After the Vietnam War, the ID experienced the arrival of a new immigrant group (Southeast Asian refugees) during the 1970s and '80s. Vietnamese immigrants started establishing a Vietnamese commercial center in the northeast section of the ID, which is now often referred to as the "Little Saigon" area. During the 1990s, the ID was confronted by the development boom that swept the Seattle area. In 1996, the City of Seattle announced the decision to build a new sports stadium, the current Safeco Field, and a new football stadium, near the ID. As a result, the Kingdome was demolished. In the late 1990s, Microsoft co-founder Paul Allen constructed a major office complex on the southern boundary of the ID. In 1998, Uwajimaya, the region's largest Asian grocery store, proposed construction of Uwajimaya Village, which would include retail and residential spaces. This proposal included the closure of Lane Street on the edge of the historic Chinatown, instigating renewed controversy and protest from Chinese groups. In 1997, ID Village Square, an inter-generational, multi-use space, which houses social service agencies, a community health clinic, housing for elderly, and a daycare facility for children, was completed. In 2004, the ID Village Square II, another multi-use facility that includes a public library and community center, was also completed.

### **Summary**

This study explores immigrant cultural citizenship through investigating the discursive construction of a multi-ethnic Asian American community. Applying poststructural and postcolonial theoretical frameworks, this study investigates the

particular social, political, and historical contexts within which the discourse of a “multi-ethnic Asian American community” arose through using an example (the ID) that is located in specific geographical and historical positions. In order to trace the intertextual chains through which the subject position of the ID was and is produced, deployed, and changed, this study employs Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis (1992) as its analytic method.

The primary research question explored here is, “What are the discourses that produce, maintain, and change the subject positions of the ID community as a multi-ethnic Asian American community?”

Specific questions are:

- What are these dominant discourses and what are their effects?
- What are the counter-discourses and what are their effects?
- What are the discursive strategies and techniques that are used in these discourses?
- What are the discourses that are absent or silent in the data and what are their effects?
- How do these discourses relate to, respond to, and transform one another?

In Chapter One, I will review divergent conceptualizations in the social work and related literature regarding key constructs used in this study, such as immigrant communities, immigrant identity, and cultural citizenship. In Chapter Two, tenets and debates regarding construction of identity (subject positions) within

poststructural and postcolonial theories will be discussed in order to situate this study within the theoretical frameworks that guide the study. Chapter Three describes this study's research design as well as its specific analytic method, Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (1992). In Chapter Four, I will illustrate through critical analysis of community and mainstream newspaper articles, personal interview texts, and government documents, the ways in which the ID community contested, negotiated with, and changed the subject positions that were imposed on it by discourses of the larger society. In Chapter Five, the analysis will trace the intertextual chains regarding the name of the district to describe how the identity of the ID is produced through multiple contingent discourses, such as history, contribution, and change. In Chapter Six, I will present some central themes revealed by this study as well as my analysis of these issues. I will conclude the chapter with the implications of this study for social work theory, research, and practice.

## CHAPTER 1

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the ways in which key constructs of this study—immigrant community, immigrant identity, and cultural citizenship—are theorized in the social work and related literature. The purpose of this review is to illuminate these constructs and to identify possible lacunae in theorizing by tracing the divergent and related perspectives and debates regarding them. Thus, this review does not aim to find a singular operational definition for each construct but rather intends to elucidate the complexities embedded in these terms.

#### **Construction of Immigrant Communities**

As indicated in the introduction, immigrant communities are often constructed as ‘ethnic enclaves’ that are isolated, self-sustaining units separated from the larger society. Depending on their historical and social contexts in the U.S., these equivocal, contradictory constructions have been both vilified and valorized for their supposed ‘otherness,’ as well as for their alleged resilience.

In the industrial era, when the Northeast and Midwest regions of the U.S. experienced an influx of non-Anglo-Saxon Protestant European (e.g., Jewish, Italian, Polish) immigrants, ethnic settlements were theorized as “decompression chambers” in which the new immigrants learned to adjust and adapt to the new society (Lin, 1998, p. 324). Robert Park recognized that ethnic settlements helped to “preserve

[immigrants'] peculiar cultural forms and maintain [their] unique conception of life” (Park, cited in Mazumdar et al., 2000, pp. 99-100). Though Park’s statement highlights the positive role that ethnic settlements may have played in the lives of the immigrants, it also exemplifies a lasting image of immigrant communities—as culturally peculiar and unique, ‘the other,’ defined against the citizen ‘norm.’

These ethnic enclaves were characterized by so many deleterious conditions that Ernest Burgess, Park’s colleague at the Chicago School, in his 1925 analysis, called these areas “zones of deterioration” (Burgess, in Hardert et al., 1984, p. 366). These early ethnic settlements were often designated as ‘ghettos’ with the implication that these areas embodied a multitude of social problems (Hardert et al., 1984). The term ghetto, originally used to designate the Jewish settlement in medieval Venice, was used by the 1920s to describe any segregated racial or cultural group (Hardert et al., 1984). Burgess’s concentric zone model (in Hardert et al., 1984, p. 363) depicts Chicago in the 1920s. The area immediately surrounding the commercial concentration area was named a “zone in transition” in this model. Descriptors such as “slum,” “vice,” and, “ghetto” were used to characterize this zone. The “zone in transition” was also seen as the site of ethnic settlements. The 1925 model of Chicago includes Little Sicily and China Town in the “zone in transition.” These ethnic settlements were regarded as unsanitary, congested eyesores that were the site of vice and other social ills (Lin, 1998), which formed another enduring image of immigrant ‘ghettos.’

Ultimately, however, Park and Burgess contended that ethnic settlements, and the social problems attached to them, were only temporary conditions that would ease as ethnic groups assimilated into mainstream society (Wilson, 1996). Thus Park advanced a model that posited that all ethnic minority groups progress through a “natural history” of sequential stages: contact, competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation (Hardert et al., 1984). Accordingly, Burgess’s concentric zone model suggested a “general outward” movement, from “zone in transition” to “zone of workingmen’s homes,” which included a second immigrant settlement, and then to a “residential zone,” and finally toward suburbia, as people’s earnings improved.

Although this model may be adequate for explaining the experiences of some European ethnic groups in the U.S. society, it does not generalize well with respect to the experiences of non-white ethnic groups. This model of assimilation privileged the invisible hand of the free market in determining urban land patterns and neglected political variables (Lin, 1998). Most glaring is the lack of attention to the ongoing dynamics of racial discrimination and the social class consequences of such discrimination. Although ethnic European immigrants experienced prejudice and discrimination, non-European immigrants experienced far greater restriction than their European counterparts did (Lin, 1998). Alien Land Acts and other restrictive covenants similarly constrained Asian Americans. Furthermore, Park’s natural history model did not account for political and economic variables such as urban flight, which trapped the African American unskilled-labor class in jobless, decaying

urban cores (Wilson, 1996). Rather than withering away as Park and his colleagues predicted, non-white ethnic settlements persisted (Lin, 1998).

The corollary of Park's theory was the ultimate assimilation of ethnic immigrants into the mainstream society. At the core of this theory is an assumption that the assimilation of ethnic immigrants into the mainstream society is not only 'natural' but also inevitable. This assumption has been challenged by the ethnic enclave economy thesis advanced by Portes and colleagues (Sanders & Nee, 1987). An ethnic enclave is defined in this thesis as "immigrant groups which concentrate in a distinct spatial location and organize a variety of enterprises serving their own ethnic market and/or the general population. Their basic characteristic is that a significant proportion of the immigrant work force works in enterprises owned by other immigrants" (Portes, quoted in Sanders & Nee, 1987, p. 746).

The ethnic enclave economy thesis posits that ethnic enclave economies "offer an alternative route to upward mobility into the American mainstream, eliminating the immigrants' need to go through the process of assimilation" (Kwong, pp. 365-387). Sanders and Nee (1987) argue that the ethnic enclave economy thesis presents a critical challenge to assimilation theory because of its proposition that isolation from the mainstream economy does not necessarily result in a cost to immigrant enclave workers. Proponents of the ethnic enclave economy thesis also posit that ethnic solidarity affords immigrant entrepreneurs privileged access to immigrant labor willing to work in more paternalistic work arrangements while providing immigrant labor a significant economic return for their human capital

(Sanders & Nee, 1987). In addition, ethnic networks are credited as a basis for the self-sufficiency and resiliency of ethnic firms, since such networks provide the informal sources of capital formation and captive co-ethnic markets (Sanders & Nee, 1987).

However, there is no scholarly consensus regarding the ethnic enclave economy as a real alternative to traditional social mobility. Sanders and Nee (1987) argue that, by confounding immigrant entrepreneurs with their employees, Portes, et al. obfuscate the differential benefits enjoyed by these two groups, thus ignoring or minimizing negative outcomes for employees. They argue that while immigrant entrepreneurs may enjoy the benefits of having a cheap and loyal co-ethnic labor force, their employees may become trapped in low-paying jobs with limited upward mobility. Similarly, Kwong (1997) contends that the ethnic enclave economy thesis ignores the important class exploitation of new immigrants by their co-ethnic elite. His study of New York's Chinatown (as an ethnic enclave) economy found that ethnic employers deployed selective ethnic images (e.g., "outsiders can't be trusted") and existing family and social networks to set up business practices that exploited and controlled their co-ethnic employees.

In contrast, Mazumdar et al. (2000) argue that the ethnic enclave economy thesis, because of its sole focus on the economy, misses other important contributions of ethnic enclaves, such as mutual assistance, transitional roles, and place identities. Rather than narrowly defining ethnic enclaves in economic terms (as did Portes et al.), they interpret ethnic enclaves in terms of both physical and social

constructions. Mazumdar et al.'s (2000) study of Vietnamese Americans in Little Saigon in Westminster, California, led them to conclude that ethnic enclaves “constitute an important aspect of an immigrant’s place identity enabling him/her to simultaneously remain connected to the places left behind, yet appropriating and forging significant new place ties” (p. 330). In this sense, Mazumdar et al., view the creation and maintenance of an ethnic enclave as an act of immigrant agency.

Although these studies advance the understanding of the specific functions of immigrant communities, they do not fully analyze the larger socio-political contexts within which these communities are situated. Consequently, immigrant communities may continue to be depicted as isolated, self-contained units, unconnected to larger societal contexts and dynamics. This depiction, of course, hardly rings true. Historically, the spaces immigrant communities occupy are far from untouched by the socio-political and economic forces of the larger society (Lin, 1998).

Regarded as obstacles to modernization, “zones in transition” were excluded and ignored during the industrial period of American urban growth (Lin, 1998). The “general outward movement” that Burgess described in the 1920s continued for white residents in the interwar era, and ethnic minority immigrants came to occupy these undesirable spaces. Low-interest loans from the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) made it easier for white residents to flee the inner and outer city spaces to the suburbs during the post-WWII era (Fisher, 1994), leaving deteriorating and neglected areas of cities to ethnic minorities who were prohibited from moving to white neighborhoods by a variety of restrictive covenants as well as the constraints

of enduring poverty. The Federal Highway Act of 1956 with the consequent construction of the interstate highway system resulted in many corporations and factories moving out of central business districts toward the suburbs, taking away economic opportunities from the city and its ethnic minority residents (Fisher, 1994). The urban renewal era in the postwar period resulted not only in the economic deprivation of ethnic neighborhoods but also often in their physical devastation. Many ethnic neighborhoods were destroyed or cut through to make room for new highway arterials or expansion of the central business district and government office buildings, in some cases resulting in relocation of the whole ethnic enclave itself (Lin, 1998). During the late twentieth century, rising housing prices in the suburbs lured investors, followed by white, middle-class residents, back into the city, resulting in gentrification. Gentrification of the once-shunned inner and outer city spaces brought rising rents and higher property taxes, which threatened the ethnic minority residents who had established and maintained their neighborhoods—against and through the neglect, deterioration, and devastation of earlier eras—with displacement.

Lin (1998) brings yet another element to the spatial contestation facing immigrant communities: globalization. Lin states that, with the rapid globalization of recent years, the cities that suffered from urban decline in the past are becoming revitalized as the centers of global trading and transnational interests. Many of these cities (“world cities”) are immigrant gateway cities with well-established “ethnic

places” whose immigrant residents repossessed and revitalized once-de-industrialized central urban areas (Lin, 1998).

Lin (1998) contends that, while globalization presents many opportunities to these ethnic places as “polyglot honeypots” (p. 314) in transnational trade, it also poses challenges to them. Through his comparative study of the ethnic places of Los Angeles, New York, Houston, and Miami, Lin illustrates some of these challenges: inter-group conflicts over the character of the ethnic place, intra-group conflicts between local and overseas factions, and the competition between transnational capital and small-scale, local actors for the use of spaces. Ultimately, Lin concludes that globalization places local ethnic actors within the complex dynamics of broader political-economic relations with local states, the nation-state, and global capital.

Anderson (1987) provides a different route to understanding the construction of immigrant communities. Employing Foucauldian discourse analysis, Anderson (1987) challenges the view that ethnic enclaves like a Chinatown were created either by the residential preferences of Chinese immigrants or by the social constraints that forced them to reside there. Instead, through her study of the Chinatown of Vancouver, British Columbia, she argues that Chinatown is “a social construction with a cultural history and a tradition of imagery and institutional practice that has given it a cognitive and material reality in and for the West” (p. 581). In her study, Anderson illustrates the ways in which the ‘Chinese’ (an arbitrary classification of race) and ‘Chinatown’ (an arbitrary classification of space) were constructed by the language, popular images, and general ethos of the European residents of the city in

the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, she argues that these *ideas* of Chinese and Chinatown do not originate from the Chinese immigrants and their enclave, but instead originated in, and are maintained by, Euro-Canadian society. Anderson (1987) asserts that this legitimization of the social construction of racial categorization through the institutional practices of the municipal authorities was part of the historical exercise of white European cultural domination.

Both Anderson's (1987) study of the discursive construction of Chinatown and Lin's (1998) study of globalization and its attendant challenges to immigrant places reveal that immigrant communities can not be understood in isolation from the complex, dialectical dynamics between immigrant actors and the larger societal forces that construct such communities.

### **Construction of Immigrant Identity**

Whereas much of the social work discourse of immigrants centers on the concept of immigrant identity, critical analysis of just how 'immigrant identity' is constructed remains insufficient. Part of the problem is the way that immigrant identity has been, and continues to be, conceptualized. For example, some studies investigating immigrant identity use questions based on taxonomy (e.g., "do you consider yourself Mexican, Mexican-American, or American?"), conflating nationality, society of origin, and culture to determine an immigrant's identity. Other studies (e.g., Bautista de Domanico, Crawford, & De Wolfe, 1994; Miranda & Umhoefer, 1998; Guinn, 1998) include "cultural behaviors" (e.g., language

familiarity and usage, self-perception of ethnic heritage and pride, etc.) to decide the identity of the individual through placement on scales that assume a continuum of possible identities. Although these studies may be useful in explaining the effects of some aspects of immigrant identity on adjustment, adaptation problems, and mental health outcomes (e.g., Bautista de Domanico, Crawford, & De Wolfe, 1994; Miranda & Umhoefer, 1998; Moran, et al., 1999), they tend to treat immigrant identity in a static, cross-sectional manner. By treating immigrant identity as a largely psychological phenomenon and/or by substituting taxonomic or behavioral descriptors as proxies for 'identity,' these studies avoid critical analyses of the dynamics through which immigrants negotiate their "dual process" of "self-making and being made" (Ong, 1996, p. 738).

As identities are relational and situated, construction of immigrant identity cannot be understood in a static, cross-sectional, or purely psychological manner (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). Nor can immigrant identity be strictly limited to an official descriptor of a racial/ethnic group (e.g., "pick an appropriate box" mode of race/ethnicity/nationality categorization). Post-structural theorists such as Foucault and Derrida have discredited the essentializing notion of a coherent and unifying identity and argued for a radically historicized understanding of the "subject" (Hall, 1996). In this vein, Omi and Winant (2001) problematized the biological and "natural" assumptions of race in their study of the construction of race in the U.S. Their analysis demonstrated how the meaning of race has changed from the early Western European settlement in the "New World" to modern times. They argue that

the attempt to establish a biological basis of race, a term just as controversial at its inception in the colonial era as it is now, is not a neutral and unbiased stance but a highly ideological strategy deployed to remove the concept of race from social, political, or economic determination. Rather than being fixed or immutable, Omi and Winant argue, race is a sociohistorical concept that is grounded in ideology with material consequences. Thus, they introduced the term, “racial formation,” to refer to “the process by which social, economic, and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings.” Racial and ethnic “identity,” then, is peRformative; it does not escape from socially and historically constructed meanings about one’s race and ethnicity.

Similarly, Lowe (1996) suggests yet another route to understanding the ways in which ‘immigrant’ is constructed in the U.S. by applying Derrida’s notion of binaries. She argues that the concept of ‘immigrant’ must be understood in its relation to its binary opposite, ‘citizen.’ Without immigrants to occupy the role of the ‘other,’ the U.S. citizen as the ‘center’ can not be defined. Lowe argues that it is through the discourse of citizenship that this demarcation of ‘the immigrant other’ (and the ‘citizen as the center’) is constructed. This binary has been naturalized as a unifying concept in order to mark the inside/outside of the rights and privileges that are attached to U.S. citizenship. Lowe (1996) argues that the concept of citizenship must be “reread” through its internal contradictions. Through an analysis of Asian American immigration history, Lowe (1996) names these contradictions:

...Immigrant acts,” then, attempts to name the *contradictions* of Asian immigration, which at different moments in the last

century and a half of Asian entry into the United States have placed Asians “within” the U.S. nation-state, its workplaces, and its markets, yet linguistically, culturally, and racially marked Asians as “foreign” and “outside” the national polity. (p. 8)

Lowe (1996) suggests that this contradiction has been sublated through the legal exclusion and disenfranchisement of Asian immigrants. U.S. immigration policies (e.g., the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882; the Immigration Act of 1924; Executive Order 9066 during WWII; the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act) certainly support this argument. Each policy produces and deploys Asian immigrants’ subject position as ‘the other,’ and enforcement of these policies re-produces this position.

However, the construction of Asian American immigrants through governmental and legal regulatory regimes has not been entirely uncontested. Indeed, Asian immigrants and Asian Americans “have not only been ‘subjects to’ immigration exclusion and restriction but have also been ‘subjects of’ the immigration process” (Lowe, 1996, p.9) and of social politics. Historical struggles for equal protection rights (e.g., *Yick Wo vs. Hopkins*, 1886; *Korematsu vs. United States*, 1944), and for naturalization rights (e.g., *Takao Ozawa vs. United States*, 1922; *United States vs. Bhagat Singh Thind*, 1923) illustrate the struggle over discourses that produce and sustain the subject position of the Asian “immigrant.” Filipino-American agricultural labor and cannery organizing, as well as the Japanese-American redress movement, exemplify the contestation and resistance of Asian-American immigrants and their descendants.

Far from being a naturally occurring phenomenon or a position determined by structural forces alone, the construction of 'immigrant' must be understood through the examination of the mutually reinforcing dynamics of discipline and contestation.

### **Cultural Citizenship**

The notion of citizenship has served as the legal and social framework for individual autonomy and political democracy in Western political philosophy. Shafir (1998) states that Greek and Roman approaches to citizenship set the course for modern Western models of citizenship. In the Greek city-state, i.e., the polis, citizenship was founded on the definition of the human being as "a creature formed by nature to live a political life" (Shafir, 1998, p. 3) and one whose participation in a voluntary civic community became the "social glue" of society. In the Greek model, citizenship also signaled liberation from the daily toils for material necessity and entry into "the sphere of freedom where the practice of freedom, in collective rational and moral deliberation over a common destiny, [was] its own reward" (Shafir, 1998, p. 3). Consequently, Shafir concludes, this concept of citizenship elevated the public sphere of political life (polis) over the private sphere of the family and economic life (oikos). However, the Greek concept of citizenship was not extended to everyone; women and slaves were excluded from participating in the polis. Whereas Western philosophers traditionally emphasized the Greek model of citizenship for its emancipation of free male citizens to allow free participation in the

political arena, what is obscured by this glorification of freedom is that it came at the expense of women and slaves, who were relegated to the oikos. In fact, the elevation of the polis could not have been possible without the sacrifice of the oikos. The Greek system of citizenship, then, operated on a system of binaries.

In the Roman model of citizenship, the heterogeneity of the Roman Empire was reflected in the multiple and diverse types of members and various gradations of citizenship (Shafir, 1998). The Roman model drastically revised the Greek conception of freedom to “a legal status that provided protection from an emperor and his representatives’ arbitrary rule” (Shafir, 1998, p. 4). Thus, the focus of the Roman concept of citizenship was on the protection of individual rights rather than on the freedom of political participation. Shafir (1998) suggests that the Greek approach is similar to the modern day communitarian discourse of citizenship, whereas the Roman approach resembles the liberal model of modern times. Accordingly, the goal of communitarians is the pursuit of the common good, and the goal of liberalists is to seek individual rights (Shafir, 1998). Rooted in Greek and Roman approaches, the modern Western concept of citizenship—such as the one practiced in the U.S.—is far from unequivocal, and embodies numerous contradictions.

Marshall (1998) distinguishes between three sets of citizenship rights: the civil, the political, and the social. He explains that civil rights, which emerged in the eighteenth century, are those that guarantee individual freedom. Political rights, which originated in the nineteenth century, guaranteed participation in the exercise

of political power as voter or representative. In addition to these two sets of citizenship rights, Marshall (1998) introduced another set of rights: social rights. Originated in the twentieth century, these rights make possible the attainment of economic security (Shafir, 1998). In proposing social rights of citizenship, Marshall is concerned with the contradiction between civil rights and social rights. Shafir (1998) sums up the contradiction: “civil rights provide protection *from* the state, whereas social rights establish claims for benefits guaranteed *by* the state” (p. 14). Marshall concludes that social citizenship and capitalism contradict each other, and the exercise of citizenship rights will continue to generate social conflict (Shafir, 1998).

Lowe (1996) argues that it is precisely the contradiction between capitalism’s need for “abstract labor” and the state’s need for “abstract citizens” that produced Asian immigrant subjects. Applying Marxist theory, Lowe states that capital needs “abstract labor,” and is unconcerned with the origins of its labor force (p.13). On the other hand, the nation-state needs “abstract citizens” and is concerned with “maintaining a national citizenry bound by race, language, and culture” (Lowe, 1996, p.13). Lowe argues that, theoretically, when a nation is racially homogeneous, there is little contradiction between the needs of capital and the needs of the state. The homogenous citizenry of a nation, bounded by common culture, also provides capital the source of labor. However, when a nation is racially differentiated (as in the case of the U.S.), Lowe claims, the needs of capital and the needs of state may be in conflict. This is exactly why the entry of the Asian labor force into the U.S. in the

late nineteenth century has been so problematic for the state-capital contradiction. Although the needs of capital required Asians' entry into the U.S. work force and markets, they were culturally, linguistically, and racially marked as "foreigners," and excluded from full citizenship (Lowe, 1996). Lowe argues that, in late nineteenth-century America, "this contradiction between the economic and political spheres was sublated through the legal exclusion and disenfranchisement of Chinese immigrant laborers" (p. 13).

Lowe's argument touches upon the issue of culture in citizenship in a multicultural society. Kymlicka's argument (in Shafir, 1998) deals with the issue of culture by adding "cultural rights" to the three identified by Marshall. Kymlicka's multicultural model of citizenship is concerned with the rights of the members of culturally distinct (usually ethnic minority immigrant) groups. Kymlicka suggests that when multiple ethnic groups comprise a single state, the state needs to reform social institutions so they can accommodate the cultural distinctiveness of each group. In Kymlicka's model, rights are conferred upon a group-level, rather than on individuals, resulting in what he calls "differentiated citizenship." By proposing this model, Kymlicka is responding to the concern that a nation-state will be fragmented if group-based rights are granted (Shafir, 1998). Kymlicka argues that the goal of immigrant groups is not to withdraw from the mainstream or to become assimilated into the mainstream but to strive for "the kind of inclusion that does not require the denial of their culture" (Shafir, 1998, p, 19).

In Kymlicka's multicultural model, culture and cultural identity are conceptualized as fixed and definitive. In contrast, Rosaldo's (1997) model of Latino cultural citizenship conceptualizes culture and cultural identity as much more fluid, non-categorical and constantly developing. In this model, culture and cultural identity are not normative categories but indicative of the many ways in which Latino/as conceive of—and enact—their community and their sense of belonging in the U.S. Similarly, cultural rights are conceptualized differently from those proposed by Kymlicka. According to Rosaldo (1994), cultural citizenship is “the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic processes” (p. 57). Rosaldo's words (1994) sum up what his notion of cultural citizenship offers beyond Kymlicka's model of cultural rights: “From the point of view of subordinated communities, cultural citizenship offers the possibility of legitimizing demands made in the struggle to enfranchise themselves. These demands can range from legal, political, economic issues to matters of human dignity, well-being, and respect” (p. 57).

Latino cultural citizenship, a term first introduced by Rosaldo, “names a range of social practices which, taken together, claim and establish a distinct social space [for Latino groups]” (Flores & Benmayor, 1997, p.1). By refusing to be confined by the nation-state's narrow definition of citizenship (i.e., legal status), Rosaldo's concept of cultural citizenship challenges and stretches its boundaries. Where the state's definition of citizenship assumes a legal status bestowed upon an

individual by the state (through naturalization or by birthright), Latino cultural citizenship argues for an agentic process. This act of re-defining and creating meaning is precisely at the heart of Rosaldo's model of cultural citizenship. Cultural citizenship is concerned with the role of human agency of marginalized groups in establishing and asserting human, social, and cultural rights in the context of societal inequality and historical oppression (Flores & Benmayor, 1997). In this model, cultural citizenship is highly localized and historicized, resisting totalizing and assimilationist discourses.

Although Ong (1996) admits sharing Rosaldo's sentiments, she nevertheless criticizes his concept of cultural citizenship for over-privileging the power of immigrant or minority group agency. Ong argues that Rosaldo's version of cultural citizenship gives an erroneous impression that immigrants and minority groups can single-handedly construct their cultural citizenship. By doing so, she argues, Rosaldo obscures the "cultural inscription of state power and other forms of regulation that define the different modalities of belonging" (p. 738). Ong concludes that Rosaldo's concept of citizenship results in subscribing to the very principle he questions: the liberal principle of universal equality.

In comparison, Ong (1996) defines cultural citizenship as "a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society" (p. 738). Drawing upon the Foucauldian idea of production of the subject, Ong argues that, in modern Western democracies, the control of their populations is accomplished by producing consent through rituals and rules. This

control is attained not by a single dominating force, but by a complex web of relations that regulate and administer how one is constituted as a citizen-subject. These disciplining forces are manifested both in state sectors and in civil institutions and social groups (Ong, 1996).

It is these forces that immigrants must contend with in their process of becoming citizen-subjects in the U.S. Ong conceptualizes the immigrant's agency differently than does Rosaldo. She does not see the immigrant subject as a marginalized member of a subordinate group taking her demands to the dominant group. Rather, Ong sees the immigrant subject as an actor who is constantly complying with, co-opting, resisting, and being disciplined by the hegemonic forces that produce her as a subject of a modern democratic nation-state.

Ong (1996) states that becoming a citizen "depends on how one is constituted as a subject who exercises or submits to power relations; one must develop what Foucault [...] calls 'the modern attitude,' an attitude of self-making in shifting fields of power that include the nation-state and the wider world" (p. 738). In doing so, Ong (1996) emphasizes that cultural citizenship is "dialectically determined by the state and its subjects" (p. 738). The central idea of Ong's version of cultural citizenship is this dialectical interplay between the hegemonic power of the regulating regimes (in state agency and civil society) and the immigrant's ability to negotiate and contest *within* complex webs of power.

Ong's criticism of Rosaldo's version of citizenship aside, the commonality in their respective versions of cultural citizenship lies in their interest in the process of

negotiation and contestation through which cultural citizenship is produced. (For example, Rosaldo [1997] states that cultural citizenship research seeks out the “cases that have become sites of contestation, negotiation, and struggle over cultural rights and social inequity” [p. 36].) Rosaldo and Ong contribute differently to our understanding of cultural citizenship. Whereas Rosaldo contributes by bringing attention to and naming minority groups’ agentic process of negotiation and contestation to create and claim cultural space for themselves in the context of historical oppression, Ong does so by presenting a theoretical basis for understanding this process.

As the foregoing review demonstrates, constructs such as immigrant community, immigrant identity, and cultural citizenship are shaped through multifarious issues and debates. Thus, as this study explores development of immigrant community identity and cultural citizenship, these terms will be used not as singular concepts but as contingent operational definitions with attention to the complexities embedded in them.

In the discussion regarding immigrant communities and immigrant identity above, I have called for a conceptualization that allows an examination of complex, dialectical dynamics between structural forces and agency of the subject. Cultural citizenship, as discussed above, is concerned with this very issue. In the following chapter, I will discuss the theoretical frameworks that guide the present study in its examination of these issues.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

#### Overview

This study is grounded in poststructural and postcolonial theories.

Poststructural theories, although not unified or unequivocal, maintain a position that language and discourses are not neutral or pure but biased and partial. Consistent with this poststructural theoretical position, this study explicates ‘construction’ as a discursive formation. This position departs from traditional paradigms that take subject positions (e.g., race, ethnicity) as natural and stable or universal and essential (Schriver, 2004). Instead, poststructuralists like Foucault maintain that social subjects are produced through discourses that are unstable and specific to their social, political, and historical contexts. In this usage, discourses constitute a particular version of a social subject (e.g., immigrant community as ethnic enclave), and such a version defines and establishes what is ‘true’ or ‘real’ at particular moments (Carabine, 2001). Construction in this study refers to the production, deployment, and maintenance of a subject through discourses in specific historical, political, and social contexts.

Poststructuralists challenge the structuralist notion of a stable and consistent relationship between a signifier and signified, opening up previously taken-for-granted ideas to scrutiny. One such idea is the modernist notion of identity. In the poststructuralist framework, the modernist notion of an essential identity is immediately suspect. Repudiation of the idea of an identical, one-to-one relationship

between subject and his/her unified “essence” destabilizes the whole notion of sovereign subject. The subject is no longer stable in his/her essential identity, the center of his/her free will.

Although poststructuralists have deconstructed the modernist notion of identity/subjectivity, they have not replaced it with something equally stable. Suspicious of the grand theories that profess to report universal truth, poststructuralists seek instead to elucidate the ambiguities and complexities underneath the idea of identity/subjectivity. What is underneath, for poststructuralists, is discourse (or language). Partial and always enmeshed with power, discourses constitute biased social realities, privileging one version of reality over another. The subject positions, likewise constructed by discourses, are also mutable and contingent—far from a coherent, unified, modernist subject.

This poststructural position serves as the framework for theorizing what is at the heart of this study: immigrant community identity. In this study, “identity” is used in its deconstructed, poststructuralist form: a mutable and contingent subjectivity. Similarly, the poststructuralist framework steers this study away from asking the usual essentialist questions such as, “What is the identity of the International District (ID) community?” Instead the framework leads toward efforts to historicize and examine the construction of the ID as a particular kind of community. Rather than asking the usual phenomenological questions such as, “what is the meaning of a multi-ethnic Asian American community,” this study examines

the particular social, political, and historical contexts within which the discourse of a “multi-ethnic Asian American community” in the ID is constructed.

Postcolonial theories both extend and critique poststructuralist insights on discourse, power, and identification. Although postcolonial theorists generally agree with poststructuralists that identities are constituted through the reiterative power of discourses, they question the overestimation of the efficacy of disciplinary power. If all subject positions are discursively constructed, the inference is that any action performed by that subject must also, to some extent, be a result of those discourses. However, postcolonial theories suggest that although it may be difficult for subjects to escape the effects of those forces that construct them, it is not impossible (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000).

This postcolonial position (re)introduces the notion of agency to this study. However, this is not a reversion to the modernist notion of a free-will or a centered author of social practice. Instead, postcolonial theorists are interested in agency in “a constant, agnostic process of struggling with, resisting, negotiating, and accommodating the normative or regulative rules with which [subjects] confront and regulate themselves” (Hall, 1996, p. 14). This postcolonial position provides the analytic frame for this study as a means to understand the resistance and negotiation immigrants deploy within the context of hegemonic discursive constructions of identity.

Although this study applies both poststructural and postcolonial theories as its theoretical frameworks, it does not purport to reconcile them or extract from them

one consistent, unified theory about community identity. Rather, these theoretical traditions are observed to be part of a continuing conversation, drawing from each theoretical tradition the analytic frames needed to re-conceptualize the elusive idea of identity/subjectivity within the local example of the ID.

More specifically, this study derives its poststructural framework from the works of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, and its postcolonial theories from Edward Said, Stuart Hall, Homi Bhabha, Aiwaha Ong, and Paul Gilroy. Foucault's theory of discourse and power/knowledge, and Derrida's concept of *différance*, provide the framework for understanding the construction of subjects through discourses. Said's notion of Orientalism applies this framework to elucidate the colonial process of constructing the 'Other' through hegemonic discourses. Hall's discussion of agency and Bhabha's concept of liminal space extend *and* challenge poststructural claims of subject-formation and provide the grounds for grasping the slippery concept of postcolonial identity. Drawing on insights from both poststructural and postcolonial theories, Ong conceptualized cultural citizenship as providing the lens through which to analyze the process of constructing immigrant subjectivity/identity. Finally, Gilroy's discussion of urban social movements and community offers the analytic framework needed to interpret how the identity of community—multiple, fluid, and complex—is constructed and operates in community mobilization. In the following sections, these theoretical concepts will be delineated further.

### Foucault: Discourse, Power/Knowledge

Of the innumerable contributions Foucault made to (post)modern social analysis, the most significant, at least most undeniable, of them all may be his theory of discourse and power/knowledge. Admittedly, the phrase, *Foucault's theory of discourse and power/knowledge*, may be misleading. First of all, Foucault himself would have contested the use of the word *theory*, as he built his life work on repudiating and destabilizing accepted, therefore taken for granted, systems of knowledge. In addition, as scholars have pointed out in the past, Foucault's oeuvre does not work toward a seamless, unified 'theory'—which would be most decidedly anti-Foucauldian, in any case—but can be thought of as two (or three,<sup>1</sup> depending on the scholar) sets of works. These two sets of works are differentiated by use of two different analytic methods: 'archaeology' and 'genealogy' (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough also notes that there is a shift in focus between these two groups of works. Foucault's earlier, 'archaeological' works (e.g., *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, *The Order of Things*) are primarily concerned with what he called 'discursive formations': the ways in which specific types of discourses come to constitute systems of knowledge in the human sciences (Fairclough, 1992; Rabinow, 1984). His later, 'genealogical' works (e.g., *Discipline and Punish*, *The History of Sexuality*) focus more on the relationship between power and knowledge, showing how systems of knowledge (or disciplines) are implicated in social practices and processes (Fairclough, 1992; Rabinow, 1984).

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<sup>1</sup> Some scholars, including Fairclough, add the third category, 'ethics,' to these two categories.

However, regarding Foucault's works—and his perspective on discourse and power/knowledge—as two distinct categories of inquiry would be a mistake. While the analytic emphases may be different in those two groups of work, Foucault was constant throughout his work in his critique of foundationalism. Foucault was not interested in the usual metaphysical search for the origins or essence of a phenomenon; nor did he subscribe to the post-positivistic inquiry method of confirming/disconfirming a fact. Instead, his analytic methods simultaneously destabilize the taken-for-granted quality of these practices of inquiry *and* reveal the hidden dangers of the accepted realities they (re)produce. Therefore, 'archaeology' and 'genealogy' should not be understood as two distinct methods but two complementary ways of interrogating how 'truth,' 'knowledge,' and so on, is constituted.

Similarly, there is a consistent objective in Foucault's work, both archaeological and genealogical: subjectivity. Foucault stated that "the goal of my work during the last twenty years has not been to analyze the phenomena of power, not to elaborate the foundations of such an analysis. My objective, instead, has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, quoted in Rabinow, 1984, p. 7). Rabinow (1984) identifies three modes of objectification of the subject in Foucault's work: 'dividing practices,' 'scientific classification,' and 'subjectification.' These modes serve as a powerful analytic frame for the main question the present study pursues: discursive production, maintenance, and change of the subject position of the ID community.

Dividing practices refer to “those that categorize, distribute, and manipulate” (Rabinow, 1984, p. 12). Categorizing humans (e.g., “the mentally ill,” “welfare-recipients,” “immigrants”) not only spatially and socially divides them from one another, but also produces social and personal identity (Rabinow, 1984). By being categorized together (and being divided from others, as a result), humans are identified by their social categories thus distributed. In this process, “the subject is objectified by a process of division either within himself or from others” (Foucault, quoted in Rabinow, 1984, p. 8). In this light, no category of identification is innocent or objectification-free, even with humanitarian premises (e.g., ‘helping immigrants adapt to the society’ by controlling their behaviors, spatially and socially).

The second mode of objectification, scientific classification, refers to practices “through which we have come to understand ourselves scientifically” (Rabinow, 1984, p. 12). Foucault observed how scientific disciplines came to scaffold the ways in which we understand ourselves as human-subjects in the modern era. In scientific classification, the relation of domination may seem more subtle than it is in the dividing practices mode (Rabinow, 1984). For example, although one might believe that she freely chooses to identify herself as “Asian,” it is precisely the U.S. government’s system of classification of its citizenry by “race” (supposedly a biological classification) that forms such a grouping. Although the relation of domination may be less direct in scientific classification than it is in dividing practices, it nevertheless has material consequences for dominated groups. Historical incidents such as the events following the 9-11-2001 attack and

subsequent implementation of the Patriot Act illustrate how such a system of classification is used to simultaneously differentiate one such classified group (“Middle East populations”) and control the rest of the population.

The third mode of classification, subjectification, refers to the “way a human being turns him- or herself into a subject” (Foucault, in Rabinow, 1984, p. 11). This mode is different from the previous two in that the subject is active in the process of self-formation (Rabinow, 1984). However, Foucault does not intend to re-invoke the discourse of free will or transcendental agency. Instead, he is interested in the techniques we use to turn ourselves into subjects, “operating on [people’s] own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct” (Foucault, in Rabinow, 1984, p. 11) in a process of self-understanding. Foucault observes that these operations are usually mediated by an external authority figure (Rabinow, 1984). For example, the proliferation of psychotherapy and increasing scientific discourses about sexuality in modern times exemplify this process.

Although these three modes may be analytically distinguishable, they are not so clearly separable in practice. In fact, they often operate together, complementing one another. For example, the “Middle East population” example, discussed earlier, illustrates how scientific classification and dividing practices are combined. Foucault suggests that the practices of objectification of subject operate through discourses and power/knowledge. These notions, as related to this study, are discussed in the next section in more detail.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Because of the shift in emphases in Foucault’s works, as explicated earlier, my discussion on discourse in this section follows his archaeological works while the discussion on power/knowledge draws mainly from his

## Discourse

In a Foucauldian sense, discourse is not a text or a specific language but refers to “different ways of structuring areas of knowledge or social practice” (Fairclough, 1992, p.3). Departing from the structuralist idea of language-as-representation, Foucault sees language as *constitutive*. Rather than merely reflecting or representing social practices, discourse produces, transforms, and reproduces objects of knowledge and social subjects and subject positions (Fairclough, 1992). Discourses thus constitute a particular version of a social subject (e.g., immigrant community as ethnic enclave), and such a version defines and establishes what is ‘true’ or ‘real’ at particular moments (Carabine, 2001). In addition, discourse is not separated from, or secondary to social practices, but is constitutive of them. Foucauldian analysis “reveals relations between discursive formations and non-discursive domains (institutions, political events, and economic practices and processes)” (Foucault, 1972, p. 162).

Foucault also emphasizes the historically situatedness of discourse. By this, Foucault does not mean a linear, continuous causality of language events. Rather, he refers to the ways in which any one discursive practice draws upon, and transforms, other contemporary and historically prior discursive practices. Discourses are generated out of a combination of other discourses and also defined by their relationship to others (Fairclough, 1992). This notion is called intertextuality

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genealogical works. A fuller discussion of Foucault’s perspective on discourse and power/knowledge is out of scope of this study and is available elsewhere (e.g., Rabinow, 1984; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983).

(Fairclough, 2001). Consistent with this perspective, the present study does not intend to establish a retrospective cause-and-effect relationship between the formation of one discourse and another; nor does it attempt to set up a coherent and seamless timeline of discursive events. Rather, this study historically situates the formation of a 'multi-ethnic Asian American community' through excavating the intertextuality of disparate yet related discourses.

### Power/Knowledge

Foucault's theory of discourse is intimately linked to his theory of power/knowledge. According to Foucault, power is not a repressive force but "a productive network which runs through the whole social body," which "induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse" (Foucault, in Rabinow, 1984, p. 61). Rather than simply dominating subjects by force, power incorporates them through shaping their sense of who they are, their social relations, and the way in which they generate knowledge about themselves (Rabinow, 1984). This is why Foucauldian analyses are particularly concerned with the positioned, disciplined subject and how power functions to construct, deploy, and internalize subject positions through discourses.

Foucault did not accept the notion that the complex mechanisms of power are reducible to a single determinant such as class domination (McKenzie, 1999). Instead, Foucault described the complex way power operates in modern societies through the concept of 'bio-power': the way the human body is approached as an

object to be manipulated and controlled (Rabinow, 1984). An essential component of bio-power is normalization: “a system of finely gradated and measurable intervals in which individuals can be distributed around a norm—a norm that both organizes and is the result of this controlled distribution” (Rabinow, 1984, p. 20). The relationship between discourse and normalization is that the norm is established and dispersed through discourses. Foucault was particularly concerned about the ways in which the system of normalization became the system of both regulation and judgment through its entry into the law (e.g., legal discourses of citizenship) and state practices (e.g., immigration policy discourses). The concept of normalization provides an analytic frame to examine how normalizing discourses such as immigration policies contribute to the discourse of the ID community.

One of the ways in which Foucault illuminates bio-power is through the concept of ‘disciplinary control.’ Rather than a top-down imposition from particular collective agents upon groups and individuals, disciplinary control develops through what Foucault called ‘disciplinary technologies,’ the set of procedures and operations that forge a “docile body that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved” (Foucault, in Rabinow, 1984, p. 17). Foucault illustrated how in various settings (such as schools, prisons, and hospitals) disciplinary control arose through training of the body, through standardization of actions over time, and through the control of space (Rabinow, 1984). The concept of disciplinary control provides an analytic frame for this study to investigate the control of space through the social and institutional procedures and operations (e.g., red-lining practices; zoning laws;

building of the highways) that produced the ID as a spatially restricted ethnic enclave.

### **Derrida: Différance**

Différance is a neologism coined by Derrida. At the same time, it is not a neologism in the usual sense, because *différance* is neither a word nor a concept (Derrida, 1982, web version). Derrida (1982) appropriates *différance* from the French verb *différer*, which has two meanings: “to differ” (to be different; i.e., to distance itself from others) and “to defer” (to defer; i.e., to temporize). Therefore, *différance* invokes both spatial and temporal aspects of signs. This conjoining of spacing and temporizing is an extension and critique of Saussure’s (structuralist) view of language as difference.

Central to Saussure’s theory of signs (language) is the arbitrary and differential character of signs (Derrida, 1982, web version). According to Saussure’s semiology, all signs have two aspects: signifier and signified. The signifier is the representation of what is signified. For example, the sign, “cat,” has the signifier, C-A-T, which signifies a mental image of a cat. However, the bond between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary (e.g., the mental image of a cat does not necessarily have to be C-A-T; it could be any other combination of sounds). There is no natural relationship between C-A-T and a cat. What makes this arbitrary relationship conventional is the system of differences. In other words, a sign (i.e.,

the signifier/signified bond) functions by the virtue of its difference from other signs. All meanings of signs, then, are constituted by a system of differences.

Derrida (1982) uses Saussure's concept of difference as the springboard for his discussion of *différance*, but he points out that not only do signs function by differing (i.e., differentiating), they also do so by deferring (i.e., signifier points to another signifier, and another, and another... deferring its meaning indefinitely). Derrida argues that Saussure's perspective on signs depends on, and thus privileges, presence over absence. Derrida explains:

The first consequence to be drawn [from Saussure's statement] is that the signified concept is never present in and of itself, in a sufficient presence that would refer only to itself. Essentially and lawfully, every concept is inscribed in a chain or in a system within which it refers to the other, to other concepts, by means of the systematic play of differences. Such a play, *différance*, is thus no longer simply a concept, but rather the possibility of conceptuality, of a conceptual process and system in general. For the same reason, *différance*, which is not a concept, is not simply a word, that is, what is generally represented as the calm, present, and self-referential unity of concept and phonic material. (Derrida, 1982, paragraph 27)

This challenge to the "self-referential unity of concept and phonic material" view of language is also an assault on the view of identity as a stable, unified, essence of self. If all meanings function by differing and deferring, then all identities are also contingent upon differing and deferring of space and time. There are no absolute identities that are essential or stable.

Likewise, *différance* challenges the traditional view of identity as self-presence. Derrida (1982) writes that,

It is because of *différance* that the movement of signification is possible only if each so-called “present” element, each element appearing on the scenes of presence, is related to something other than itself, thereby keeping within itself the mark of the past element, and already letting itself be vitiated by the mark of its relation to the future element [...]. (Derrida, 1982, paragraph 29)

Thus, all signs have in themselves what Derrida calls “trace” of other signs, the absent part of its presence. Neither simply absent nor simply present, traces complicate the presence/absence dichotomy. To Derrida, this exclusion and repression inherent in binary opposition is exactly what structures Western metaphysics: “Western thought, Derrida claimed, had been structured in terms of hierarchical oppositions where one of the terms had been given a qualitative and/or temporal priority over a supposedly derivative, inferior, or undesirable Other. For Derrida such dichotomies tend to privilege identity, immediacy, and presence over difference, deferral, and absence” (Norcross, 2000, p. 141). Derrida (1982) concludes that all meanings are produced through repressing and excluding of *différance*, not by self-presence

Derrida (1982) points out that these differences, which are also the effects of the play of difference, “have not fallen from the sky fully formed” but are produced. He states, “[...] we will designate as *différance* the movement according to which language, or any code, any system of referral in general is constituted “historically” as a weave of difference” (Derrida, 1982, web version). Derrida’s view of language (and its hierarchical binary oppositions) provides an important analytic framework

for this study to investigate how the contingent meanings of “identities” (e.g., “Asian American”) have historically become produced through discourses.

### **Said: Orientalism**

Orientalism is the term Said used to describe the process by which the “Orient” was (and in many ways, still is) constructed in European thought. Said (1978) stated that Orientalism is a style of thought operating on “the ontological and epistemological distinction between the “Orient” and the “Occident” (p. 1). This distinction, Said argued, “helps the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close and what is far away” (p. 55). In this sense, Orientalism summons Derrida’s discussion of *différance*. Orientalism creates meaning (both of the “Orient” and of Europe) by weaving of the differences and by the play of binary oppositions.

Orientalism was also the way Europe dealt with the “Orient”: “[...] dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views on it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (Said, 1978, p. 3). Over time, all kinds of European intellectuals, academics, artists, and politicians participated in producing, deploying, and re-producing a wide range of assumptions and stereotypes that created and naturalized the “Orient” as the “Other” that could be understood and manipulated by Europe. However, Orientalism is not a simple domination of the “Orient” by Europe through force. Said (1978) explains: “It is,

rather than expresses, a certain *will* or *intention* to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even incorporate, what is a manifestly different world” (p. 12, italics original).

In this sense, Orientalism is a classic example of Foucault’s definition of discourse and power/knowledge (see Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000). As a discursive mode, Orientalism constructs the colonial “Other” as a specific type of subject *and* constitutes the social and institutional practices that objectify this subject. This objectification of subject, in turn, produces “identity” for the subject thus created. Whether the colonial subjects simply identify with this subject position thus produced has been debated, as will be discussed further in later sections. However, Said’s concept of Orientalism provides a way to theorize how identities (e.g., “Asian immigrants”) as the “Other” are produced and naturalized through a complex system of hegemonic discourses over time (e.g., newspaper articles, academic studies, governmental and other statements, artistic writings).

### **Hall: Identification**

Hall extends poststructural theorizing on identity/subject by raising the question of identification. Hall (1996) is in agreement with Foucault on the discursive formation of subject, as he is with Derrida on the construction of identity through differences. However, he argues that the decentering of such concepts as identity/subject needs a reconceptualization—not abandonment—within the poststructural paradigm. He insists that the refusal of identity as “transcendental

consciousness” (p. 2) does not mean a wholesale abolishment of the subject. Nor does it necessarily lead to an assumption that individuals simply and unproblematically occupy the subject positions that are constituted through discourses. In fact, there is little clarity about the relationship between subjects and discursive practices in poststructural thought (Hall, 1996). This question of identification is precisely what Hall is concerned about in his essay, “Who Needs Identity?”. Hall (1996) states, “The notion that an effective suturing of the subject to a subject-position requires, not only that the subject is ‘hailed,’ but that the subject invests in the position, means that suturing has to be thought of as an *articulation*, rather than a one-sided process, and that in turn places *identification*, if not identities, firmly on the theoretical agenda” (p. 6, italics original).

In tracing the slippery terrain of identification, Hall (1996) looks at Foucault’s discussion of the double-sided character of subjection/subjectification. Hall states that Foucault’s works (especially his earlier works) offer a formal explication of how subject positions are constructed within discourses; however, he explains little about how particular individuals occupy particular subject positions and not others. One way Foucault did address this question was by suggesting that it is the historical specificity of the discursive practices that summons certain subjects to certain positions at a particular time (Hall, 1996). Foucault’s work on disciplinary control, while introducing the concept of the self-policing subject, is also challenged for its tendency to overestimate the power of discourse practices and social control to summon, discipline, produce, and regulate the subject (Hall, 1996). However, Hall

argues, Foucault's later work on sexuality shows that Foucault "tacitly recognizes that [...] there must also be the corresponding production of a response (and thus the capacity and apparatus of subjectivity) from the side of the subject" (p. 12). Hall states that Foucault began to address this concern by his discussion of self-production through "the technology of the self" (p. 13) in his later and incomplete work on sexuality. Hall (1996) concludes:

The question which remains is whether we are required to, as it were, close the gap between two: [...] a theory of what the mechanisms are by which individuals as subjects identify (or do not identify) with the 'positions' to which they are summoned; as well as how they fashion, stylize, produce and 'perform' these positions, and why they never do so completely, for once and all the time, and some never do, or are in a constant, agnostic process of struggling with, resisting, negotiating and accommodating the normative or regulative rules with which they confront and regulate themselves. In short, what remains is the requirement to think this relation of subject to discursive formations *as an articulation* (all articulations are properly relations of 'no necessary correspondence,' i.e., founded on that contingency which 'reactivates the historical' [...]) (p. 14).

For this present study, what is important in Hall's discussion of identification is that he seems to re-insert the idea of agency within the subject. Agency, of course, should not be understood as a retreat to the notion of a free will or a transcendental consciousness, as Hall (1996) makes clear. Instead, Hall helps us to move away from a conceptualization of the subject as an empty, docile vessel (which, in part, was a result of moving away from the transcendental subject) to an idea of a subject that "is hailed to" *and* "invests in" the position. For present purposes, agency refers to this capacity to be simultaneously hailed and invested in the position. It does not refer to the idea of intentions outside historicity or discursive formations. This

conceptualization of agency opens up a possibility for immigrant subjects to resist and negotiate the normative and regulatory practices that constitute them as particular identities, all the while reminding us that this practice of articulation is always firmly placed within historically and politically specific discursive practices.

### **Bhabha: Liminal Space, Hybrid Agency**

As Hall helps theorize how identification occurs, Bhabha's postcolonial theories of liminal space and hybrid agency help theorize how postcolonial agency might emerge. Bhabha's notion of luminosity addresses the "in-between" space in which cultural change may occur (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000). Bhabha (1994) utilizes Renee Green's characterization of a stairwell as a liminal space to explain what he means. The stairwell is neither the upper floor nor the lower floor; it is a pathway between them and inhabits both. An immigrant provides a good example of liminality. An immigrant is part of both her native nation and her new nation. Also, as an immigrant, she is at once an outsider of the center of the new nation *and* a foreign body inside the nation. Thus, her liminal presence challenges those homogenizing discourses such as "nationality."

The idea of liminal space rejects binary representations of fixed identities. (The stairwell, for example, is an "in-between" space where the upper/lower dichotomy can not be maintained.) Bhabha (1996) states it is "a space of enunciation where the negotiation of discursive doubleness *by which I do not mean duality or binarism* engenders a new speech act" (p. 58, italics original). For Bhabha, cultural

identity emerging in this liminal space is always contradictory and ambivalent, which makes it problematic for the claims of a hierarchical purity of cultures (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000).

Derrida's notion of *différance* can be elaborated upon here. If all identities contain a trace of others, then there can be no possibility of a cultural identity that is pure and bearing no trace of others. In this perspective, the declaration of a "culture," by definition, requires exclusion and repression of other "cultures" whose traces cannot be denied. This poses a dilemma for any claims of "pure culture," a dilemma particularly important in terms of colonization. Since the colonial powers so effectively operated through the hierarchy of binary oppositions, destabilizing the idea of distinct and pure "culture" significantly discredits their ability to dominate. This is why Bhabha sees the possibility for postcolonial agency in the liminal space.

Bhabha (1994) states that this "interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assured or imposed hierarchy" (p. 4). Obviously, by cultural hybridity Bhabha does not mean a simple amalgamation of two separate, distinct identities or a simple movement from one identity to another (e.g., from a colonial subject to a non-colonial subject). While the general use of the term, hybridity, has been criticized by some, Bhabha's concept of hybridity refers to the creation of transculturation with an emphasis on the oppositionality and inequity that embed the colonial (as well as post- or neo- colonial) processes.<sup>3</sup> He states that he developed

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<sup>3</sup> Some scholars have argued that the generalized usage of this word neglects specific local differences. Other scholars have criticized the current use of this word because of its supposed colonial roots. However, Bhabha's

the concept of hybridity to “describe the construction of cultural authority within conditions of political antagonism or inequity” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 58). Construction of hybridity in liminal spaces is a constant strategic process of enunciation; of engagement and contestation. Bhabha (1994) explains:

Such negotiation is neither assimilation nor collaboration. It makes possible the emergence of an ‘interstitial’ agency that refuses the binary representation of social antagonism. Hybrid agencies find their voice in a dialectic that does not seek cultural supremacy or sovereignty. They deploy the partial culture from which they emerge to construct visions of community, and versions of historic memory, that give narrative form to the minority positions they occupy; the outside of the inside: the part in the whole. (p. 58)

Bhabha’s conceptualization of liminal space and hybridity help with theorizing about the role of agency in postcolonial subjectivity for the present study. The ID can be understood as a liminal space in a spatial sense as well in a conceptual sense. The ID is located outside the center of the City but also marks the margins of the City’s downtown. It is at once a space that is part of the City and a “foreign” space within it. Neither descriptors like “Asian” or “American” can stake claims to the ID’s “culture”; in fact, its presence directly challenges such dichotomizing claims.

Bhabha locates the emergence of hybrid agency in the refusal of binary representation. While postcolonial subjectivity may be constructed within hegemonic colonial discourses, it is also within the ambivalence and emptiness of the claims to cultural authenticity implicit in these discourses that postcolonial subjects

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use of ‘hybridity’ is intentionally politicized and subversive. See Young (1995) for detailed discussion on this subject.

locate possibilities for resistance and subversion. The “identities” that emerge in the liminal space complicate, and resist submission to, colonial interpellation. Instead, the liminality of subject positions allows postcolonial subjects a possibility to lodge counter-discourse from within the hegemonic discourse. Bhabha’s conceptualization of liminal space and hybridity thus provides an important analytic framework to theorize how an immigrant community constructs and deploys its agency in its process of constant enunciation of “identity.”

### **Ong: Cultural Citizenship**

Ong (1996; see also 1999) applies Foucault’s notion of subjectification in her theorizing about the processes by which immigrants are made into subjects of a particular nation-state. Ong considers cultural citizenship as a “cultural process of ‘subject-ification,’ in the Foucauldian sense of self-making and being-made by power relations that produce consent through schemes of surveillance, discipline, control, and administration” (p. 737).

Ong states that the nation-state’s project of moral regulation of its subjects serves to create an expression of unity out of the diverse and differential experiences of different groups residing within it. She asserts that this “universalizing citizenship is paradoxically attained through a process of individuation whereby people are constructed in definitive and specific ways as citizens” (p. 738). Ong refers to Foucault’s notion of governmentality as the mode of this subject-making. According to Foucault, in modern Western democratic societies, subjects are not controlled by a

monolithic domination but through rules and rituals that produce their consent and through the relations of power that regulate their behaviors—both as a population and as individuals—in the interest of the nation-state (Ong, 1996).

These relations of power are not restricted to the state sector, argues Ong; civil institutions and other social groups are just as important as disciplinary forces are in producing cultural citizenship through enforcement of cultural practices. Moreover, the role of history can not be ignored as it is embedded in prevailing cultural inscriptions. For example, Ong (1996) illustrates the ways in which immigrants from Asia go through socially and culturally “blackening” or “whitening” processes through different regimes of power that are present in civil society, such as religious groups, state welfare agencies, neighborhood associations, etc. Aside from the formal differential statuses they experience (e.g., citizen, naturalized citizen, resident alien, etc.), these Asian immigrants are constituted into different cultural and social subjects (i.e., put into different positioning in the black-white spectrum) according to the social, economic, and cultural capital they carry with them. Ong argues that this ideologically dichotomizing scheme of “blackening” and “whitening” has to do with the historical racialization and othering of subjects that have been naturalized as the social order in the U.S. These hegemonic discourses, Ong states, construct the meaning and “criteria of belonging” (p. 738) within a nation-state.

While Ong critiques Rosaldo’s (1994) notion of cultural citizenship for over-privileging the agency of immigrants, Ong does not consider the production of

immigrant subjects as a completely one-sided project by the nation-state.<sup>4</sup> Instead, Ong believes that becoming a citizen depends on “how one is constituted as a subject who exercises or submits to power relations” (p. 738). In doing so, Ong (1996) emphasizes that cultural citizenship is “dialectically determined by the state and its subjects” (p. 738). This dialectical process, Ong argues, requires one to develop “the modern attitude, an attitude of self-making in shifting fields of power that include the nation-state and the wider world” (p. 738). Ong concludes that cultural citizenship produces “the cultural practices and beliefs” out of “negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory” (p. 738).

In doing so, Ong theorizes the agency of immigrant subjects as something similar to a strategy, but a strategy that is situated within the hegemonic processes of governmentality and cultural, social, and historical dynamics embedded in U.S. civil society. Theorized this way, immigrant subjectivity is mutable and flexible, highly contingent upon the “shifting” dynamics of power that constitutes the hierarchical scheme of belonging and othering.

Ong’s (1996) theorizing of immigrant subjectivity and cultural citizenship is best suited for analyzing individual immigrant subjectivity. Although Ong does observe group differences in the “blackening and whitening” processes different groups of Asian immigrants (e.g., poor Cambodians vs. rich Chinese) experience, her ethnographic examples focus on how different Asian immigrant individuals negotiate and navigate within these processes that produce them as specific subjects. These

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<sup>4</sup> See the Literature Review section for more detailed discussion on this issue.

examples do not necessarily illustrate how an Asian American immigrant community, for example, might practice cultural citizenship.

In fact, Ong is wary of such categories as “Asian American.” Ong argues that such a category may obscure the vast heterogeneity and internal class, ethnic, and race stratification within it. She explains that one of her reasons for illustrating the contrasting experiences of poor Cambodian immigrants and rich Chinese immigrants in her study was to show that although these immigrants may be constituted as “Asians” in the U.S., their economic statuses subject them to different disciplining forces. Thus, Ong questions “the contradictions and instabilities within the imposed solidarity and temporary alliances” (p. 750) in such terms as “Asian American panethnicity” (Espiritu, 1992, quoted in Ong, 1996, p. 750) and insists they must be challenged.

### **Gilroy: Community Identity**

If Ong (1996) sees “the contradictions and instabilities” in the temporary alliances within inter-Asian coalitions as something to be challenged, Gilroy (1994) sees them as an essential part of forging a community identity. For Gilroy, the project of community is not to find a fixed identity that can consolidate all differences and contradictions within it but one that can help produce a symbolic capacity that allows plural—and potentially contradictory—meanings to co-exist.

In his analysis of British Black urban social movements, Gilroy (1994) asserts that the challenge the new social movements present is different from the

Marxist class struggle in that their purpose is not only for “the reappropriation of the material structure of production but also for collective control over socio-economic development as a whole” (p. 405). Drawing on the works of Alain Touraine, Manuel Castells, and Alberto Melucci, Gilroy critiques the Marxist class struggle model for reducing people to their class positions (e.g., workers) and consequently ignoring “subcultures, gender specificity, ethnic groups, religious beliefs, national identities and personal experiences” (p. 412). In the Marxist model, the focal point of identity is class-consciousness. Whether this class-consciousness is conceptualized as a product of class struggle (as in Gramsci’s model), or a precondition of class struggle (as in Lenin’s model), it ignores the specific history and immediate social relations upon which the new urban social movements draw (Gilroy, 1994).

Gilroy (1994) also argues that the class-based movement model has become less than relevant to “new” social movement groups such as women and ethnic minority groups because of its inability to link analysis of the social, political, and economic structures of late modern societies with analysis of the “new social actors who inhabit and create them”(p. 406). This attention to the actors, *within* social structures, brings the issues of identity and agency back into the discussion of social movements. First, class-consciousness in Marxist models conceptualizes the identity of the workers as something universal and essential. Poststructuralists, as discussed above, have effectively critiqued this universalizing conceptualization of identity. Second, the conceptualization of class-consciousness in the Marxist models assumes that the workers identify with their class positions as ascribed by the structure. This

conceptualization does not ascertain how these workers come to identify with their identities as workers. The impression it leaves is that the workers are inert bodies that simply occupy these positions. This is analogous to the poststructural problem with subjectivity and agency in the earlier discussion (see the section on Hall). What the Marxist model's conceptualization of identity lacks is the possibility of the wide range of potentially contradictory meanings that are born of, and articulated in, the performance of actors who are situated within specific historical and social contexts.

Gilroy argues that despite the Marxist ideal, people refuse to give up all other meanings of who they are for the sake of class struggle. Nor are they solely interested in material reappropriation. In fact, in late modern society where the accumulation of capital increasingly depends "on control over the processes and institutions of symbol formation, and by intervention in interpersonal relations," what is at stake is not just the control over production but "the defense of identity, continuity and predictability of personal experience" (Melucci, as quoted in Gilroy, 1994, p. 406). Therefore, the struggle of new social movements is "for the social control of historicity: 'the symbolic capacity that enables [society] to construct a system of knowledge together with the technical tools which it can use to intervene in its own functioning'" (Gilroy, 1994, p. 406).

In their struggle for historicity, an objective of new social movement groups is to create "solidarity from a sense of particularity" (Gilroy, 1994, p. 407), which gives them an important focus for group identity. However, creating a group identity is not as simple as an uncontested adoption of a priori categories such as 'race.'

Because of the historically hegemonic use of race as an essentializing signification, the meaning of race must be re-defined by the social actors in their specific social and historical contexts.

For example, the meaning of 'black' in British black urban social movements is complex and localized in its construction, states Gilroy (1994). Although many British blacks identify with the history of oppression as a group, there is a multitude of differences among various black communities within the larger British black social movement. Thus, the meaning of 'black' in British black urban social movements is not universal or essential but is multiple and contingent upon "local factors, reflecting class, ethnic, and 'racial' composition of any particular area, its political traditions, the local economy and residential structure" (Gilroy, 1994, p. 411). Because of this emphasis on locality, Gilroy states that "there are good grounds to argue that the language of community has displaced both the language of class and the language of 'race' in the political activity of black Britain" (p. 411).

Gilroy contends that the notion of community means much more than just place or a concentration of a black population. The language of community supplies the legitimate and immediate context for collective actions for British urban blacks:

...community might not have the structure or direction which we associate with social movements, it may nevertheless serve a similar need. It is a largely mental construct, whose 'objective' manifestations in locality or ethnicity give it credibility. (Cohen, quoted in Gilroy, 1994, p. 415.)

The significance of the notion of community is in its capacity to mobilize a group identity by evoking "a rich complex of symbols surrounded by a wider cluster of

meanings” (Gilroy, 1994, p. 414). At the same time, Gilroy states that symbolic construction of a community does not mean that all members share this wide cluster of meanings that are attached to the symbols, whether they are related to the notions of race, ethnicity, or locality. In fact, the strength of symbolic construction of community is in its ability to provide a boundary in which plural, contradictory, and evolving meanings can co-exist.

[Community] is highly symbolized, with the consequences that its members can invest it with their selves. Its character is sufficiently malleable that it can accommodate all of its members’ selves without them feeling their individuality to be overly compromised. Indeed, the gloss of commonality that it paints over its diverse components gives to each of them an additional referent for their identities.

[...] the symbolic repertoire of a community aggregates the individualities and other differences found within the community and provides the means for their expression, interpretation and containment... It continuously transforms the reality of difference into the appearance of similarity with such efficacy that people can still invest [their] community with ideological integrity. It unites them in their opposition, both to each other and to those ‘outside.’  
(Cohen, quoted in Gilroy, 1994, p. 415.)

Finally, Gilroy (1994) argues that the collective identity constructed around the notion of community is a powerful means to create solidarity and mobilize collective action. Gilroy states that, “unable to control the social relations in which they find themselves, people have shrunk the world to the size of their communities and begun to act politically on that basis” (p. 416). For example, under the umbrella of community, the plural meanings of ‘black’ may be negotiated and re-defined to include local Afro-Caribbean and South Asian immigrants for their collective action,

in opposition to encroachment—be it physical or symbolic—from ‘the outside.’ This re-definition of collective identity is shaped by the history of colonialism and experiences of exclusion shared by both ethnic groups as well as the political struggle between these groups. The notion of community identity provides these groups with a sense of solidarity without requiring that they unify all contradictory and plural meanings. Likewise, the notion of community provides them with a boundary that helps define a collective ‘outside’ to fight against, without demanding that they consolidate different layers of inclusion/exclusion and the loyalty therein.

Gilroy’s discussion of the construction of community in urban social movements provides a useful analytic framework to understand community identity and agency. Similar to the poststructural conceptualization of identity, Gilroy shows that community identity is not fixed or consolidating but contingent and multiple. He also shows that whereas the subjectivity of a community is indeed shaped by specific historical contexts (just as individual subjectivity is shaped by specific discursive formations), the articulation of its meanings does require investment from actors. In other words, the subjects are not inert bodies that fill their ascribed positions but agentic actors that are constantly in the process of re-negotiating and re-defining, which is comparable to Bhabha’s notion of hybrid agency. Finally, Gilroy’s discussion of community identity as the means of collective action helps to answer Ong’s question regarding the possibility of mobilizing a pan-ethnic Asian identity. Much as an immigrant individual exercises her cultural citizenship in her process of “self-making and being-made,” the immigrant community also exercises

its cultural citizenship in its process of strategically negotiating, contesting, and re-defining its identity.

In the foregoing sections, I have discussed poststructural and postcolonial theories, as well as various analytic frames that are relevant to this study. Poststructural theories repudiate the modernist position, which conceptualizes 'identity' as unified and essential subjectivity, and offer an alternate perspective where contingent and mutable subjectivity is produced by discourses. This perspective steers the present study away from conceptualizing community identity as a stable and coherent 'essence' and leads instead toward seeking out ways in which discourses produce and change the ID's subject positions. Postcolonial theories extend and critique poststructural theories by suggesting that subjects are not merely produced through a one-sided process of interpellation but also through a process of articulation (or 'identification'). Although subjects may not totally escape from the productive power of discourses, they may resist, contest, negotiate with, and even change them in their process of articulation. The analytic frames discussed in this section, such as liminal space, hybrid agency, and cultural citizenship, help in understanding the process of articulation. Thus, postcolonial perspectives guide this study to investigate the processes of articulation by the ID community in order to understand the development of community identity.

Because poststructural and postcolonial theoretical frameworks conceptualize the construction of identity as a discursive process, the present study requires a research method that enables an investigation of the ongoing process in which the ID

as a subject is constructed. Importantly, the method of inquiry must also be able to apprehend the dynamic process of interpellation and articulation. In the next chapter, I will discuss the research method of this study, Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, and the fit between the theoretical foundation of the study and the method selected.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### Research Questions

The analytic method used for this study is Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). (CDA and its fit with the theory will be discussed later in detail in a separate section.) The main question of this study is, "What are the discourses that produce, maintain, and change the subject position of Seattle's International District (ID) community as a multi-ethnic Asian American community?" Specific questions are:

–What are the dominant discourses and what are their effects?

–What are the counter-discourses and what are their effects?

–What are the discursive strategies and techniques that are used in these discourses?

–What are the discourses that are absent or silent in the data and what are their effects?

–How do these discourses relate to, respond to, and transform one another?

The anchor for this study is the discourses of the ID in the early 1970s.

Attempting to pinpoint exactly when the discourse of the ID as a multi-ethnic Asian American community began is problematic; doing so would be inconsistent with the theoretical framework of this study. The decision to anchor this study to the discourses in the early 1970s was not random but informed by the knowledge gained

from the interviews I conducted in 2001 with ten ID community informants.

Fairclough (1992) recommends obtaining judgment about aspects of discourses from the individuals who have some significant relation to the social practice in focus. The interview participants, whose involvement in the ID ranged from 2 to 60-plus years, often talked about the 1970s as the significant time period in terms of the identity of the ID. Furthermore, research into the writings (memoirs, community histories, newspaper articles) of ID community members also indicated that the 1970s movement against the Kingdome (a major sports stadium) construction is now widely considered as the “defining moment” of ID history in terms of its identity and legacy. The fact that the early 1970s movement is constructed—and distributed and consumed—in these discourses as the “defining moment” makes this discursive event an interesting and useful anchor for this study.

If, however, the 1970s were indeed the defining era, then why might it be important to ask the kinds of questions this study is asking now? The answers to this question are complex: The identity and the legacy of the ID are far from stable. The ID is still very much contested terrain, now dealing with the formidable forces of gentrification that have swept through many traditionally ethnic neighborhoods in Seattle. The identity of the ID also continues to be contested as different groups of immigrants move in and out of it, physically and otherwise. What undergirds all these constestations is similar to what contextualized the struggles in the 1970s: economic and socio-political dynamics that constantly marginalize communities of color, especially an immigrant community of color, and mobilization in the

immigrant community to claim its cultural and social “space.” Therefore, the data for this study were selected on the basis of their value in producing and reflecting relevant contestation and resistance, as well as their contributions to intertextual chains.

### **Data**

Selecting data for a critical discourse analysis project such as this study is neither simple nor random. Fairclough (1995) states the nature of data must depend on the disciplinary position of the project and its research questions. Keeping this guideline in mind, the selection of data for this study was anchored in the research questions of the study. This study draws upon three data sources.

The first source is the texts generated by the local Asian-American community. These texts include Asian American community newspaper articles, community reports, community history books and archives, published personal memoirs, and the texts from in-person interviews. The community newspaper articles were selected from two major local Asian American community newspapers, *the International Examiner*, and *Northwest Asian Weekly*. These two newspapers are the most widely-distributed English-language Asian American community newspapers and reflect divergent opinions and politics within local Asian American communities. The texts that were selected for the sample range from articles dated in the early 1970s to the early 2000s. Community reports and historical archives were found in the library of the Wing Luke Asian Museum, an award-winning non-

profit community museum located in the ID. The samples from these archives are dated from 1958 to the late 1980s.

The interview data are derived from the pilot study I conducted in 2001 as part of my participation in a qualitative research methods class. The participant sample used in this study was a nonrandom sample of key community informants. The rationale for choosing this sampling method was determined on the basis of the literature and my familiarity with the ID community for the previous 10 years. As Strauss and Corbin (1990) indicate, researchers using qualitative research methods should choose their sample “purposefully, for data bearing on categories, their properties, and dimensions” (p.183). For this research, I chose participants who were widely known in the community as being knowledgeable in the history and the working dynamics of the community of interest.

I conducted an in-person interview with each of 10 key community informants for this study. The participants varied in a number of dimensions, including: age (early '30s to early '70s), gender (about 1/3 female and 2/3 male), the number of years of involvement in the ID (between 2 years and 70 years), generation from immigration (1<sup>st</sup> generation to 3<sup>rd</sup> generation), and their current involvement in the ID (community volunteer, resident, business owner, non-profit employee). The in-person interviews, consisting of 8 open-ended questions and lasting between one and two hours, were audio-taped and later transcribed by me.

The second source is mainstream newspaper and journal articles. Two mainstream local newspapers, *The Seattle Times* and *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, were

sampled in this study because they are the most widely distributed and have the longest history in the Seattle-King County area. Another source in this group is Colors Northwest, a bi-weekly journal. This journal was included because it is a relatively new journal (not a daily newspaper) that represents perspectives and readership differing from those of the two newspapers mentioned above. The articles from these newspapers and the journal date from 1946 to the early 2000s.

The third source is selected documents of government institutions, such as city ordinances and resolutions. These documents date from the early 1970s to the late 1990s. These documents represent various decisions made by the City of Seattle regarding the ID, including spatial uses, resource allocations, and building regulations.

The texts from the ID community were used to trace the counter-discourses generated from within the community as well as the discourses of struggle among the community members. The excerpts from mainstream newspaper and journal articles were used to help trace the construction of the ID by the larger society. These texts enable an understanding of the relationship between discourses and local social practices. The governmental texts were used to trace the discourses produced by governmental regimes which sought, and continue to seek, to shape and regulate the ID as a community within the City's physical and regulatory boundaries.

Since CDA requires both linguistic and social analysis, the text samples in this data are extracts of texts that have been selected out of the corpus of data from the three sources described above. Using extracts of texts allows the analyst to

conduct and exhibit linguistically oriented close-text analyses, such as language organization, clause combination, and word choices. In terms of social analysis, the extracts form intertextual chains that help illustrate the ways in which various types of texts draw upon, reproduce, and change discourses. Selection of the text samples have been made with the research questions and intertextuality as the basis for inclusion. Because of the kind of close-text analyses required by the CDA method, some of the discourse samples specifically analyzed and reported in the current study are extracts of texts that have been selected out of the corpus of data from these three sources. Again, selection of the discourse samples has been made with the research questions and intertextuality as the basis for inclusion.

### **Critical Discourse Analysis**

Although there are multiple models of CDA<sup>5</sup> and certainly no single, agreed-upon way of conducting such an analysis (Theragold, 2003), this study generally follows Norman Fairclough's (1992; 1995; 2001) model because of its fit with the theoretical frameworks that underpin this study. (From this point on, CDA refers to Fairclough's model of CDA, unless otherwise noted.)

CDA's view of language and discourse is influenced by Foucault's theory of discourse (Fairclough, 2001). In particular, socially constitutive properties of discourse and the relationship between discourse and power/knowledge contribute to CDA's theoretical basis for socio-cultural analysis. (Foucault's theory of discourse and power/knowledge is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.) Reflecting the influence

of Foucault's theory, the central tenet of CDA is that there is a "dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situations, institutions, and social structures that frame it" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). In other words, as a form of social practice, discourse is simultaneously a condition for *and* the effect of the social structure. On the one hand, discourse is shaped and constrained by social structure. On the other hand, discourse is socially constitutive; discourse practice not only represents the world but also signifies the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning (Fairclough, 1992). This theoretical reference to discourse and language renders CDA a particularly fitting method for this poststructural study, especially in terms of examining the construction of subject/identity of the ID community.

CDA's ideological influence derives from Gramsci's theory of hegemony, which reflects CDA's origin in Western Marxism (Fairclough, 1995; 2001). Moving away from the classical Marxist focus on economy, Western Marxists such as Gramsci emphasized the cultural aspects of social life (Fairclough, 2001). Gramsci's idea of hegemony explains the ways in which power operates through gaining consent, rather than through top-down domination, in the civil society (Fairclough, 2001). Gramsci maintained hegemonies are sustained ideologically through naturalized assumptions underlying social practices (Fairclough, 2001). This position is highly compatible with Foucault's theory of power/knowledge.

Reflecting this theoretical position, an important tenet of CDA is that discursive practices may have major ideological effects (Fairclough, 1992). CDA

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<sup>5</sup> Theragold (2003) states that Fairclough's work in the U.K. was among the first to use the label, CDA.

posits that discursive practices can help produce and reproduce unequal power relationships in society through the ways in which they represent things and position people. However, people may be unclear about the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power that underlie them (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). CDA aims to illustrate how hegemonies are sustained through everyday discourse practices by making these opaque aspects of discourse more visible. This aim makes CDA particularly appropriate for the present study in terms of investigating how hegemonic discourses are maintained in producing subject/identity of the ID community.

Although Gramsci conceptualized hegemony to be pervasive, he also recognized that hegemonies are less than stable. Hegemonic struggles are ever present in all domains of society. Influenced by this position, CDA holds that discourse as a political practice establishes, sustains, and changes power relations; at the same time, discourse as an ideological practice constitutes, naturalizes, sustains, and changes signification of the world from diverse positions in power relations (Fairclough, 1992). Therefore, discourse, as a political and ideological practice is “not only a site of power struggle, but also a stake in power struggle” (Fairclough, 1992). CDA is concerned with uncovering these struggles through investigating discourse practices where subjects invest in and/or resist hegemonic discourses. This interest in the investment and resistance of subjects renders CDA a particularly suitable method for a postcolonial project such as this study.

Bakhtin's notions of genre and intertextuality supply CDA with a theoretical base for linguistic analysis.<sup>6</sup> In Bakhtin's theory, genre refers to the different types of texts available in a culture, e.g., formal speeches, academic articles, casual conversations, etc. (Fairclough, 2001). Fairclough (1995) regards genre as "a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity" (p. 14). The importance of genre in CDA is that using language this way involves how social practices are referred to and signified, how subjects are constructed, and how the relation between text and context is applied (Fairclough, 1995). Analyzing the types of genre used (out of a range of available genres) in discourses and the ways in which different genres are combined in texts helps trace the ways in which subjects and systems of knowledge are constructed through discourses. This idea is consistent with Foucault's notion of the order of discourse. Analysis of genre in CDA, then, is a specific way of understanding the order of discourse that constitutes a specific subject position.

One of the central tenets of CDA is intertextuality. Intertextuality is the idea that any text is "explicitly or implicitly 'in dialogue with' other texts" and that it is "a link in a chain of texts, reacting to, drawing in, and transforming other texts (Fairclough, 2001, p. 233). In terms of the production of discourse, Fairclough (1992) argues that the notion of intertextuality stresses the historicity of texts (e.g., how texts add to existing 'chains of speech communication' where texts respond to prior texts). However, the intertextual perspective does not conceptualize the

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<sup>6</sup> The term 'intertextuality'; was coined not by Bakhtin, but rather by Kristeva in the 1960s in her work with - Bakhtin's theory (Fairclough, 1995).

historicity of texts simply as a linear influence of prior texts on later texts but as transforming the past into the present (Fairclough, 1992). In a conventional fashion, texts may naturalize prior discourse types as conventions by routinely drawing upon these prior discourse types in a specific way (Fairclough, 1992). In a more creative manner, the emergence of new modes of configuring different elements of orders of discourse (e.g., a new, mixed genre) may also transform prior discourse types (Fairclough, 1992). This transformative potential of intertextuality makes CDA particularly useful in investigating discursive (and social) changes such as the one that this study is examining (i.e., community identity development).

In terms of distribution of discourse, an intertextual perspective helps explore the kinds of networks through which texts move and the kinds of transformation they undergo as they shift from one type of text to another (Fairclough, 1992). In terms of consumption, the idea of intertextuality helps elucidate the ways in which interpreters bring a network of texts into their interpretations of any given texts (Fairclough, 1992). This network of texts shapes the interpretation of the specific text that is being read.

The consequence of adopting an intertextual perspective is that understanding of any discourse or text can not be accomplished by studying the workings of the individual text alone; it requires studying any given text in relation to the larger discursive formations of which it is part (Theragold, 2003). Thus, intertextuality shares Derrida's notions of trace. CDA is interested in understanding the ways in

which a text carries the traces of, and also leaves traces on, the networks of other texts and discourses (Theragold, 2003).

CDA's combination of hegemony and intertextuality is particularly important in understanding the agency of discursive participants (or subjects). The notion of intertextuality elucidates the productivity and transformation of texts. However, this possibility of textual innovation is limited and constrained by particular hegemonic structures in which the subjects are located (Fairclough, 1992). This is highly compatible with the postcolonial notion of agency as simultaneously positioned and agentive. Analyzing intertextual processes may illumine the processes of contestation and restructuring of discourses within particular hegemonic struggles. This property renders CDA particularly fitting for this dissertation study because it aims to investigate the processes of contestation and restructuring of discourse of immigrant community identity.

As an analytic method, CDA purports to "bring together linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language, in the form of a framework which will be suitable for use in social scientific research, and specifically in the study of social change" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 62). This objective reflects CDA's philosophical stance that texts and social practices are mediated by discourse practice. Reacting against analytic methods that focus either only on individual texts or only on general social analysis (without specific text analysis), Fairclough (1992) insists that analysis of texts should not be isolated from analysis of institutional and discourse practices within which the texts

are embedded. In order to bring together linguistic and social analyses, Fairclough (1992; 1995) proposes a three-dimensional framework of discourse where analysis of text, analysis of discourse practices, and analysis of sociocultural practice are combined. Although these three levels of analysis are separately detailed below, they are not three disconnected steps but are dimensions of analysis combined to illustrate how text and social practice are mediated by discursive practice. Furthermore, Fairclough (1992) states that there are no recipes for conducting CDA. Therefore, the explanations of the three levels should be understood as guidelines, rather than specific steps.

#### 1) Text analysis

In CDA, texts are analyzed both paradigmatically and syntagmatically (Fairclough, 2001). The paradigmatic aspect concerns what kinds of genres and discourse types are chosen in particular texts among the range of alternative possibilities available. The syntagmatic aspect concerns the specific ways in which the texts combine or 'chain' selected elements (e.g., particular words, grammatical structures, etc.) together. Fairclough (2001) refers to the interaction of paradigmatic and syntagmatic aspects of texts as 'texturing.' This 'texturing' has a potential to be creative (or resistive, in the postcolonial framework) because it chooses and combines various available discourses to generate specific local discourses (Fairclough, 1995). Text analysis examines how selected discourse types work together in a particular text to articulate specific representations, relations, identities, and values.

Linguistic analysis investigates the ways in which textual analysis of texts represents and produces social relations, identities, values, and representations.

Fairclough (2001) suggests that linguistic analysis of texts involves:

- a) analysis of whole-text language organization (the way the text is structured, e.g., is the text structured in a narrative or argumentative manner?),
- b) clause combination (the linking of sentences together to generate an effect),
- c) clauses (grammar and semantics, verb choices, voice, mood, modality),  
and
- d) words (choice of vocabulary, semantic relations between words, denotative and connotative meaning, etc.).

## 2) Analysis of discourse practice

Discourse practices (i.e., production, distribution, and consumption of text) are analyzed through interdiscursivity, manifest intertextuality, intertextual chains, coherence, and conditions of discourse practice (Fairclough, 1992).

### a) Interdiscursivity

Analysis of interdiscursivity involves investigating what discourse types are drawn upon in the text. This analysis examines what type of genre characterizes the text, whether the text combines more than one genre, what sort of discourse and discourse types are drawn upon in the text, and whether the interdiscursive property

of the text is relatively conventional or innovative (Fairclough, 1992). The questions interdiscursive analysis might explore are:

-what kinds of other discourse types are involved in shaping and interpreting this particular text?

-how does reading this text shape and transform the interpretation of other texts?

-how are these discourse types working together in the particular text to articulate identity/relationship/value/representation?

b) Intertextual chain

Analysis of an intertextual chain involves investigating the series of text types through which the text being analyzed is transformed into or out of (Fairclough, 1992). The investigation of intertextual chain looks for whether the intertextual chains and transformations are relatively stable, shifting, or contested, as well as whether the text producer anticipates more than one type of audience (Fairclough, 1992). In addition to these dimensions suggested by Fairclough, this study also explores the traces of silenced or absent discourses and their effects in intertextuality.

c) Coherence

Analysis of coherence investigates how the text might be interpreted, including how heterogeneous and ambivalent it is for particular interpreters and whether the text receives resistant readings from particular readers.

d) Manifest intertextuality

Manifest intertextuality refers to “the case where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 117). The aim of investigating manifest intertextuality is to explore how and what types of other texts are drawn upon in the constitution of the text being analyzed (Fairclough, 1992). For example, are the other texts represented directly or indirectly? Is the voice of the other text translated into the voice of representing discourse? Are the other texts links to the prior texts of others?

e) Conditions of discourse practice

Analysis of the conditions of discourse practice examines the social practices of text production and consumption associated with the type of discourse the text represents, including whether the text is produced and consumed individually or collectively (Fairclough, 1992).

3) Analysis of social practice

Analysis of social practice focuses on investigating ideology and hegemony reflected in, and produced through, discourses. Acknowledging that this is not a task to be easily reduced to a set of steps, Fairclough (1992) suggests three dimensions for this analysis as “rough guidelines” (p. 237): social matrix of discourses, orders of discourse, and ideological and political effects.

Analyzing the social matrix of discourse involves specifying the social relations and structures that constitute the particular instance of discursive practice and the effects of discourse (reproduction or transformation) on these relations and structures (Fairclough, 1992). Analyzing the order of discourse involves examining

the relationship between the particular instance of discursive practice to the order of discourse it draws upon and the effects of reproducing and transforming orders of discourse to which it contributes (Fairclough, 1992). The analysis of ideological and political effects of the discursive practice focuses on how the particular practice reproduces or resists hegemonic systems of knowledge/beliefs, social relations, and identities.

### **The Location of the Analyst**

Fairclough (1995, cited in Theragold, 2003) suggests that recognition of the traces of orders of discourse in text depends heavily upon the analyst's experience as well as her knowledge of the context of the text and her interpretive biases. I am acutely aware of the difficult position into which I am inserting myself through this project. Because I consider myself part of the ID community, I acknowledge that my identity—my subject position—is inseparable from that of this community. According to the poststructural approach to subjectivity, the very fact that I am examining the construction of this community in itself is likely the result of my subject position.

I am also mindful of the fact that, while I consider myself part of the ID community, I am no more an authority on the discourses that construct this community than anyone else is. Rather, my position provides me with a specific context within which I interpret these discourses. I am also likely to be more attached to them. At the same time, I am aware that my voice is one of many that

construct 'reality.' As such, my interpretation is always partial and non-neutral. I am careful not to overindulge my own biases and fully acknowledge that the lenses through which I look at the world (including the data) are formed inseparably from my social, political, and historical position as an immigrant Asian American woman. All of these are fully expected as I take the poststructuralist position that 'self' is not the author of discourses but rather a product of them. The notion of intertextuality reminds me that this particular project is not separate from, but rather is generated out of, *and* transforms, the discourses that construct this community. If Foucault is right, this project is already a part of the struggle I am studying.

## CHAPTER 4

### “THE DEFINING MOMENT”

Consistent with Fairclough’s model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the texts in this chapter and following chapter (Ch. 5) are analyzed at multiple levels—interdiscursivity, texturing, and social practice—as described in Chapter Three. The texts presented here were selected because of their contributions to intertextual chains, whether they have an effect of stabilizing or transforming discourses of identity. I searched for the texts that reinforced intertextual chains by repeating similar ideas at different times or genres and for those that shifted them by contradicting normalized ideas. I also considered for the ideas that might be missing or silenced through these texts. To illustrate their locations in intertextual chains, the texts in Chapters Four and Five are usually presented first, followed by my analysis. Some of the texts are presented sequentially to highlight how they influence and change the interpretation of each other. Also, the texts are often presented in their entirety or in large segments in order to show the effects of specific genres within which they were written.

In this chapter, I will illustrate through CDA the ways in which the ID community contested, negotiated with, and changed the subject positions that were imposed on it by the discourses of the larger society. My analysis begins with discussion of a key discursive event (anti-Kingdome protest) in 1972. Although

Seattle's International District (ID) has been in existence for more than 100 years, many people consider the early 1970s as the "defining moment" in the history of the ID, as well as the history of Seattle's Asian-American community. Much of this recognition derives from the anti-Kingdome movement of the early 1970s. This movement began with a concern for the integrity of the ID, in both a physical and cultural sense, as the district confronted the construction of a major sports stadium on its edge. This community mobilization resulted in the founding of much-needed social, health, and housing services in the ID, as well as the designation of the ID as a Special Review District by the City of Seattle.

As indicated, this chapter investigates the production, distribution, and change of the subject position of the ID as a community through tracing the discourses of the 1972 anti-Kingdome protests. The goal of this analysis is to understand the dialectical relationship between this particular discursive event and the social practices that frame it within the construction of the ID as a community.

The first text is a newspaper article that appeared in *The Seattle Times* on July 08, 1999, just prior to the demolition of the Kingdome. The second text is a newspaper article about the Kingdome groundbreaking ceremony and the anti-Kingdome protest. The second text appeared in *The Seattle Times* on November 11, 1972. As indicated before, *The Seattle Times* is a major mainstream newspaper in the Seattle-King County area.

Text 1

1           *The Seattle Times*  
 2           Living: Thursday, July 08, 1999

3  
 4           **How The Kingdome Spurred The Asian-American**  
 5           **Community's Coming Of Age**  
 6           Mayumi Tsutakawa  
 7           Special To *The Seattle Times*

8  
 9  
 10           In 1972, activists of a then-fledgling Asian-American  
 11           consciousness movement rallied against the groundbreaking for the  
 12           Kingdome, seeing a threat to the International District. The cause united  
 13           a community—and led to the creation of many social and health  
 14           institutions in the ID and the gradual assimilation of onetime radicals  
 15           into "the Establishment." With the Kingdome's demise looming, and  
 16           amid the excitement over new stadiums, it seemed a good time to look  
 17           back at this piece of history.

18           We turned to Mayumi Tsutakawa—then a crusading student  
 19           leader, now a respected civic leader (who, in a bit of an ironic twist, is  
 20           on the panel to choose artworks for the new football stadium). She talks  
 21           about then—and now.

22  
 23           For more than 23 years, residents, workers and businesses in  
 24           the International District have had the giant concrete clamshell of the  
 25           Kingdome as a neighbor—and now our neighbor is going away. The  
 26           new families moving in, the football stadium and Safeco Field, will be  
 27           brighter and fancier, but will they be better neighbors? Will the  
 28           construction and traffic and crowds from these sports mega-centers be  
 29           worse for the ID? Will the International District, a fragile, historic, multi-  
 30           ethnic enclave, survive this onslaught?

31           Back in 1972, we worried about the district's survival with the  
 32           coming of the Kingdome, and, as activists, ID residents and student  
 33           radicals, demonstrated our concerns at the groundbreaking ceremonies  
 34           for the Kingdome on Nov. 2, 1972.

35           "Our goal was not to stop it," recalls Al Sugiyama, then a  
 36           University of Washington student, today director of Center for Career  
 37           Alternatives and a former Seattle School Board member. "Our goal was  
 38           to disrupt the party, to show the press that we wanted our voices heard,  
 39           that not everybody was happy about the Kingdome."

40 Who wanted to celebrate over the Kingdome, when in its  
41 shadow, the ID languished with deteriorating, unsafe low-income  
42 housing, few human services and little voice in neighborhood planning?

43 "Our concerns were displacement of residents and land  
44 speculation," points out Bob Santos who, as a longtime ID activist, was  
45 known as the unofficial "Mayor of the International District" and is now a  
46 federal Department of Housing and Urban Development regional  
47 official. "We thought for sure the rising cost of property would force the  
48 small businesses and low-income people out of the International  
49 District."

50 The day of the groundbreaking ceremony, King County's then-  
51 Executive John Spellman was to plant a new home plate on the  
52 Kingdome site and throw out the first pitch. But some of us had a  
53 different idea for the day's activities. As Spellman began to speak, 40 or  
54 so protesters shouted "Stop the Stadium" and some threw dirt clods in  
55 the direction of the podium. We waved our signs, announcing "Hum  
56 Baos, Not Hot Dogs" and "Preserve the International District." Spellman  
57 managed to wrestle through the crowd to plant the plate, but the first  
58 pitch was delayed until March of 1976 when the first Kingdome sporting  
59 events took place.

60 One young ID spokesman, Nemesio Domingo, now a King  
61 County employee, was arrested after the anti-Kingdome demonstration  
62 as we walked back to the ID. Harassed and taunted by police officers  
63 who followed us, he committed a "verbal and digital obscenity." The  
64 charges were dropped soon after.

65 Our protesting group was made up of Asian Americans, but also  
66 African Americans, Chicanos and others. Many students, like myself,  
67 were from the University of Washington Asian Student Coalition. Like  
68 Asian-American student activists in San Francisco and Los Angeles, we  
69 were part of the Asian-American Movement, following in the footsteps  
70 of the civil-rights movement. Like our "black and brown brothers and  
71 sisters," we wanted to raise consciousness and identify with "Yellow  
72 Power," not hide from our ethnic roots. Rather than assimilating into the  
73 mainstream of American values and ignoring racial discrimination, we  
74 wanted to build our own community and fight injustices head-on.

75 We were passionately opposed to U.S. involvement in the  
76 Vietnam War ("Americans fighting people that looked like us"). As in  
77 other major cities, we moved from speaking out against the war to  
78 "recognizing the enemies at home" and saw that urban development  
79 could destroy our historic ethnic enclaves and the low-income housing  
80 needed for residents who lived there. In Seattle, the Kingdome posed  
81 the perfect visible target for our anger and fear of losing the  
82 International District.

83           Some other protesters represented a multiracial group  
84 concerned with fair hiring of workers of color on construction sites; other  
85 worker representatives were Asian-American members of national  
86 radical left-wing political groups.

87           But most inspiring for us young, mostly middle-class college  
88 students was the presence of our respected elders, the Manongs, or  
89 "uncles" in Filipino dialect. According to Mari Hayashi, now a manager  
90 at Blowfish restaurant, "I grew up on Capitol Hill, so the ID was kind of  
91 foreign to me, but the young Filipino activists like Silme Domingo (who  
92 later became a cannery-worker organizer and was murdered in the  
93 union's office) and Nemesio Domingo were very passionate about the  
94 needs of the elderly. I myself probably took part because I just wanted  
95 to get out of class."

96           The Manongs, whom we saw as long-suffering Asian men, were  
97 denied citizenship or marriage due to U.S. or Washington state laws,  
98 and had toiled for years in lumber, railroad or cannery jobs,  
99 systematically excluded from better jobs and housing. Some in poor  
100 health, the Manongs were pleased to show up and demonstrate with us  
101 young activists.

102           Two weeks later, on Nov. 14, 1972, a much larger group of about  
103 140 youths and elderly marched to the offices of the federal Department  
104 of Housing and Urban Development, then located at Second Avenue  
105 and University Street. This time, march monitors ensured an orderly  
106 demonstration and signs proclaimed, "Don't Let the Dome Doom  
107 Chinatown." A few dozen demonstrators proceeded up to the offices of  
108 HUD officials and demanded funds for housing, only to be told that the  
109 city would have to make the ID a "priority" in its plans.

110           Since we couldn't stop the Kingdome construction, we formed  
111 the Concerned Asians and got the backing of the Governor's Asian  
112 American Advisory Council. One spokesman was Peter Bacho, then a  
113 law student and now University of Washington professor, who explains,  
114 "What all the moves were about . . . was to pressure local government  
115 to come up with assurances to make sure the neighborhood would stay  
116 stable. One of the results was enough political pressure to generate  
117 federal monies for elderly housing."

118           After many meetings, sympathetic city, county and state elected  
119 officials and staff members found ways to fund direly needed services  
120 in the ID. Bilingual social workers were hired to visit elderly to qualify  
121 them for meals programs and other social services. An outreach clinic  
122 of the Pioneer Square Clinic was established in the International District  
123 Improvement Association offices and later, with the assistance of UW  
124 medical students, became the International District Health Clinic. UW  
125 social-work professors and students began a counseling service that

126 evolved into Asian Counseling and Referral Services. The ID  
127 Emergency Center provides on-the-spot first aid now.

128 The Seattle City Council wrestled with the need for softening the  
129 Kingdome's impact on its neighboring districts and "controlling  
130 development" and came up with the idea of Special Review Districts  
131 that would involve local business owners and residents in reviewing  
132 proposals for land and building development.

133 Today, the International District is more than just a place to eat  
134 hum baos instead of hot dogs. It continues to fulfill the century-old role  
135 of an intrinsically important ethnic center of languages, customs, foods,  
136 architecture, products, organizations and celebrations. It is a welcome  
137 area for Asian and Pacific Islander seniors and newcomers to America.

138 Looking back, many then-activists believe the Kingdome threat  
139 to the ID was a blessing in disguise: serving as catalyst for funding  
140 needed social services, and a political training ground.

141 As Peter Bacho says, the demonstrations resulted in "a  
142 realization by local politicians that the ID was important to Asian  
143 Americans, and that our votes were important to them; it helped a lot of  
144 folks mature politically." Bacho says the two new stadiums don't pose  
145 much threat to the ID, because "there seems to be so much new money  
146 and investment in the ID."

147 The ID is stronger now, with more economic investment and  
148 more political clout. But our new neighbors are also much heavier  
149 hitters. Watchdogs will always be needed to preserve low-income  
150 housing and guard against encroachment by development.

151 As a late 40-something looking back on my early 20-something  
152 days, I am proud of the work that we did on behalf of the community  
153 back in the '70s. I and my colleagues from the Kingdome  
154 demonstrations are ourselves somewhat Establishment figures now.  
155 Many of us work for government agencies and community and labor  
156 organizations, have held public office, teach in universities, or are at  
157 home raising children.

158 Now, it seems there was always "the community." But in reality,  
159 we helped to build that "community," and defined it as a conscious  
160 recognition of the likeness and mutual needs of people who share an  
161 ethnic identity.

162 I am satisfied and not surprised that, in the past year, I have  
163 come back to the ID, and now work at the Wing Luke Asian Museum.  
164 But I am perplexed that we are again contemplating how to "save the  
165 ID" because of the "threat of the stadium(s)." Is it déjà vu, or  
166 denouement? A repeat of the plot or the end point?

167 We may not have to throw mud balls this time. But we will need  
168 to keep our eyes open and watch out for those curve balls in

169 negotiations that affect our neighborhood, or we may be out of the  
170 game for good.

171

172           Mayumi Tsutakawa gives us this bio: "President of the UW's  
173 Asian Student Coalition in 1972; first full-time Asian female reporter for  
174 a major daily newspaper in the Northwest (at *The Seattle Times*, from  
175 1976 to 1982); later executive director of the King County Arts  
176 Commission; now director of external relations for the Wing Luke Asian  
177 Museum. She is really old."

178

179

180

181 Text 2

182

183

184 *The Seattle Times*. (A12) 11/3/1972.

185

186 **Protesters disrupt stadium ceremony**

187 **First pitch: a mud ball**

188

189 BY GREG HEBERLEIN

190

191           Seattle's doomed stadium, born by bond measure four years ago  
192 and in controversy ever since, underwent yet another protest today to  
193 mar official groundbreaking ceremonies.

194           As politicians, labor leaders and other spectators converged on  
195 the King Street Station site for the midday festivities, a cadre of  
196 demonstrators, some 25 young Asians interrupted.

197           Instead of the throwing out the first ball to commemorate the  
198 official start of construction, mudded clods of dirt were hurled at  
199 dignitaries by some in the youthful group.

200           At that point, the ceremonies were terminated. The ball never  
201 was pitched, although John Spellman, King County executive, was able  
202 to implant a gold home plate in the turf.

203           Officers from the King County Department of Public Safety  
204 attempted to restrain the opposition. Later, additional officers arrived to  
205 escort Spellman and others from the dignitaries stand.

206

207           THE EVENT was disrupted from the start.

208           Several hundred spectators listened to the strains of high school  
209 bands, from Queen Anne and Kent-Meridian. Then, as clouded skies  
210 threatened and nearby construction equipment ground away, Bill Sears  
211 of the Seattle/King County Convention & Visitors Bureau called the  
212 congregation to order.

213           When Sears introduced Spellman, the disruption began in  
214 earnest. The protesters chanted "Stop the stadium!" as Spellman  
215 began to speak. The executive, annoyed, shouted through the  
216 amplification system: "For every small group who have opposed the  
217 stadium, there are hundreds of thousands who will attend when it is  
218 completed."

219

220           CONSTRUCTION, which began three weeks ago, is expected to  
221 take little more than two years.

222           After Spellman's brief remarks, Hugh McElhenny, representing  
223 the Seattle Kings, a group seeking to attract a professional football  
224 franchise, presented the executive with a football and sample helmet.  
225 The boos rang out.

226           The home plate then was presented. Spellman walked down  
227 from the stand to place the spiked plaque in the soft, barren ground.

228           The protesters, apparently from the nearby International District,  
229 where there has been strident opposition to the construction, gathered  
230 round, forcing a tight circle to prevent any first-pitch effort.

231           Spellman hastily planted the plate and returned to the modest  
232 grandstand.

233           A football then was to be kicked through ceremonial uprights, but  
234 the confusion created by the demonstrators placed the event in  
235 disarray.

236           Frank Ruano, longtime stadium foe, stood alone in the crowd. "I  
237 am not responsible for this demonstration, and I don't approve of it. I  
238 have no control over them. I put my faith in the courts, not in elected  
239 officials who lie to the people, as John Spellman did in courts and is  
240 doing here now."

241           Thrown together in the crush below the improvised platform were  
242 Wayne Field of Minneapolis and Herman Sarkowsky, rivals to become  
243 occupants of the stadium with a National Football League franchise.  
244 They shook hands and chattered with each other amiably until the  
245 throng scattered.

### **The Location of the Author(s)**

Although Text 1 is produced and distributed as a newspaper article, it has elements of two genres: journalistic report and memoir. This text utilizes first-person narratives by the author (an element of memoir: see for example, lines 75, 151) as well as reporting of events (an element of newspaper journalism: e.g., lines

51-53) and various quotes from interviews (an element of newspaper journalism and/or memoir: e.g., line 35, lines 43-44). Drawing upon the memoir genre signals both legitimacy and illegitimacy. Establishing its author as someone who had direct experience in the historical events and also currently part of the “establishment” (see lines 18-19) signals legitimacy. Casting this article as a story-telling, rather than an ‘objective’ newspaper reporting, signals illegitimacy. However, by combining two genres, the main text (line 23–line 170) of Text 1 creates a liminal space of sorts, inhabiting both private domain (memoir) and public domain (newspaper article). Similarly, the author of Text 1, Mayumi Tsutakawa, appears to inhabit several different worlds—an authority from the past *and* the present; a minority community activist *and* part of the “establishment”—simultaneously, again creating a space that can not easily be defined. This particular positioning of the text and the producer of the text is echoed through the author’s production of the ID and shapes the reader’s interpretation of this text.

Text 2, also produced as a newspaper article, takes on the format of a traditional journalistic reporting. Because of this format, this text is assumed to be an objective reporting of the events. However, this text (as with all texts, in poststructural theory) is also an illustration of the events interpreted by the author (*The Seattle Times* reporter Greg Herberlein). This interpretation is implicit in the text; unlike the previous text, there are no sentences that include “I” or “we” as a subject in this text. Although this article has the name of the author, it is not clear what he represents because, unlike the case in the first text, there are no explanations

about who the author is and what he represents. The assumption here is that Herberlein's representation is a view from nowhere in particular, and thus, 'objective.' These assumptions (that this is an 'objective' reporting and that the reporter does not represent any viewpoint in particular) are implicit and built on the taken-for-granted expectation of the genre (journalistic reporting). An ideological effect (the norm = a view from nowhere) is achieved when readers collaborate by taking on these assumptions as interpreters.

Text 1 lists only one author (Mayumi Tsutakawa); however, lines 10-21 are clearly not written by her. Also, although most of lines 172-177 are written by Tsutakawa, the bio is enclosed in quotation marks, hinting that there is another author. However, it is unclear from this text just who this other author—one that introduces the topic and Tsutakawa—is. The identity of this 2<sup>nd</sup> author can only be guessed by contrasting him or her to the declared author, Tsutakawa. Thus, this omission of the identity of the 2<sup>nd</sup> author coaxes a binary reading from the audience. In addition, the use of the wording, "we," in line 18 further induces this binary reading; it interpellates the audience or the intended audience to side with the anonymous second author. (In contrast to the anonymous "we" in the line 18, Tsutakawa's use of "we" is very specific: e.g., in line 32, where "we" is defined as "activists, ID residents and student radicals.") One interpretive effect of this binary reading is an establishment of the second author as the taken-for-granted, unquestioned 'norm,' set against the legitimate/illegitimate voice of Tsutakawa and what she represents (the Asian-American community). However, this move may

receive a resistant reading from an audience that identifies itself as part of the community that Tsutakawa represents (e.g., myself) or others that do not anticipate themselves as the intended audience of the anonymous second author (the ‘norm’).

### **The Construction of the Subject: Asian Americans**

The main body of Text 1 (lines 23-170) has three components—a series of questions (lines 25-30) posed by the author, her re-telling of the historical events and their lessons (i.e., the author’s interpretation of the history), and a return to her questions and her closing insight. The author predominantly uses active voice in this text. The effect of this voice is one of an active agent. The agency of the subjects is manifested on the surface of the text as transitive (subject—verb—object) clauses. Furthermore, these subjects are frequently placed in the initial position of a clause. Fairclough (1992) calls “a textual dimension of the grammar of the clause concerned with the ways in which clause elements are positioned according to their informational prominence” (p. 178) a ‘theme.’ A theme is crucial because it signals which element is important. Since most of the subjects in this text are Asian-American community members (as is the author herself), the consistent and repeated use of active voice, transitive clauses, and initial positioning of the Asian-American subjects constructs these subjects as agentic actors who act pursuant to a goal. Thus, this construction produces a specific ideological effect.

In Text 2, the same subjects (Asian-American community members) are constructed quite differently. Unlike the first text, Text 2 lists no names or identities

for the Asian-American subjects; instead, they are described as “young Asians,” “the youthful group,” and “the protesters.” One effect of this lexicalization is distancing. The Asian-American subjects have no names and no particular identities, other than the fact that they seem to be young, Asian, and protestors of the Kingdome construction. They are at once anonymous and marked immediately by their assumed race and presumed youth.

Another effect of this lexicalization is that the subjects’ legitimacy is discounted. (In contrast, the same subjects were lexicalized as “activists” in the first text.) This discounting of the subjects’ legitimacy is further strengthened in the last two segments (lines 236-240, 241-245) of the article. First, the author interviews Frank Ruano (“longtime stadium foe”) who states, “I am not responsible for this demonstration, and I don’t approve of it. I have no control over them.” This statement implies that Ruano should be (though chooses not to be) in the position of being responsible for, giving approval to, and having control over the “young” “Asian” “protesters.” However, there is no explanation as to why there is such an implication, thus inviting readers to assume that there must be a taken-for-granted reason. In the last segment, the author subtly contrasts the behaviors of the football franchise rivals (e.g., shaking hands and chattering amiably) and that of the protesters (“throngs scattered”). The former invokes an image of civility and legitimacy, whereas the latter invokes an image of disorganization. The resulting effect of these two segments is a construction of the Asian-American protesters as a group of young people who are irresponsible and disorganized.

In terms of theme, Asian-American subjects are rarely placed in the initial position in a transitive clause in Text 2. In the four sentences that mention the protesters (lines 194-196, 197-199, 214-215, 228-230), only the last sentence has a subject-verb-object clause. In lines 194-196, there is no object (“some 25 young Asians interrupted [what?]”); in lines 197-199, the “youthful group” is placed at the end of the clause, signaling least importance in terms of information.

Furthermore, there are no personal interview quotes from the Asian-American subjects in Text 2. Although the author quoted the county executive’s statements and interviewed Frank Ruano (“longtime stadium foe”) who denied his involvement in the protest, there is no evidence that he interviewed any of the protesters. This is an interesting move, given the fact that the main topic of the article was the protest. This omission coupled with the distancing and discounting lexicalization and less-prominent positioning of the Asian-American subjects in clauses, produces a specific construction of the Asian-American subjects—an unimportant group of indistinguishable, illegitimate people.

Further discrepancies in the representation of the subjects between the two texts above also produce an ideological effect. In Text 1, Tsutakawa describes the protesting group as “40 or so” people that were made up of “Asian-Americans, but also African Americans, Chicanos and others.” In Text 2, Herberlein reports that the protesters were “25 young Asians.” The issue of race is revealing here. It is possible that Herberlein did not realize that this was a multi-racial coalition of people protesting for the same cause and just counted the number of those who appeared to

him to be “Asians.” Whether Herberlein realized it or not, this discrepancy reveals an important difference in construction of this event. To Herberlein, this protest is interpreted as one more protest, specifically about the Kingdome construction (characterized by “yet another protest” in line 192); only this time, it was by a group of “young Asians” from the ID. Herberlein’s construction obscures any larger power dynamics that might under-gird the event or the motivation of the subjects.

Tsutakawa’s construction of the subjects puts them squarely in the context of larger issues of the era, elucidating the relationship between the event, motivation of the subjects, and the power dynamics that scaffold it. To Tsutakawa—and presumably, to the multi-racial protesting group—the anti-Kingdome protest is interpreted as part of a larger movement (such as the civil rights movement, racial/ethnic consciousness movement, anti-war movement; see lines 65-82) that inspired a coalition of disenfranchised groups to protest together.

In lines 65-74, Tsutakawa explains how the student activists defined themselves as part of the larger Asian-American Movement. In her discussion of immigrant cultural citizenship, Ong (1996) questioned such categories as “Asian-Americans” because of the vast heterogeneity and internal class, ethnic, and race stratifications within it. Ong argued that Asian immigrants are put under an ideological “blackening and whitening” process according to their social, economic, and cultural capitals through different regimes of power that are present in civil society. Ong’s concern is that the discourse of “Asian-Americans” may render the

internal heterogeneity opaque and obscure the powerful processes that produce differential citizenship among its members.

Tsutakawa's description illustrates how Asian-American student activists negotiated this process to redefine their identity as "Asian-Americans." They recognized the powerful "blackening and whitening" dynamics that were at work and resisted it, generating a possibility of an alternative subjectivity (e.g., lines 72-74: "Rather than assimilating into the mainstream of American values and ignoring racial discrimination, we wanted to build our community...."; lines 71-72: "...we wanted to raise consciousness and identify with "Yellow Power," not hide from our ethnic roots.")). This counter-discourse was not generated out of nowhere, however. It was clearly produced through the historical and social (on global, national, and local levels) contexts of the time (e.g., lines 67-70: "Like Asian-American student activists in San Francisco and Los Angeles, we were part of the Asian-American Movement, following in the footsteps of the civil-rights movement."; lines 75-80: "We were passionately opposed to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War ["Americans fighting people that looked like us"]. As in other major cities, we moved from speaking out against the war to 'recognizing the enemies at home' and saw that urban development could destroy our historic ethnic enclaves and the low-income housing needed for residents who lived there.")).

Within these social and historical contexts, the language of "Asian-American" provided these student activists with the kind of collective identity that allowed plural, contradictory, and evolving meanings to co-exist (Gilroy, 1994). Far

from a docile adoption of a hegemonic construction, the identification as “Asian-Americans” by these activists demonstrates the agency of subjects to resist and re-define discourses of imposed identities. In other words, these activists were able to simultaneously resist a whole-sale adoption of an essentializing, hegemonic discourse of race *and* adapt it to re-define its local and historical meanings for themselves within their particular socio-historical dynamics. Contrary to Ong’s (1996) concern, the production of the discourse of “Asian-Americans” in this case demonstrates “a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society” (p. 738), i.e., cultural citizenship.

### **Construction of the Community**

Fairclough (1992) states that metaphors structure the way we think and act in a pervasive and fundamental way. Furthermore, one of the stakes in the struggle over discourse practices is how an experience becomes metaphorized (Fairclough, 1992). In her opening sentences (lines 23-27), Tsutakawa uses the metaphor of “neighbors” to illustrate the relationship between the ID and Kingdome as well as the impending new football stadium and Safeco Field (a new baseball field). In this text, the use of this metaphor (“neighbors”) helps construct the ID as a “neighborhood.” In addition, it constructs the relationship between the ID and the mega sporting structures as a human relationship, rather than a relationship between a piece of land and inanimate structures. The use of the metaphor, “neighbors,” makes it possible to introduce the power dynamics between the ID and the sporting structures. A piece of

land and inanimate structures do not have power dynamics, but “neighbors” do. The author further highlights the power differential between these “neighbors” by using specific wording. The Kingdome is described as “the giant concrete clamshell,” and the football stadium and Safeco Field, “sports mega-centers.” The ID is described as “a fragile, historic, multi-ethnic enclave.”

The metaphor of the relationship between the ID and the sporting structures as neighbors—one fragile, historic, and multi-ethnic, and another giant and overbearing—anticipates the key issue of the text: survival of the community. The author uses different but related phrases —“survive this onslaught” (line 30); “Preserve the International District” (line 56); “losing the International District (line 81); “Don’t Let the Dome Doom Chinatown” (line 106); “save the ID” (line 164); “we may be out of the game for good” (line 170)—to come back to the same key issue. This repeated use of different but related phrases is set up by the producer (the author) of the text assuming that the interpreters (the readers) will pick up on the collocational relationships between them. As the interpreters pick up on these relationships, and thus “are successfully placed in that position” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 177), the text produces another ideological effect: a characterization of the central issue as the survival of the fragile, historic, multi-ethnic community over the threats of big, overbearing neighbors.

This metaphor also appears in another article regarding the ID, which appeared in the Editorials and Opinion section of *The Seattle Times* on July 11, 1990 (see Text 3, below). Text 3 is an editorial and opinion piece. Although it is

produced within the journalistic reporting (newspaper) genre, taking the form of an editorial/opinion allows the author to express his or her opinion explicitly. The readers are likely to assume that this is an opinion of the editor and that of *The Seattle Times*.

### Text 3

*The Seattle Times*

Editorials & Opinion: Wednesday, July 11, 1990

Big, Bad Neighbor—International District Overlooked By State

THE Department of Transportation wasn't being very neighborly when it suddenly backed out of a parking lot agreement in the International District. [...] If no alternate site can be found the state should reconsider its decision to cancel the lease. Instead, why not declare a good-neighbor policy, suspend the lease during construction and three years from now restore an agreement that's stood up for 20 years and provided much needed support to a unique part of Seattle.

In Text 3, it is clear who the big, bad neighbor is: the state. However, in Text 1, while the author names the inhabitants of the ID as “residents, workers, and businesses” (lines 23-24) in the beginning section, she does not specifically name just who is behind those big, overbearing neighbor that is mega sporting structures. The identity of the neighbor is only implied in the rest of the article (i.e., city, county, and state). When read against Text 3, which preceded Text 1 and is more specific in naming the “neighbor,” this implication becomes stronger. The use of the same metaphor (“neighbors”) in both articles forms an intertextual chain that solidifies the representation of the ID community as a fragile, historic, and multi-

ethnic community as well as the representation of the governmental powers (e.g., city, county, state) as the big, bad neighbor.

This representation of the ID—as a fragile yet historic and multi-ethnic community that is worthy of survival—may seem almost taken-for-granted at this time; however, Tsutakawa points out that such representation was not achieved without specific efforts on the part of its community members (see line 158, “Now, it seems ...”). Indeed, the text samples 4 and 5 below show a substantially different representation of the ID (referred to as “Chinatown” in these texts—discussion of the name of this community is detailed in next chapter) before the 1970s. Both articles appeared in *The Seattle Times*, in 1946 and 1963, respectively.

#### Text 4

1     *The Seattle Times*  
 2     Sunday May 19, 1946 (page 7)  
 3  
 4     **ATMOSPHERE OF ORIENT IN SEATTLE CHINATOWN**  
 5     By Margaret Pitcairn Strachan  
 6  
 7     A business district in Seattle which was barely able to function a year  
 8     ago is humming with activity today. This is Chinatown! New stores  
 9     are being established and old stores are keeping their doors open  
 10    all day. Shipyard workers are back in business. Trucks are arriving  
 11    to fill the empty shelves of Chinatown's shops with foods from the  
 12    owner's native land. Windows which had little to attract the passers-  
 13    by now display [text faded and can not be deciphered], wrapped  
 14    Chinese teas, or vegetables and spices peculiar to Oriental cooking.  
 15    [...]  
 16    The windows of the shops present the most wonderful variety for  
 17    window shoppers which I have ever seen. Enormous enamel cans  
 18    filled with white bean sprouts stand next to rows of green Chinese  
 19    squash and thin Chinese peas. Huge Chinese bitter melons, used  
 20    for centuries to cure malaria (they contain quinine), and chard are  
 21    next to piles of taro root. (Taro root resembles our sweet potato in

22 appearance.)

23 Some of the picturesqueness of Seattle's Chinese has been lost in  
24 their acceptance of American dress and ways. The men cut their  
25 queues in 1911 when China became a republic. But some of the  
26 Chinese festivals still are celebrated.

27 [...]

28 Yes, it is wonderful and exciting to see a district come to life  
29 again. If you don't know this section and haven't tried to eat with  
30 chopsticks, you have missed some of the fun of living in Seattle, the  
31 Gateway to China. You'll find that friendliness is the keynote to  
32 Chinatown!

33

Text 5

34

35 *The Seattle Times*

36 Sunday January 6, 1963 (page 16)

37

38 Dorothy Neighbors Tips:  
39 Seattle Chinatown is Fun

40

41 There are some Seattleites, residents for many years, who have  
42 never paid a visit to the city's Chinatown. [...] This is a sad state of  
43 affairs. Many of the same pieces of merchandise are sold on King  
44 Street or on Seventh Avenue, Eighth Avenue or Maynard Street.  
45 Chinatown is not gaudy, but it has been growing more attractive  
46 each year. The 119 bright-red lanterns hung in the International  
47 District this year added to its beauty.

48 Why not make a habit of visiting the International District regularly?  
49 One night you might have a Japanese dinner. Or one day you could  
50 try an authentic Chinese luncheon. The food found in the numerous  
51 restaurants is delectable. Bird's nest soup, won ton, sukiyaki,  
52 tempura—there are many things to taste in addition to old standby,  
53 chow mein.

54 [...]

55 The day when women are afraid to go to Chinatown, the days of tong  
56 wars and pigtailed Orientals is long gone. One of the biggest  
57 advantages of living in a cosmopolitan city such as Seattle is being  
58 able to shop in just such an International District and Chinatown.  
59 If you are one of those who has not learned all of the shops here, it is  
60 time you did!

Both texts are produced as newspaper articles. However, both articles do not draw exclusively upon the traditional journalistic reporting discourse type. In addition, both articles have characteristics of advertisement (e.g., lines 28-32, lines 48-53, lines 57-60). Drawing upon this discourse type (advertisement) has an effect on the readers to be interpellated to the position of consumers. Vivid descriptions of the consumer products (food, merchandise) in the main body of the texts further develop this position. If readers are interpellated to the position of consumers, the underlying implication is that the ID (“Chinatown”) is a place to buy food and merchandise, a commercial/restaurant district. Another implication is that the inhabitants of this neighborhood are there to sell their products or services; there is no indication that this is a neighborhood where people actually live. In fact, in Text 4, there is only 1 sentence that puts an Asian-American subject in the information-prominent initial position. Text 5 has no Asian-American subjects at all, rendering them invisible. This is far from the kinds of representation of the ID community and its members produced in Text 1.

Text 4 starts out with an announcement of the presumably positive changes in the district (lines 7-8). However, there is no explanation as to what had made the district “barely function” (line 7) just a year ago or whether this district ever was “humming with activities” (line 8) in the past. Community historian Doug Chin (2001) chronicles the 1920s as the heyday of the ID where there were active and viable Nihon-machi (Japantown), Chinatown, Filipino commerce, and African-American owned jazz clubs coexisting. During the Depression era, the population in

the ID had decreased because of exclusionary anti-Chinese immigration laws and limited employment opportunities (Chin, 2001). However, it was Executive Order 9066, which authorized evacuation and internment of Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans (i.e., persons born in the U.S. of Japanese ancestry) in 1942, that delivered the final blow to the ID. The internment caused a financial disaster and disintegration of Japanese communities on the west coast as well as severe hardship for the internees (Chin, 2001). By the time the internees were allowed to return to the Seattle area in 1945, Japantown was no longer there; the number of the Japanese had shrunk to about 4,700 after the war from nearly 7,000 prior to it (Chin, 2001). In conjunction with immigration policies that severely restricted Asian immigration, an economic downturn, and the loosening of red-lining practices, which allowed some Asians to move into neighborhoods that were previously forbidden to them, the evacuation of Japanese Americans contributed to the depopulation of the ID.

Given the fact that Text 4 was produced in 1946, one of the major reasons behind the “barely functioning” state of the neighborhood is likely to be the evacuation and internment of Japanese Americans. However, Text 4 is silent on this history. The discourse of racial discrimination and legal incarceration of civilians of Japanese ancestry is completely silenced in this text. The powerful power dynamics that produced the “barely functioning” state of the district is made opaque through the missing discourse on its history. Instead, the missing discourse directs the readers toward the changes now happening, rather than to reasons why the district was seen as barely functioning in previous times.

The lack of historical context is also apparent in the author's representation of "Seattle's Chinese." The author explains that "the picturesqueness of Seattle's Chinese has been lost in their acceptance of American dress and ways." This statement reveals the author's construction of Chinese. This statement constructs Chinese Americans as foreigners with exotic ways ("picturesqueness") in contrast to "American" ways. This exotic construction is echoed throughout the article in her description of the merchandises and food in Chinatown (e.g., line 14, lines 16-22), especially dramatized in her wording. For example, she writes, "Taro root resembles *our* sweet potato in appearance," (italics added). Who is meant by "our" in this sentence? The intended audience, hailed by the author through the inclusive "our," can be identified only by a binary reading, that is, *not Chinese*. The use of the word "American ways" in contrast to the (presumed) ways of Chinese people again signals the next clue to the binary reading: Chinese means *not (or opposite of) American*. Together, exotic representations and the use of binary readings construct Seattle's Chinese as the 'Other,' foreign and exotic, against the "American" norm.

Given the fact that persons of Chinese descent have been present in the U.S. (and in Seattle) since the mid-1800s, their adoption of "American dress and ways" by 1946 is not exactly surprising. (In contrast, the author probably would not have grieved the adaptation of the "American dress and ways" by the Irish, who have about the same length of immigration history as that of the Chinese.) Therefore, the author's insistence on the "picturesqueness" of the Chinese reveals that her own image of the Chinese is frozen in time and in a space far away, intensified by binary

construction. This representation is an example of Orientalizing discourses (see Said, 1978). For example, line 25 demonstrates the way in which the author positions herself as a cultural authority by providing the audience with explanations as to why the Chinese “lost” their “picturesqueness.” Although this article ostensibly celebrates the positive changes in the ID and encourages Seattleites to come and patronize Chinese stores and restaurants, the effect of its representations is the maintenance and reproduction of ahistorical and Orientalizing images of the ID and its Asian-American community members.

Text 5, produced nearly 2 decades after Text 4, is presented as a “Dorothy Neighbors Tips” feature. This article appears in the section of the newspaper that seems to be geared toward women. The other articles in the same section focus on indoor gardening (written by another female writer), as well as a feature on a delicacy shop, also written by Dorothy Neighbors. The title of the segment invokes an image of a friendly neighbor giving another neighbor tips on shopping and other gendered tasks. Thus, while this text is produced as a newspaper article, it also contains an interdiscursive property that draws upon an informal discourse type (e.g., oral sharing of household tips). The intended audience, then, is women, and as will be elucidated shortly, most likely white women. The combination of wording (“tips”) and the placement of the text in a gendered space in the newspaper shapes the interpretation of this text as gendered, informal knowledge sharing, rather than legitimate journalistic reporting.

Text 5 begins with the author admonishing “some Seattleites” for missing out on what Seattle’s Chinatown has to offer. It is not readily clear in the beginning of the article why “some Seattleites” do not frequent Seattle’s Chinatown. However, one possible reason becomes elucidated in lines 55-56 (“the day when women are afraid to go to Chinatown, the days of tong wars and pigtailed Orientals is long gone”). The use of the word, ‘women’ is interesting and provocative. The race of the ‘women’ is not identified in this text. However, the author assumes that the reader understands them to be white by the virtue of unmarked norm (i.e., only people of color are marked by their race). As the readers unquestionably consume this assumption in their interpretation of this text, they discursively reproduce this norm.

Lines 55-56 implies that white women may be afraid of going to Chinatown because of perceived danger. This sentence reveals the persistence of stereotypical representations of Chinatown as dangerous and crime-ridden. These representations invoke and draw from countless racist popular writings and films (such as *Fu Manchu* and other faux-Chinese novels and movies) that form a strong intertextual chain. Although the author ostensibly intends to change this perception (by telling the readers that “the day ... is gone”), she does nothing to contest the validity of these representations in the first place. The ironic, but wholly predictable, result is that this sentence further stabilizes this intertextual chain, and thus, these racist (and also gendered) representations.

Bob Santos (2001), a longtime community activist who is widely considered the “unofficial mayor of the International District,” provides a very different description of the ID after WWII in his memoir, *Hum Bows, Not Hot Dogs* (see Text 6, below). Text 6 provides a counter-discourse from an insider’s perspective to the Orientalizing discourse from an outsider’s (although produced as a view from nowhere) perspective of Text 4 and Text 5.

### Text 6

1 After the end of World War II, many Japanese American  
 2 families chose not to return to Seattle or settled elsewhere  
 3 outside the Chinatown area. Shortly before the War, Yesler  
 4 Terrace—a major public housing project which eventually  
 5 covered 12 city blocks—was built on the northern edge of the  
 6 Chinatown-International District boundary, where the  
 7 Japanese community had been. As the Japanese left, African  
 8 Americans began to reside in the area especially during World  
 9 War II when war industry jobs were plentiful. They established  
 10 diners, groceries, taverns, tailor shops, and night clubs  
 11 For many years, Seattle's after hours jazz scene thrived on  
 12 Jackson Street—clubs like the Ubangi at 710 South King  
 13 Street; the 416, next to the Atlas Theater, the Congo Club, on  
 14 the north side of Jackson, on the top floor of a building  
 15 between Maynard Avenue South and Sixth Avenue South; the  
 16 Chinese Gardens (which later became the Gim Ling  
 17 restaurant, then the China Gate restaurant); the Basin Street  
 18 Club, in the basement of the Bush Hotel extended outward  
 19 beneath what later became Hing Hay Park; the Elks Club at  
 20 662 South Jackson; and the Ebony Café at Fifth Avenue South  
 21 and Jackson.  
 22 The walk from Dad’s home to my weekday home with my aunt  
 23 and uncle was always an experience. As a 12-year-old, I  
 24 became interested in jazz. The walk up Jackson Street to the  
 25 apartment where we lived on 14<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Spruce Street  
 26 was filled with music and a party atmosphere. Walking east, I  
 27 regularly strolled by the Club Maynard; the Elks Club (the  
 28 building which later housed) the Japanese American Citizens  
 29 League), where Ray Charles got his start; the Main Event;  
 30 Bowman’s Joint; and the Ebony Club.

31 Up the corner of 12<sup>th</sup> Avenue South and South Jackson, I was  
32 surrounded by street activity; with people going in and out of  
33 the taverns, bars, and joints. The Hill Top Tavern held down  
34 the northeast corner. Two doors east on Jackson from the Hill  
35 Top was the World of Music record shop owned by Bob  
36 Summerise; next door was the Monarch Pool Hall, where,  
37 even as a kid, I was hustled by pool sharks. The building on  
38 the southeast corner of 12<sup>th</sup> Avenue South and Jackson house  
39 was the Tazuma 10 Cents Store on the street level and the  
40 Black and Tan Club in the basement, where every major Black  
41 band played. (p. 28-29)

Santos' account of the ID, around the same period as when Text 4 was written, describes a neighborhood<sup>1</sup> very dissimilar to the one described in Text 4. While Strachan's article constructs the ID as a place to shop and eat, and its residents as people who exist solely to serve the (presumably white) customers from outside the district, Santos' description produces the same neighborhood as a place where residents actually lived and played. Unlike Text 4, Text 6 provides a historical background (i.e., WWII and the internment) to the changes that were happening in the district. Also notable here is that in Santos' text, the neighborhood is constructed as multi-ethnic (Chinese, African-American, Japanese, Filipino) whereas Strachan's article constructs it as predominantly Chinese. This multi-ethnic construction anticipates and shapes the interpretation of the multi-ethnic context of the Text 1 (lines 65-74).

The multi-ethnic construction of the area is apparent in the preliminary report of community statistics by the Vital Statistics Committee of Operation Crossroads,

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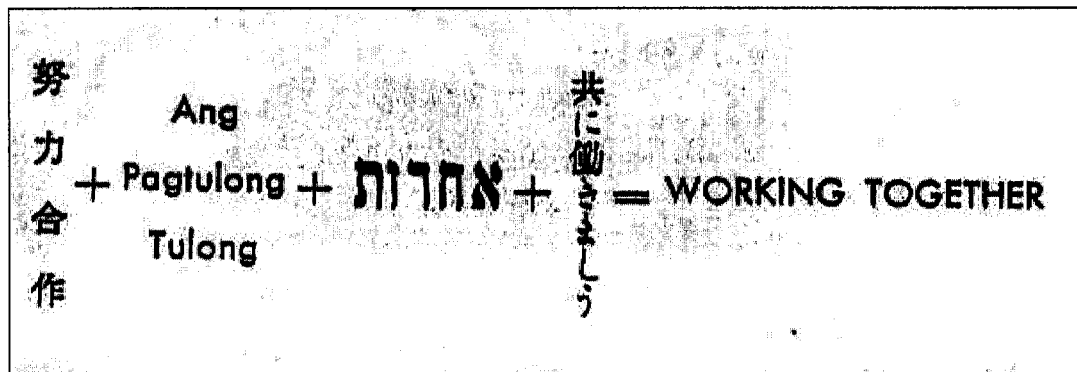
<sup>1</sup> The neighborhood described in Text 6 is an area that used to be known as the Jackson Street area (or Jackson Street Community). This area encompassed what is currently known as the ID and its neighboring areas.

produced in March 1955. The report indicates that the Jackson Street area was 54.6% white and 45.4% non-white, whereas the City of Seattle's general population was 94.2% white and 5.8% non-white. Although this report does not show the specific ethnic make-up of the non-white population in this area, Text 7 below provides additional information as to how this community represented themselves.

Text 7 is from a brochure produced by Jackson Street Community Council, circa 1958. As shown in lines 3-4, the Jackson Street Community included the ID during that era.

Text 7

1



2 We in the JACKSON STREET COMMUNITY COUNCIL serve the  
3 area Fourth Avenue to Twenty-third Avenue, Dearborn to Cherry  
4 Streets. We are proud of our accomplishments toward creating a  
5 better neighborhood in 1958-1959.

6  
7 We are a UNITED community of all races, religions, and economic  
8 walks of life. We are UNITED on a community-wide basis to make  
9 the area a better place in which to live, work, and do business.

Source: Jackson Street Community Council brochure, 1958 -1959.

This text starts with a phrase that resembles a mathematical equation. It shows a phrase, “working together,” (roughly) translated in four different languages, each translated version connected by a + sign, equaling an English phrase. One interpretation of this might be that the author(s) of the text is constructing the Jackson Street community as a multi-lingual (and multi-cultural, as implied) community where the residents can work together through their common language (English). This intent is consistent with the proclamations in lines 7-9. The emphasis on unity as a value (see lines 7-9) is explicit in the word, “united,” written in all capital letters in both lines 7 and 8. However, by putting four ‘foreign’ languages on one side of the equation and English on the other side, line 1 (shown in box) produces an effect that privileges English (and thus English speakers) over others. This privileging of English in the first part and the proclamation of unity in the second part provokes a tension in the reading of this text.

The second part of the text declares who the Jackson Street Community Council is, which areas they serve, and what they value. Although this part of the text uses “we” as the subject consistently, “we” in the lines 2 and 4 and “we” in lines 7 and 9 are not necessarily the same people. “We” in lines 2 and 4 seem to refer to the members of the Council, whereas “we” in lines 7 and 9 seem to refer to the community itself. This undistinguished use of “we” in these lines results in eliding this difference and the production of the council (the producer of the text) as the representatives of the community.

Although the identities of “we” might be guessed at, it is not certain who might have been the intended audience of this brochure. One possible audience is people outside of the community. In this scenario, this brochure serves as an introduction of the community to those outside of the community, representing the Jackson Street Community in a specific way (i.e., a “united community”). However, since this brochure was produced as part of the report to the community itself, another possible audience is the members of the community. In this case, this text may be interpreted as a discursive move by the community council to generate consensual sanction from the community members in terms of their representation of the community.

During the 1960s, the era following that of this brochure, the ID experienced many challenges, including state highway construction that bisected the community, a down-turn in the local economy, and an inadequate supply of decent housing (Chin, 2001), which left the district in a dilapidated state. Bob Santos (2002) describes the ID of the mid-1960s in his memoir:

#### Text 8

1     [...] The District hit a low point in the mid-1960s, when assaults and  
 2     shootings were common occurrences. Tough looking streetwalkers  
 3     had replaced the call girls of the past whose services had been an  
 4     accepted necessity for thousands of single male District residents.  
 5     Lines of cars circled the block from Jackson Street to King Street and  
 6     Seventh Avenue South to Maynard Avenue to pick up women who  
 7     ran in and out of the taverns, alleys, and doorways. The streets  
 8     were dark and mean. The International District was in serious  
 9     decline. It was a ghetto.  
 10    By 1968, nearly all of the housing was substandard and dilapidated.  
 11    Because of increasingly stringent fire and housing codes, many  
 12    hotels were closed and abandoned. Social services were few. [...]

13 After years of neglect, conditions in the International District had  
 14 deteriorated to a point where no one wanted to live there. Between  
 15 1950 and 1978, approximately half of the existing hotels and  
 16 apartment buildings closed. The District's population dropped  
 17 substantially from nearly 5,000 in 1950 to 1,300 in 1978. [...] (p. 76)

This text describes both the condition the ID was in during this era and also the reasons behind it. In this text, only one sentence (lines 2-3; “tough looking streetwalkers...”) features a human subject. Subjects of all other sentences are the ID itself or issues of concern to the author regarding conditions in the ID. There are very few transitive clauses, and in most sentences, the agent is either passive or omitted altogether. (For example, in lines 1-2, who was doing the assaulting and shooting? Also in line 13, who was responsible for the neglecting?) The effect of this particular structuring of phrases is an omission of agency. Because there are no ID community members present (either explicitly or implicitly) in these sentences, this text implies that what was going on in the ID during this era was happening outside of the ID community members' control. The ID in this text, then, is constructed as a community with little agency or control over its situation.

This representation—a community with little agency or control—is echoed in Text 9, which appeared in a local mainstream newspaper, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, on June 11, 1972, about five months prior to the anti-Kingdome demonstration.

### Text 9

1 *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (F4)  
 2 Sun., June 11, 1972  
 3

4 Chinatown Ponders Domed Stadium  
 5  
 6 By Dick Clever  
 7  
 8 "I Don't know!"  
 9  
 10 Bureaucrats. Football. Inspectors carrying clipboards. Wheeling.  
 11 Dealing. Fire codes. Uptown politicians. Greater Seattle. Lesser  
 12 Seattle. Think big. Build. Build.  
 13  
 14 Ted Tomol sighed and rested his short powerfully built frame against  
 15 the pool table.  
 16  
 17 "They're gonna build that stadium no matter what. If you got money,  
 18 you can do anything. To hell with the little people!"  
 19 [...]  
 20  
 27 The Chinese shopkeeper scurries away from the report, shaking his  
 28 head violently.  
 29  
 30 "I don't know! I don't know!"  
 31 He had been asked what effect he thought the domed stadium will  
 33 have on his business. His is a small grocery store which deals  
 34 mostly in the special foods in the Asian population of the  
 35 International District need.  
 36  
 37 The shopkeeper's response is typical of the older Chinese in the  
 38 district. They either don't understand the stadium controversy  
 39 because of language barriers, or they simply are not accustomed to  
 40 having their opinions solicited.  
 41 [...]

Line 30 starts out with a quote from an anonymous Chinese shopkeeper's response to the reporter's question about his opinion on the effect of the impending construction of Kingdome on his business. In lines 37-40, the author offers his analysis of the reasons for this response: "I don't know." This anonymous respondent, who the author states is, "typical of the older Chinese in the ID," is represented as someone who had little awareness of the situation he was in or

whose opinions had not heretofore been solicited (lines 38-39). This representation echoes the lack of agency suggested in Text 8.

In contrast is the response from Ted Tomol, who later in this article is identified as a 67-year-old Filipino who spent much of his life in the ID. His comments (lines 17-18) certainly do not demonstrate lack of insight or reticence to give his opinion but rather his frustration over his lack of control over what is happening to his neighborhood. Read against Text 8, Text 9 shapes the interpretation of the lack of agency and control represented in the former.

A long-term community member (Interviewee 1) also echoes this construction in my interview with him in 2001 (Text 10, below). The interviewee's statements are in regular font, and the interviewer's statements are in italic font.

#### Text 10

1    [...]

2    *Um... Let me ask your idea about... a question about community*  
 3    *mobilization. I'm curious about times when the community was*  
 4    *able to come together for the interest of the ID. Can you think of an*  
 5    *example?*

6

7    Um... The most significant that, that, tends to be the defining one for  
 8    what the current evolution in the community was the King Dome  
 9    construction. That was a very significant event that helped to bring, I  
 10   think, the outside movement. Y'know, this was, was in early the '70s,  
 11   and the, the, community itself was dying.

12

13   *Why, why, was that, you think?*

14

15   Oh, there were a number of factors. From police raids, to the Ozark  
 16   Ordinance that closed down a number of buildings, to um, speculation  
 17   that property owners who'd buy and allow for the buildings to  
 18   deteriorate. Um, and also there was the pressures of the downtown  
 19   expansion that just was starting at that time. And um, but before, a lot  
 20   of times, that can happen, you have to ghettoize the area, um, to make

21 it more attractive for people to get out, right? (laughter) And then take  
22 over. But I think that you know, the significant event for me—because I  
23 think there were probably more important events, prior to my direct  
24 involvement—but it was the King Dome construction and the  
25 mobilization of the community.

26 There, community was not necessarily defined as those I mentioned  
27 earlier, the residence or the employment, but had seen the symbolic  
28 connection. These were the students, these were the young people  
29 who, uh, recognized the impact the stadium was gonna have on the  
30 community.

31

32 *So how did that come about? How did that, that, movement, the*  
33 *mobilization, come about?*

34

35 Um... I wish I could tell ya. I'm not the person to ask. I was the one  
36 who got mobilized! (laughter)

37

38 *(Laughter) How did you get mobilized?*

39

40 Um, that was like, 6 years after I left? My family left there. At that time,  
41 it was still vibrant as a community. Very active, and um, the businesses  
42 were pretty good. Although some of the businesses were not  
43 necessarily the type of businesses that, you know, you want in your  
44 neighborhood—the local bars, and pool halls. But you know, they were  
45 still, um, open, and patronized by many of the residents.

46 Um, and during the period, the six years while I was gone, um, there  
47 was a very visible deterioration. Um, in '68 or something like that, was  
48 when the Ozark closed down almost half of buildings. So all of the  
49 sudden, a very significant population, uh, change.

50 There was also y'know, some movement, um, immigration-wise, that  
51 put pressures on the community. Um, where, in easing some of the  
52 immigration that was, more transition that was going on in the  
53 community. So that, and I think, many of the families who used to  
54 reside in the community had to look for larger places because of the  
55 family reunification, uh, relatives. So they had to actually leave the  
56 area, um, to accommodate the larger family. So it was when the site  
57 was finally determined, that uh, y'know, I was here at the university...  
58 there was "Hey, we need to go down there and stop this!" Good for a  
59 fighter! (laughter) *(laughter)*

60 So uh, being very familiar with the area, I was part of the contingency,  
61 uh, that demonstrated. Ah, in part, because of, y'know, with the  
62 community itself was already changing, what it could become was  
63 evident, because the deterioration already. What it was, and what it  
64 was becoming.

65

66 *So... what happened?*

67

68 Oh, the stadium got built. Um, but it was, uh, an empowering kind of  
69 thing for the community. Uh, with the stadium, we weren't able to  
70 prevent it. But it did bring a lot of attention and focus back into the  
71 community. Um, at the same time, there were other plans, and y'know  
72 there were other fights. And so, with that kind of that stimulus, uh,  
73 these other fights were fought as well. These included, um, I remember  
74 they were talking about changing Dearborn into a freeway. At that time,  
75 the I-5 was just been completed fully, um, '66? '67? Um, there was  
76 plans for a whole business core down Airport Way, and a fight  
77 deteriorating housing, and another fight trying to get decent, affordable  
78 housing for those that we left behind, basically. So you know. [...]  
79

In this text, Interviewee 1 characterizes the state of the ID in the early 1970s as “visibly deteriorated” and “dying.” This characterization evokes and maintains Tsutakawa’s and Santos’ metaphor of neighborhood survival. Lines 15-22 explain what caused this deterioration. Although he is more specific about what was responsible for this state of affairs, this interviewee’s explanation is similar to Santos’ account of the ID in Text 8 in that he attributes mostly outside forces as the cause of the deteriorated state of the ID. This intertextual linkage reinforces the representation (by long-term community members such as Tsutakawa, Santos, and Interviewee 1) of the ID in the 1970s, and the outside forces associated with its deterioration. This representation, in turn, evokes and maintains the metaphor of a “fragile, historic, neighborhood,” challenged by the “big bad neighbor.”

One of the factors contributing to the changes in the ID mentioned by both Interviewee 1 and Santos (in Text 8) is the ways in which the spatiality of the ID was produced through governmental institutional procedures. The construction of

the interstate freeway (I-5) through the district was highly controversial, and the Jackson Community Council unsuccessfully tried to prevent this construction (Chin, 2001). When the freeway was completed in 1965, the district's space was essentially bisected, thus limiting its spatial growth. In addition, many businesses that were in the way of the highways were demolished. The Ozark Ordinance, which required the installation of sprinkler systems in commercial buildings and hotels, resulted in closure of a number of hotels in the ID, whose number was already dwindling (Chin, 2001). The closure of these hotels threatened available housing for low-income elderly in the district. The state highway construction and the Ozark Ordinance exemplify the disciplining power of institutional and governmental procedures. These governmental discourses attributed to the production of the ID as a spatially restricted community with little hope for increase in its residential base.

Another factor associated with the changes in the ID that Interviewee 1 mentions in Text 10 is change in immigration (lines 50-56). This comment presupposes the link between the population changes in the ID and the Immigration Act of 1965, which eliminated the national quota system and allowed large numbers of immigrants from Asia. Indeed, this Act significantly affected the number of Asians entering the United States through Seattle. According to a report by John Huston, prepared for the City of Seattle, circa 1973, the International District Improvement Association (Inter\*Im), and the International District Economic Association (IDEA), the number of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino

persons who entered the U.S. through Seattle jumped from 128 in 1965 to 374 in 1966. The yearly average of immigrants from these countries between the years 1960 and 1965 was about 167. Between the years 1966 and 1972, the average was nearly three times that, at about 491. (There would be another wave of Asians coming into the U.S. and Seattle area after the Vietnam War, but this report was compiled before that in-migration.) This change in demographics demonstrates how public policy discourses, which are influenced by national and international politics, in turn shape the construction of a local community such as the ID.

The construction of the ID in the early 1970s as a community lacking agency and the ability to control its destiny contrasts sharply with Tsutakawa's representation of the ID community activists as agentic actors in Text 1. To Tsutakawa, it was the anti-Kingdome movement that brought agency—and younger Asian-Americans—back to the community (lines 138-140, Text 1: "Looking back, many then-activists believe the Kingdome threat to the ID was a blessing in disguise: serving as catalyst for funding needed social services, and a political training ground."). Interviewee 1 echoes Tsutakawa's interpretation of the anti-Kingdome movement as the "defining" moment, the "stimulus" that brought the "attention and focus back into the community" (lines 70-72, Text 10). Another long-time ID community member (Interviewee 2) also confirms this representation in his statement in my interview with him in 2001:

1        [...] Well, in the period uh, following the construction of the  
2        King Dome, which is now been imploded and destroyed,  
3        there was, uh, a large... uh, there was a great, great interest  
4        in trying to preserve the area from the impact of the stadium.

5 And, so, there were residents and activists and business  
6 people who attended a meeting and, meetings and talked  
7 about protecting the area from the encroachment of the  
8 parking lots and non-Asian fast food establishments. So  
9 there was a movement in the '70s to create a number of  
10 social service agencies to serve the seniors and the non-  
11 English speaking, there was a movement, um, to create  
12 housing, uh, and to restore the old historic structures. So the  
13 community, uh, came together at that time to band together  
14 to preserve its identity and preserve its survival as a thriving  
15 community. [...]

An excerpt from a *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* article (the same article as Text 9 above) demonstrates that the mainstream politicians and media took notice of this change:

[...] There is a different sound in the air over Chinatown today. It is new, unaccustomed. And the startled politicians are listening.

It is the sound of an aroused Asian community concerned for the fate of the International District. The stadium issue has united the Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos as never before. [...]

*Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (F4), Sun., June 11, 1972

Gilroy (1994) argues that the notion of community means much more than just place or a concentration of a particular population; rather the language of community supplies the legitimate and immediate context for collective actions. The ID served as this context—community—for the Asian-American activists in the 1970s. Having re-defined themselves as “Asian-Americans,” they saw the ID as the historical and cultural base of, and for, Asian-Americans. A 1976 article in *The International Examiner*, a community newspaper that started shortly after the

anti-Kingdome movement and is now the largest pan-Asian, non-profit newspaper in the U.S., represents this connection:

[...] Since the late 1960s, there has been no doubt that a single Asian-American community exists in Seattle.

Compared to other cities with significant Asian population, Seattle's different Asian ethnic groups live together in certain areas, rather than forming separate Chinatowns, Nihonmachi, or Manilatowns.

[...] there persists an identification association made between the I.D. and the greater Asian community. The I.D. is the community's historical base. It remains an integral, active part of the community for a number of cultural social and commercial reasons. [...]

Domingo, Nemesio. *The International Examiner*. Nov 30, 1976. Vol. 3, Iss. 11; pg. 5

For the Asian-American activists of the 1970s, the physical encroachment of the Kingdome also became a symbol for the need for protection of the ID community. The issue of deteriorated housing and the threat to the way of life in the district where many Asian ethnic groups historically settled provided a concrete focus that shaped solidarity among this diverse group of people. Tsutakawa illustrates this in lines 75-82 in Text 1. Similarly, the Asian elderly, especially older Filipino men, or "Manongs," symbolized the historical injustices done to Asian-Americans as well as providing an inspiration for perseverance. Quoting Mari Hayashi, Tsutakawa recounts this perspective in lines 87-101 in Text 1. This representation (Manongs as a symbol) is also visible in an excerpt from a Seattle-Post Intelligencer article (the same article as Text 9 above).

[...] Young Asians are taking a new interest in the elderly residents of Chinatown.

Filipino youth, particularly, admire the tough old cannery workers for their early struggles against the system. The International Drop-In Center was opened on King Street on a shoe-string budget to monitor the progress of the stadium project, provide information to Chinatown residents and organize meetings.

Majno Rudio, 64, is typical of the early Filipino pioneer. He came to Seattle in 1929, the year of the stock market crash. He worked in the canneries, fought to organize the Filipino workers and occasionally landed in jail. [...]

*Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (F4), Sun., June 11, 1972

Having focused on the issues of housing, Asian-American activists formed Concerned Asians and forcefully advocated for the needs of the elderly (Santos, 2002). An article (excerpt) that appeared on November 12, 1972, in *The Seattle Times* reports this activism (Text 11, below).

1 Text 11

2

3 ***The Seattle Times* (G6)**

4 **11/12/1972**

5

6 **Housing for displaced**  
7 **'Dealing' with stadium pursued**

8

9 By SVEIN GILJE

10

11 New housing for elderly Asians being uprooted by the King  
12 County domed stadium would cost at least \$4 million, a report to the  
13 Governor's Asian-American Advisory Council estimated yesterday.

14 The housing problem is but one of several which threaten the  
15 integrity of the International District, particularly Chinatown, several  
16 speakers appearing before the council said.

17 The council voted unanimously to support efforts being made by  
18 Concerned Asians and other groups in offsetting the impact of the

19 stadium. Earlier, at the groundbreaking ceremony November 2, young  
20 Asians strongly protested the stadium in that area.

21

22 THE PROTEST has turned into a community-wide search by  
23 Asians for solutions.

24 "We have now accepted a fact that the stadium will be there,"  
25 said Pete Bacho, a University of Washington law student and a  
26 Concerned Asian representative.

27 "The problem now is how to deal with it, especially in housing."  
28 Bacho said Concerned Asians, a coalition that has formed over the  
29 issue, has concluded that there will not be sufficient local funds to  
30 tackle the housing impact, so the group now will turn to the federal  
31 government.

32 A meeting will be held Tuesday with representatives of the  
33 Department of Housing and Urban Development here to seek  
34 assistance.

35 Representatives of Concerned Asians and elderly Asians,  
36 backed by "grass-roots support," will meet with HUD officials.

37 Bacho said a minimum of 300 housing units for elderly Asians  
38 alone will be necessary to meet the displacement problem. The  
39 government, he noted, estimates the cost of new units at \$18,000 each,  
40 which would amount to \$5.4 million.

41

42 [...]

43

44 Norris Bacho, also representing Concerned Asians, said, "a lot of  
45 personal grievances have been thrown out" to zero in on the housing  
46 problem.

47 The coalition also has broadened its support among racial and  
48 ethnic minorities. "WE are now faced with trying to preserve the integrity  
49 of the International District and keep our elderly together," he said.

50 Robert Santos, a member of the advisory council, said HUD will  
51 be asked to prevent "environmental displacement" of the elderly who  
52 would likely to stay in the community familiar to them.

53 Other points to be made suggest HUD acquisition of land by  
54 condemnation if necessary; housing programs on a crash basis by the  
55 government, and funding ferences (sic).

56

57 [...]

58

59 THE COUNCIL, in its unanimous resolution, noted it had  
60 expressed concern in August and asked that the stadium construction  
61 be delayed until the problems had been dealt with.

62            “It is apparent that the construction will not be delayed,” the  
63 resolution continued, “and that code enforcement will proceed, to the  
64 detriment of the elderly Asian residents.”

65            The council said it would support “in action and in deed” the  
66 efforts to obtain “federal, state, and local funds to provide low-income  
67 housing for the Asian elderly.”

68            It added, “It is the responsibility of the government (which) by its  
69 action endangers the future of its citizens, to commit resource (and)  
70 ensure a secure future for the residents of the impacted area.”

71            The resolution was presented by the council’s president, Dr.  
72 Joseph Okimoto.

The representation of Asian-American subjects in this article is noticeably different from that in Text 2 (an article from the same journal). Asian-American subjects in this article are referred to as “representatives” and “council members,” rather than “young Asians” or as a “youthful group.” These wordings indicate legitimacy, somewhat ironically, since many of these activists were the same ones who participated in the protest just 10 days prior. Unlike Text 2, where Asian-American subjects appeared nameless and were never interviewed, this text quotes them and specifically names the speakers. Similarly, Asian-American subjects often appear in the information-prominent initial position of phrases. These changes demonstrate a shift in the intertextual chain (construction of Asian-American subjects by the mainstream media). This shift is seen clearly in that the title of the article reflects the main concern of the Asian-American subjects (“housing for displaced”), rather than the Kingdome.

The representation of the goals of the Asian-American activists in their own quotes is also specific. All of those who were quoted in the text above echo the same theme: preservation of the ID, meeting the needs of the Asian elderly, and a

demand that political power structures become responsible for off-setting the negative impacts of Kingdome construction. The consistency of the statements forms a strong intertextual link with the text, thus solidifying this theme. This intertextual linkage with the article also represents the ID as a unified voice. In fact, Norris Bacho specifically addresses this issue in lines 45-48. This article distributes this representation of the ID community and its central theme to the audiences outside the ID.

Twenty-seven years later, this theme resurfaces in Peter Bacho's statement, quoted in Tsutakawa's article (lines 112-117, Text 1), reproducing and stabilizing this specific representation of the anti-Kingdome movement. The stability of this representation is apparent in the statement of Interviewee 3, who is one of the new-generation of community activists in the ID. In my interview with her in 2001 (29 years after the anti-Kingdome protest), she characterizes the history of community activism as below:

[...] Well, a lot of the activism started in the '60s over the Kingdome. Um, and it was really, kind of, concrete way, literally a concrete way, for people to resist this monolithic thing coming into the neighborhood, and everyone was against it. From the residents, to businesses, to property owners, to community activists. And it really was the community activists and college students then that kind of rallied everyone together, brought them together, to fight against the Kingdome. Um, and then from that, it led to, y'know, the formation of the Inter\*Im.... It's really Bob Santos and them starting... The ID Health Clinic started from the Inter\*Im, Denise Louie Childcare Center, y'know, things that were lacking in the community....the health care, the childcare, um, community garden, um, ACRS, eventually, um.... So that's kind of the easy list of the things. [...]

This statement demonstrates the stability of the production, distribution, and maintenance of the representation of the anti-Kingdome activism as the “defining moment” in the ID history.

One of the results of the advocacy by the Asian-American activists for the preservation of the ID was the designation of the district as a Special Review District (Chin, 2001), produced by the City of Seattle Ordinance number 102455 (excerpt below, Text 12).

### Text 12

1 **City of Seattle**

2 **Council Bill Number: 94118**

3 **Ordinance Number: 102455**

4

5 AN ORDINANCE relating to land use and zoning, amending the Zoning  
6 Ordinance (86300) by adding thereto new Sections 24.81, 24.82, 24.83,  
7 24.84, 24.85, 24.86 and 24.87 to provide for special review districts,  
8 adding Section 24.91 to establish the Pioneer Square Special Review  
9 District, and adding Section 24.92 to establish the International Special  
10 Review District.

11

12 [...]

13

14 Section 9. That the Zoning ordinance (86300) is amended by  
15 adding thereto a new section designating Section 24.93 to read as  
16 follows:

17

18 Section 24.92. INTERNATIONAL SPECIAL REVIEW DISTRCT.  
19 That to ameliorate the adverse impact which the location and operation  
20 of the King County domed stadium is expected to have upon the  
21 cultural, ethnic and commercial values of the International District, and  
22 to protect said area and its periphery from the proliferation of vehicular  
23 parking and other auto-mobile-oriented uses at the expense of viable  
24 pedestrian uses and structures, displacing people: to encourage the  
25 use of transportation modes other than the private automobile: to  
26 exercise a reasonable degree of control over site development and the  
27 location of off-street parking and other automobile-oriented uses in said  
areas and to achieve the purposes stated in Section 24.81, there is

28 hereby established the International Special Review District in the  
29 following described area:

30 Beginning at the intersection of Airport Way and 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue  
31 South, then north to Yesler Way then east to the Central Freeway, and  
32 its ramps to South Jackson Street, then east to 12<sup>th</sup> Avenue South, then  
33 south to South Dearborn Street, then west to the Central Freeways,  
34 then south to South Charles Street, then west to Airport Away, then  
35 northwest to 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue South, the point of beginning, the boundaries  
36 of which are illustrated on a map, designated Exhibit "D" attached to  
37 and made a part of this ordinance, and on the official zoning map  
38 Exhibit "A." All property within said International 'special "Review  
39 'district shall be developed and used only in accordance with  
40 development guidelines established for said district in accordance with  
41 Section 24.83 and shall be subject to the following specific development  
42 guidelines: [...]

This text is a city ordinance, which draws upon legal discourse type and government procedure discourse type. The first part of the ordinance (lines 5-10) establishes the ID (along with the Pioneer Square Special Review District) as a Special Review District by amending an existing zoning ordinance and adding new sections. This discursive act relies upon the city council's power to make and enforce such decisions, thus confirming, in turn, the regulatory control of the governmental regime.

The records of the City of Seattle show that the Seattle City Council adopted a resolution "recognizing the unique nature of the International District and the Pioneer Square Historic District" (City of Seattle, Resolution number 23782) as early as September 5, 1972. This resolution anticipates and shapes the reading of this ordinance (especially line 23) of this Ordinance that passed a year later on August 13, 1973, and was signed by the mayor on August 21, 1973.

Section 9 specifically addresses the ID. Lines 18-28 describe the purposes of this amendment to the existing zoning ordinance. These purposes reflect the main contentions of the Asian-American activists as discussed in the previous section. This evidence of indirect manifest intertextuality can be interpreted as a successful shaping of a governmental (and regulatory) discourse by a community (and initially counter-) discourse through production, distribution, and maintenance of a specific representation of the district's needs.

Lines 30-38 specifically designate the boundaries of the ID Special Review District. These designations formally establish a physical boundary of the district, which is a concrete example of the regulating power of governmental regime in producing a spatial identity of the community. However, these boundaries were later amended by Ordinance number 107088 to "exclude the area south of Dearborn Street between Airport Way South and the Central Freeway." These changes indicate instability residing within such governmental discourses. The fact that this particular ordinance was also produced by amending a prior ordinance (Ordinance number 86300) confirms this instability. Read against Ordinance numbers 107088 and 86300, these designations may be interpreted as being less absolute, opening up possibilities for contesting and negotiating with the regulatory power of the governmental regime.

One of the mandates of this ordinance was an establishment of the International Special Review Board (Chin, 2001). Chin states:

[...] Initially conceived to mitigate the stadium's impact, the Review Board's purpose expanded to "preserve the District's

unique Asian character and to encourage the rehabilitation of areas for housing and new pedestrian-oriented business.” [...] The Special Review Board was given broad power to recommend development guidelines and zoning regulations, which could modify the regular zoning laws, and to approve or disapprove of proposed structural changes. Although City officials have the final say, the City has seldom (if ever) overturned a Review Board recommendation. [...] (p. 83)

Chin, Doug (2001). *Seattle's International District: The making of a pan-Asian-American community*.

The beginning sentence of this paragraph reveals the changes in the purpose of the Special Review Board. These changes (from the mitigation of the stadium's impact to preservation of the District's "unique Asian character" and encouraging housing and small businesses) are parallel to the changes in focus for the Asian-American activists (from protesting the construction of the Kingdome to the survival of the community and the protection of the cultural identity of the district).

The Special Review Board was set up by city ordinance, illustrating the way in which disciplinary technologies subjectify a community through a set of procedures and operations (as per Foucault; see Chapter 2 for detailed discussion). The community's use of the Special Review Board to influence development guidelines and zoning regulations (in the second sentence above) is an interesting one. On the one hand, complying with a city ordinance, this may be interpreted as the ID community submitting itself to the disciplinary control of the governmental regime. On the other hand, this strategy can be interpreted as co-opting and exploiting the disciplinary power of the government by gaining specific control of the use of the space through the discourses of recommendations and guidelines. This strategy,

then, is an example of what Ong (1996) sees as central to her version of immigrant cultural citizenship: a dialectical interplay between the hegemonic power of the regulating regimes and the immigrant's ability to negotiate and contest within its complex webs of power.

The designation of the ID as a Special Review District constructs it simultaneously as a space that is within the limits of the City, but also is "unique" and "special." In other words, it is both a part of the whole and outside of the 'center.' The physical boundaries of the ID, enunciated by this ordinance, locate it outside the center of the City but also right on the margins of the City's downtown. Similarly, the establishment of the Special Review Board renders the ID under the governmental control of the City but also under its own agency, engaged in a constant strategic process of negotiation with the City. Thus, this construction of the ID is an example of Bhabha's conceptualization of liminal space, both in a spatial and in a conceptual sense.

The results of the anti-Kingdome movement are many: establishment of the Special Review Board, creation of much-needed housing, social, and health services, which are still strongly present in the ID, successful negotiations with governmental bodies to gain mitigation dollars to off-set the adverse impact of the Kingdome, and the like. As Asian-American activists testify in Text 1, the movement served as a platform for community change, not only in terms of concrete services but also in terms of how the community understands itself, continues to be constructed, and how it is represented to the outside.

A decade after the “defining moment” of the anti-Kingdome movement, the following text from the City of Seattle Mayor’s office “introduces” the ID to potential investors in Text 13, below.

### Text 13

#### **Introduction**

- The City’s experience in the International District provides a prime example of what can be done by targeting funds to improve a neighborhood.
- The City, working jointly with area community groups and businesses, has managed to help the district “turn the corner.” What was not too long ago a blighted, deteriorated area, with little business activity, is becoming a healthy and pleasant neighborhood for low and middle-income residents and commerce. Investors are much more confident now about investing in this District.

Source: Mayor’s Press Tour of the International District.  
Date: March 21, 1984.

The City’s representation of the ID in this text is as a once-deteriorated area that has recovered and is now ready for investment. In the first paragraph, the City credits its smart funding for the recovery of the district. Although this text acknowledges the collaboration between the ID community and the City, there is no hint of the activism and political struggle that produced (and continue to produce) this collaboration. This text also incorporates the ID community’s discourses in its change in wording to describe the ID (i.e., from “area” to “neighborhood”), revealing the “absorptive capacity” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000, p. 96) of the dominant discourse. Taking credit for the recovery of the ID and

glossing over political struggles involved, this text presents the ID as a now-attractive neighborhood, prime for outside investment.

Given the powerful wave of gentrification during the era that followed the production of Text 13, this outside investment worries community activists like Tsutakawa, prompting her to ask: “will the ID survive this new encroachment?” Bob Santos’ article in *Colors NW* magazine can be read as the answer to this question.

#### Text 14

1       **Colors NW**  
 2       April 2001, p. 8-9.  
 3  
 4       **The International District: Does it stand a chance of survival?**  
 5       Visiting voice by Bob Santos.  
 6  
 7       The International District is one of the oldest neighborhoods left in  
 8       Seattle’s downtown core. The International District survived when  
 9       other downtown neighborhoods buckled under to growth, the growth  
 10      that changes the face and character of a city. The survival of the  
 11      district means the survival of not just a neighborhood, but also a way  
 12      of life and the Asian cultural center of the Pacific Northwest. [...]  
 13  
 14      No other community in Washington has withstood the variety of  
 15      developments that have impacted the neighborhood: Interstate 5,  
 16      Interstate 90, the Kingdome, Safeco Field and the Paul Allen  
 17      development of Union Station.  
 18  
 19      The International District has not stood by and allowed  
 20      encroachment to dictate how the community survives. Asian  
 21      property owners from the community have reinvested in their  
 22      properties by building Pacific Place on the east side of the  
 23      International District, Uwajimaya Village on the west edge and the  
 24      upcoming construction of phase two of the International District  
 25      Village Square.  
 26  
 27      Because of the protection and commitment of so many people  
 28      through the years, the International District can and will remain the

29 Asian American Cultural Center of the Pacific Northwest for decades  
30 to come.

In this excerpt, the ID is the most frequent subject. Its placement of the ID in the information-prominent beginning of the phrases, and the use of an active voice, represents the ID as an agentic actor. The first paragraph (lines 7-12) echoes the representations that were present in Texts 1, 3, 10, 11, and 12, as well as the 1976 *International Examiner* article excerpt and Interviewee 2's statements: historic neighborhood, Asian cultural center, and survival. In this text, these intertextual links form a circle as Santos connects the survival of the ID neighborhood to the survival of "the way of life and the Asian cultural center."

The last section of this article is structured as an argument. The second paragraph asserts the ID uniquely overcame challenges both in the past and present, and the third paragraph serves as the evidence of the second paragraph's claims. This evidence—the examples of the ways in which the ID is currently dealing with the outside threat which other downtown neighborhoods did not survive—echoes Tsutakawa's statements in Text 1 (lines 144-150, 167-169), illustrating the changes in the community's strategy in dealing with outside threats. The last paragraph reveals who has been, and is, responsible for the survival of the ID, and finally the author's answer to the question: will the ID survive?

Given the magazine's (*Colors NW*) distribution, the audience of this argument is likely to be both readers inside and outside of the ID. In addition, given the timing of the article—in the midst of a powerful wave of gentrification of downtown Seattle—this text may be interpreted as a counter-discourse to the

dominant discourse of economic development, as demonstrated in Text 13. The audience may then also be developers and other outside forces that might encroach upon this community. Facing challenges from outside, the community continues to create “solidarity from a sense of particularity” (Gilroy, 1994, p. 407) in their struggle for the social control of historicity. This article is part of the intertextual chain that reproduces, distributes, and maintains the community’s discourse of “preservation of Asian cultural character.”

This chapter has illustrated the ways in which the ID community has contested, negotiated with, and changed the subject positions that have been imposed on it by the larger society through mainstream media and governmental discourses. The analyses in this chapter indicate that, although government discourses (such as city planning decisions, ordinances, and resolutions) may constraint or allow physical development of a community or the community’s ability to obtain resources, these discourses of regulation do not unilaterally define the subject position of a community. As demonstrated in this chapter, the ID community has been able to shift these discourses by generating counter-discourses through community mobilization and activism. Similarly, although mainstream media discourses often have exoticized and essentialized the “cultural character” of the ID, the ID community has continually redefined its character through its counter-discourses of “neighborhood” and “Asian American cultural center,”

reflecting as well as deploying larger historical and social discourses such as the civil rights movements and Asian American movement in local contexts.

Whereas this chapter has illustrated ways in which the subject positions of the ID were produced, maintained, and changed through processes of contestation and negotiation *between* the ID community and the larger society, these processes are also located *within* the community itself. In the next chapter, I will discuss the discourses of identity located within the community.

## CHAPTER 5

### “WHAT’S IN A NAME?”

This chapter investigates the production, distribution, and change of the subject position of the International District (ID) as a community through intertextual tracing of the discourses of the debate over the name of the district. The goal of this analysis is to understand the dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event (the name debate) and the social practices that frame it, which constructed the community identity of the ID.

#### **Discourses of Legitimacy: History, Contribution, and Legal/Governmental Powers**

One of the most prominent struggles for the ID’s identity has been the debate and conflict over the name of the district. Some insist that the district should be called the International District (or ID); some argue that it must be referred to as Chinatown. There are other variations of these arguments as well: Seattle Chinatown/International District, Seattle International District/Chinatown, etc. This struggle over a name may seem “immaterial” to some (as one of the interviewees stated in Text 15 below). However, Fairclough (1992) argued that gaining “acceptance for particular meanings for words, and for a particular structuring of their meaning potential, is indeed interpretable as a matter of achieving hegemony” (p. 190). Thus, the struggle over the name of the district can be interpreted as the struggle for gaining social control of historicity (Gilroy, 1994).

Gilroy (1994) argues that the collective identity constructed around the notion of community is a powerful means to create solidarity and mobilize collective action. However, as poststructuralists elucidate, identity is not fixed or consolidating but contingent and multiple (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of this topic). Community identity is no exception. As a symbolic construction, the strength of community identity is in its ability to provide boundaries within which plural, contradictory, and evolving meanings can co-exist (Gilroy, 1994). As such, community identity bears within it possibilities for multiple articulations of “solidarity from a sense of particularity” (Gilroy, 1994, p. 407). These plural articulations imply that collective identity may be formed against both an outside threat *and* others within. Thus, the struggle for the social control of historicity (Gilroy, 1994) occurs within the community as well as between the community and the ‘outside.’

In their internal struggle for the right to name the district, and for the name itself (i.e., what to call the district), divergent groups in the ID produce and deploy different discursive strategies to assert their legitimacy. Intertextual tracing in this section reveals three such strategies: 1) discourses of history, 2) discourse of contribution, and 3) government/legal discourses.

Text 15 exemplifies the divergent perspectives, issues, and strategies that are implicated in the name debate.

Text 15

1 *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*

2 July 7, 2004

3 Local Section

4

5 **What's in a name?**

6 **For International District, a long-running dispute**

7 Chinatown supports fight to gain top billing on evolving district

8

9 By JOHN IWASAKI

10

11 Do names matter? They do in Seattle's most prominent  
12 neighborhood of dim sum, noodles and bubble tea, where the prickly  
13 Chinatown vs. International District issue is erupting once again.

14 While many young adults don't see the use of International  
15 District as derogatory, some older members of the Chinese community  
16 resent it, saying it is disrespectful to Chinatown's deep local history.

17 Others disagree, saying that the lingering dispute over the  
18 area's name has been kept alive for decades by a small group of  
19 dissidents who should be improving Chinatown instead of overinflating  
20 its status.

21 What sparked the latest protests was the naming of a public  
22 community center that is set to open in late July or early August on the  
23 bottom floor of Village Square II, a multiuse building at Eighth Avenue  
24 South and Dearborn Street. The center, part of the city's Parks and  
25 Recreation Department, will be called the International  
26 District/Chinatown Community Center, a name that city officials say  
27 reflects the entire neighborhood. While that word order might seem  
28 innocuous, giving Chinatown second billing has Betty Lau steaming.

29 Lau, who has led pro-Chinatown campaigns in the past, said  
30 Chinatown should be listed before International District because it is  
31 the more historic name and would attract more tourists. "For them to  
32 put it backwards—that's wrong," said Lau, head of the bilingual  
33 department at Garfield High School. "The name is being imposed on  
34 us without community discussion and vote."

35 Longtime community activist Bob Santos dismisses complaints  
36 by Lau and her supporters. "We're helping to revitalize this district and  
37 we get shot down," he said. "Their only issue down here is the naming  
38 of the district. Aren't there other things? I can't believe this."

39 Chinatown supporters should redirect their energy toward fixing up  
40 their properties to lure people and business to the area, said Santos,

41 executive director of Interl\*m (sic) Community Development  
42 Association.

43 The conflict, resurfacing in the weeks before this weekend's  
44 29th annual Chinatown-International Summer Festival, seems at odds  
45 with the usual depiction of the International District as a harmonious  
46 pan-Asian community unique in the United States.

47 In reality, the various ethnic groups generally get along well,  
48 community leaders say, particularly younger people, who aren't sure  
49 what the fuss is all about. For University of Washington student Cathy  
50 Tang, Chinatown and International District are synonymous. "Among  
51 my friends, we usually call the entire area Chinatown, probably  
52 because it's a shorter word to say," said Tang, 19, a junior. "But if  
53 either names [sic] were to be mentioned, I'm pretty sure the majority of  
54 us from around here would immediately know where the area was."

55 Likewise, most of Anthony Wu's friends are of Asian ancestry,  
56 and all call the area Chinatown. That's four syllables shorter than  
57 International District, a name that "just sounds like an awkward effort to  
58 try to be politically correct," said Wu, 21, a UW senior in computer  
59 engineering.

60  
61 The International District is a roughly 48-block area framed by  
62 Yesler Way on the north, Dearborn Street on the south, Fourth Avenue  
63 on the west and Interstate 5 and 12th Avenue on the east. While some  
64 regard the entire section west of I-5 as Chinatown—Little Saigon  
65 occupies the east side of the freeway—a 12-block core is technically  
66 the Seattle Chinatown Historic District, listed in late 1986 in the  
67 National Register of Historic Places. That core is bounded by Main and  
68 Weller streets between Fourth and Eighth avenues.

69 The new community center is outside the area listed in the  
70 registry but close enough to be considered part of Chinatown, said Lau  
71 and Ruby Chow, a former King County councilwoman who has been  
72 active in the Chinese community for decades.

73 The community center is part of the second phase of the  
74 International District Village Square, a project developed by the Seattle  
75 Chinatown International District Preservation and Development  
76 Authority. The first phase, completed by the agency in 1998, is across  
77 the street. Besides the community center, the ground floor will have a  
78 branch library and retail and office spaces. The upper floors will have  
79 family housing.

80 Culturally speaking, listing Chinatown second on the center's  
81 name is "an insult," Chow said. She speaks of Chinatown's long history  
82 in Seattle, starting with the first Chinese settlement in the 1860s on the  
83 waterfront end of what is now Yesler Way. The heart of Chinatown

84 later shifted to Washington Street and then to King Street. Efforts are  
85 currently under way to build a traditional Chinatown gate across King.  
86 Japanese immigrants arrived in Seattle in increasing numbers at  
87 the turn of the 20th century and built a community known as  
88 Nihonmachi—Japantown—that centered on Main Street. Nihonmachi  
89 emptied during World War II when people of Japanese ancestry were  
90 forcibly moved to internment camps after Japan's attack on Pearl  
91 Harbor.

92 Filipino immigrants made King Street their core. African  
93 Americans turned Jackson Street into a jazz haven.

94 On July 23, 1951, Seattle Mayor William Devin issued a  
95 proclamation that the area be known as the "International Centre" to  
96 recognize "outstanding contributions to our cultural and civic life ...  
97 made by citizens of Negro, Japanese, Chinese and Philippine  
98 ancestry."

99 "City's Chinatown No Longer Exists" read the headline the next  
100 morning in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*.

101 It did continue to exist, of course. International Centre turned  
102 into International District, a name that has coexisted with Chinatown for  
103 the past half-century. But International District is the name used more  
104 often, especially by those not of Chinese ancestry, to Chow's chagrin.  
105 "They think the Chinese are not important," she said. "They take you  
106 and meld you."

107 Philip Chan, owner of the Sea Garden restaurants in Chinatown  
108 and Bellevue, has another term for it: "homogenizing." "We just want to  
109 retain our cultural identity," he said, sitting at a window table on  
110 Seventh Avenue South on a recent afternoon. Chan said he thinks the  
111 name Chinatown would do a better job of luring tourists than  
112 International District, which he considers a misleading and inaccurate  
113 term. After all, he asked, do you see any Scandinavian, French or  
114 Russian restaurants in the district?

115 Lau also cites a city ordinance that amended Seattle's  
116 comprehensive plan in 1998 and includes a section referring to a  
117 "name change ... from International District to Chinatown/International  
118 District."

119 But Yvonne Sanchez, director of the city's Department of  
120 Neighborhoods, said that amendment pertains only to the name of that  
121 part of the comprehensive plan, not to the name of the area itself.

122 The International Special Review District Board, established by  
123 the city in 1973 to promote and preserve the cultural, economic and  
124 historic benefits of the area, last month denied the parks department's  
125 request to put up a sign at the community center that listed  
126 International District first.

127 Sanchez recently reversed the board's denial, though she also  
128 is seeking an opinion from the city attorney's office. "There's a lot of  
129 pride by the groups who live in the International Special Review  
130 District," she said. "Unfortunately, there's sometimes kind of a  
131 conflicting source of pride."

132 Santos, who is of Filipino ancestry, finds it hypocritical for  
133 Chinese leaders to complain if they haven't supported efforts to  
134 improve the district, such as the second phase of Village Square, a  
135 multiuse facility built on what once was a parking lot. "What they're  
136 trying to promote is an area of the International District ... that is  
137 deteriorating," Santos said, pointing to the long-vacant upper floors of  
138 buildings along King Street that are owned by multiple Chinese  
139 families. "Do something about (those buildings) first, get them up to  
140 code, get them vibrant again," he said. "Then you can brag about it."

141 For Ray Chinn, who ran the Wa Sang grocery store on South  
142 King Street before retiring seven years ago, it is "immaterial" whether  
143 Chinatown is first or second on a sign. "The district is international," he  
144 said. "Different groups are living in the area, and they all play a part."

145 Tomio Moriguchi, chief executive officer of Uwajimaya, the giant  
146 Asian grocery and gift store in the southwest corner of the district, said  
147 Chinatown should not take top billing. "There's just as much Japanese  
148 and Filipino history. In fact, my grandfather and a lot of (non-Chinese)  
149 people had businesses along Dearborn Street," he said, adding that  
150 the Chinese community has a stronger historic claim for other parts of  
151 the neighborhood.

152

153 But it might not matter what he or anyone else thinks, Moriguchi said.  
154 "Ultimately, people are going to call it what they want."

The genre of this text is journalistic reporting. Written in this discourse type, Text 15 is likely to be consumed by the audience as a 'neutral' perspective. This assumption of a neutral view is important in light of the word, "dispute," in the title (as well as its implications throughout the article). As there is no explicit indication of the author's own opinions (e.g., there is no sentence that starts with an "I" as the subject), the audience is positioned to assume that Iwasaki will provide a disinterested representation of the dispute.

The title, as well as the first paragraph of the main body of the text, begins with a rhetorical question, followed by the author's answers (lines 4-6; 10-12). Rhetorical questions are provocative in that the author simultaneously solicits the audience's answers and prevents them from answering him by providing 'the' answer right after the question. This format (rhetorical questions followed by the author's own answers) is reminiscent of a teacher-student discourse format. Thus, although the questions are ostensibly to solicit answers (and therefore the audience is ostensibly positioned as a source of knowledge), this format has an effect of positioning the author as the authority.

Lines 11-13 represent the ID as an 'ethnic' (produced by the metaphor of food) neighborhood. The 'neighborhood' metaphor again re-produces and maintains the intertextual chain discussed in Chapter 4. The food metaphor also echoes the enunciation of cultural identity, represented by 'Humbows Not Hotdogs,' a protest slogan during the anti-Kingdom movement (discussed in Chapter 4). Lines 14-16 indicate that "the prickly Chinatown vs. International District issue" is not a new issue but a re-surfacing of a previous debate. This argument calls prior discourses into this particular text, thus maintaining an intertextual chain. At the same time, by using the word, "dispute" (out of other possibilities such as disagreement, debate, war, etc.), it frames this recurring "prickly issue" in a specific way. Since "dispute" invokes legal discourses and is also something that usually involves a third-party to settle, this framing is interpreted as an ideological choice of the author.

Lines 14-16 position the “young adults” and the “older members of the Chinese community” on either side of the dispute. The “young adults” are not specified by their ethnicity, but their counter part is. However, the “young adults” are not completely ethnicity-less. In light of the rest of the article (especially lines 45-56), they are most likely to be Asian, if not specifically Chinese. Similarly, lines 17-19 position the “others” on one side and “a small group of dissidents” on the other side. Again, while there is no specification of the ethnicity of the “others,” the rest of the article constructs them as Asians. Thus, the author constructs the “dispute” as between “older members of the Chinese community” and Asians with no specific ethnic identifiers. This omission of the ethnicity presents a binary reading, positioning the older Chinese members as the marked ‘other,’ against the unspecified Asian ‘norm.’

Lines 20-26 reveal how the naming of a public building was interpreted as a metaphor for the primacy of ethnic identity in the ID. This text exhibits several discursive strategies for legitimizing the claim to the name of the ID. One of the strategies is employing history to legitimize one’s claim. Lau (lines 28-30) and Chow (lines 76-81) both argue for using the name, Chinatown (or putting Chinatown before the ID), in official and public discourses, on the basis that the Chinese have had the longest history in the district. Moriguchi (lines 134-140) counters this claim with the history of a multi-ethnic presence. He argues for using the name, the ID, on the basis that other ethnic (Japanese and Filipino) groups had a historical presence in the district as well. Iwasaki provides a quick

outline of the history of the Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and African-American presence in the ID (lines 77-94). Although he does not argue for either view, this sketch of the history of multi-ethnic presence may be interpreted as supporting Moriguchi's argument against the older Chinese members' historical claims.

Another strategy is emphasizing the name's (Chinatown) potential contribution to the district's commercial appeal. Lau (lines 28-30) and Chan (lines 103-106) both argue that the name, Chinatown, will have more appeal to tourists. The counter-strategy to this claim is to emphasize the contributions (or the lack of) of the older Chinese to the viability of the area. Santos (lines 34-40, 121-129) counters Lau and Chow's move by constructing his own interpretation of contribution; he points out how the work done by a pan-Asian agency is improving the area, whereas the older Chinese members have not made an effort to do so. Chin (lines 130-133) also points to the contributions made by different ethnic groups to the area.

The final strategy is to enlist governmental/legal discourses. Lau and Chow (lines 60-69) argue the legitimacy of the name, Chinatown, on the basis that the area in question is "close enough" to the Seattle Chinatown Historic District, designated by a governmental authority (which is embodied in the National Register of Historical Places). Lau also uses a city ordinance to argue her point (lines 107-109). This employment of governmental/legal discourses brings in an 'outside' body directly into disagreements within the community. Sanchez, an employee of the City of Seattle (and thus representing governmental power), is

placed in the position of an arbitrator of this “dispute” (lines 110-112, 117-120). She also engages legal discourse (lines 117-118). The International Special Review District Board is positioned on the opposite side, exercising its own government-endowed power (lines 113-116). This positioning (employment of legal discourses; involvement of government powers) influences the reading of the author’s interpretation of the situation as a “dispute.”

These various strategies are an example of the community’s struggle for the social control of historicity. Touraine (1977) defines historicity as “the symbolic capacity that enables [a society] to construct a system of knowledge together with the technical tools which it can use to intervene in its own functioning” (p. 15). Historicity is what allows a society to create and re-create itself in a particular image. It informs which cultural model a society will follow and continue to create; it informs members of the society who they are and whom they will become as well as how they may relate to one another. Thus, struggle for the social control of historicity involves high stakes.

The above-mentioned strategies employed to claim legitimacy are evident in the statements of the interviewees whom I had asked about their preference regarding the name of the district. (My questions are in italic font, and the interview participants’ comments are in regular font.)

#### **Interviewee 5**

[...]

*Ok. Um, you know people call that area many different names, Chinatown, the ID, Chinatown/ID... What do you call it?*

The ID

*The ID? Why?*

Um, I think Chinatown doesn't reflect what the neighborhood is. The neighborhood is, is a combination... a historical place where people from all different ethnicities, including Black Americans, have come together to form a community. And so, to call it anything other than that is to... is ignoring everybody else's history in favor of the Chinese. [...]

**Interviewee 3**

[...]

*O.K.... You know people call this area many different things, you know, Chinatown, Seattle Chinatown, the ID, y'know.... What do you call it?*

I call it the International District, or the ID.

*Why do you choose that name?*

Um... I guess it feels like it's more comprehensive... of the true nature of the neighborhood. Um... and Chinatown is not just a Chinatown anymore. Some people say... and I .... I guess some of the written literature that I do, I do write Chinatown/International District, but that's more for the political reasons.

*What do you mean by that?*

Um... well, there has been, and there is, for thirty years and longer, you know, the faction of the Chinese community... It's not the entire Chinese community but there are certain Chinese individuals... who, uh, kinda feel like to call it the International District is to not honor, um, the Chinese people who contributed to... um... to this neighborhood. Um, but in fact many people contributed to this neighborhood... y'know, the Filipinos, Japanese, Chinese, and then over recent decades, Vietnamese, Korean, and other, um, immigrant populations. And it's just.... I mean we don't call it the Korea, Koreatown/International District/Chinatown/International District. So, um, that's why I use that name. And when I hear other people refer it to as Chinatown, and not the ID, I do usually correct that... (laughter). But usually the only people do are Chinese people that call it Chinatown.

*Am I right that it seems like you are specifically choosing "the ID" because what you see politically...*

Right. Yeah.

*But you also use Chinatown when you're writing....*

Well, I put Chinatown/International District.

*Right, right.*

Depending on the audience, who it's for. Usually I say the International District.

*Right.*

[...]

Interviewee 2

[...]

*Um, you know, people call this area by many names, y'know, the ID, Seattle Chinatown, Chinatown, Seattle Chinatown/ID, y'know. How do you call this area?*

Well, it tends, I use a lot of terms interchangeably. I think I generally prefer, for official purposes, to call International District, because that, uh, conveys, the diversity of the area. I sometimes refer to it as Chinatown as well. Sometimes when I'm up near 12<sup>th</sup> and Jackson, I say Little Saigon, or if I'm on Main street, maybe Nihonmachi. And so, depends on the context... I use a number of different terms. But speaking to some of the older Chinese Americans, um, I refer to it as Tang Yun Fao, or, or Homin Gai, it just, it depends on the context.

*Where you are, who you are talking to...*

*Right.*

Interviewee 6

[...]

*Um, you know, I'm curious about the...you know how this area, people call this area [by] lots of different names, Chinatown, the International District, ID... What do you call it?*

I call it...generally I call it, uh, um, the International District.

*Any specific reason why you choose that name?*

Well, I guess parts of this along King Street core, I guess you could say it's Chinatown. But, uh, historically this area has been occupied by uh, Chinese, Japanese, as well as Filipinos. That makes it, ah, unique among the communities on the mainland. I know the only time you see Asian

groups getting together to settle some places outside of the mainland in America is in Hawaii. But, so uh, although the International District is maybe not the best in the... it reflects the ethnic makeup of the area. You know, it's the best thing we have. I'd rather call it something that describes the makeup of the area rather than just one... We would refer to as Chinatown or Japantown and so forth because historically this area has been occupied and settled by all—Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos as well as some whites and Blacks. And so, the way I see it, the Chinatown is just part of this 40-area-block that some people refer to as the International District. I think I'd rather, uh, refer it... to this area, as more of a pan Asian thing, uh, than just to one group. Although I mean, uh, if I mention Chinatown somebody says Chinatown, I know what they're talking about...

*Sure*

But to me, uh, whole lot of issues more important than whether or not you're gonna call this Chinatown or International District. You know, I think people want to make this area better for, uh, all three groups plus other groups, y'know ...so uh, and, and, the reason is, like I said, that's why, I'd rather, I call this district the ID. [...]

Both Interviewee 3 and Interviewee 5 are younger generation Asian Americans who were active in the district at the time of the interview. In the texts above, both these interviewees employ the history of multi-ethnic presence in their arguments. Since neither of these interviewees were present during the early years of the ID (prior to 1980s), their articulation of its multi-ethnic history may be interpreted as “identification” (Hall, 1996, p. 6). The multi-ethnic history discourse is intertextually linked to the ‘Asian American’ construction. (For the explication of this link, see Chapter 4.) Thus, the multi-ethnic history discourse, produced and distributed by prior and contemporary texts, ‘hails’ these subjects to the discursive position of Asian Americans (as opposed to ‘Chinese’ or ‘Japanese,’ etc.). These subjects, in turn, “invest” (Hall, 1996, p. 6) in this position by

reproducing the multi-ethnic history discourse, thereby maintaining the same discourse that produces their subject position through intertextuality.

Interviewee 3 also engages the contribution argument. This reproduction of the multi-ethnic history argument and the contribution argument maintains the intertextual chain, thus solidifying a specific representation (e.g., the ID's history as multi-ethnic presence and contributions). A discursive process of reproduction may also have an innovative effect. For example, Interviewee 3 initially framed her reasons for using "Chinatown/International District" in *written documents* as "political." I (the interviewer) then interpret her motivation for choosing the ID as the name as also "political" in my re-statement ("Am I right that it seems like you are specifically choosing the ID because what you see politically...?"). Interviewee 3 colludes with my interpretation of her statement by agreeing with me ("Right. Yeah."). This interaction illustrates the ways in which an innovation of an intertextual chain might occur through discursive co-construction between members of the community.

Both Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 6 have a long history of involvement in the ID. Interviewee 2 employs another strategy—calling the area by different names depending on the context. While he does draw upon government regulatory discourse ("official purposes"), he does not strongly defend the legitimacy of either name. However, his acknowledgment of the historical presence of the Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos in the area, as well as his acknowledgment of the newer presence of the Vietnamese positions him within the multi-ethnic history

claim discourse. Thus, Interviewee 2 presents another innovation (i.e., the multi-ethnic history continues as newer groups of immigrants come and settle in the ID) within the multi-ethnic history intertextual chain. Interviewee 6 draws upon the multi-ethnic history and contribution arguments. His contribution argument has a strong resemblance to Santos's argument in Text 15. This can be interpreted as coherence of representation and interpretation, which has a stabilizing effect on the intertextual chain. As these four interviewees present different articulations of the ID's identity, they simultaneously produce their own identification as Asian Americans. In addition, I might say that because I was involved in this discourse-making (as an interviewer, but also as a member of the community), these articulations of identity also produced my own identification as Asian American.

While the texts above indicate the ways in which community members use governmental/legal discourses to support the legitimacy of their claims, discursive changes have been directly imposed upon the community by governmental powers as well. Lines 89-92 in Text 15 describe a discursive change produced by government powers through a city proclamation by then-Mayor William F. Devin. Text 16 and 17 are newspaper articles reporting this change. As indicated before, both the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and *The Seattle Times* are major mainstream daily newspapers in the Seattle area.

### Text 16

1 ***Seattle Post-Intelligencer***

2

3 **Tuesday July 24, 1951**

4

5 **City's Chinatown No Longer Exists**

6

7 Seattle's Chinatown will be no more—under that name.

8 Nor will there be a Jackson St. district—officially.

9 By proclamation of Mayor William F. Devin, these designations  
10 ceased to exist Monday.

11 Henceforth, the area bounded roughly by 4<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Aves.,  
12 Yesler Way and Dearborn St. will be known and referred to as  
13 "International Centre."

14 "In the past this unique and colorful area has been referred to by  
15 various inaccurate and non-descriptive designations," the mayor  
16 pointed out in his proclamation.

17 As for reasons for the title International Centre, Mayor Devin  
18 cited the facts that citizens of Seattle take great pride in the fact that  
19 people of many racial backgrounds make up our population; that  
20 outstanding contributions to our cultural and civic life have been made  
21 by our citizens of Negro, Japanese, Chinese and Philippine ancestry,  
22 and that this area has great attractions for other citizens from all  
23 sections of the city, and particularly for tourists.

24

25

26 Text 17

27

28 ***The Seattle Times***

29

30 **Tuesday July 24, 1951**

31

32 ***International Center New Name of Chinatown***

33

34 Mayor William F. Devin last night followed up a recommendation  
35 for a curfew extension asked by Chinese businessmen in Chinatown  
36 with a proclamation designating the areas as Seattle's international  
37 Center.

38 The area is bounded by 4<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Avenues and Yesler Way  
39 and Dearborn Streets. The mayor termed it a particular attraction for  
40 tourists. He said its citizens of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino and Negro  
41 ancestry have made outstanding contributions to the city's civic and  
42 cultural life.

43 The mayor said the area in the past has been referred to by  
44 various inaccurate and nondescriptive designations.

45           Last week Devin recommended that the City council grant a  
46 request of operators of 13 businesses in Chinatown to amend the  
47 curfew ordinance to permit public dancing until 4 o'clock in the  
48 morning. The curfew now is 1 o'clock. The licenses committee has  
49 the proposal under advisement.  
50

Both Text 16 and Text 17 are written in journalistic reporting discourse type. Since there is no author's name attached to either of the articles, these texts are assumed to represent a neutral view (or at least the view of the newspaper) and likely to be consumed as such. However, these texts frame the same discursive event in two different contexts.

Text 16 represents this discursive event (the proclamation) as the official discourse ending the use of the terms "Seattle's Chinatown" and "Jackson Street District" (lines 5-10). This text focuses on the governmental authority (via mayoral proclamation) to designate an area that belongs to the city, both spatially and in terms of its jurisdiction. In contrast, Text 17 presents the same discursive event as changing of the name of the area (lines 32-37). Furthermore, Text 17 includes context that is absent from Text 16. Lines 34-37 discuss a curfew extension request from Chinese businessmen that preceded this proclamation, intimating a connection between them. Lines 45-49 again come back to the same issue, strengthening this implied association.

Both texts share two themes in representing this event: the geographic boundaries of the newly named area (lines 11-12 in Text 16; lines 38-39 in Text 17), as well as the mayor's expressed reasons for this proclamation (lines 14-23 in

Text 16; lines 39-44 in Text 17). The geographic boundaries invoke legal/government procedural discourses, reproducing governmental power through interdiscursivity. The mayor's reasons are represented as 1) Seattle's pride in diversity, 2) contributions made by citizens of many minority groups, and 3) tourist attraction. The mayor's statement in lines 14-15 of Text 16 represents the area as "unique and colorful." Although his statement does not specify why this area is "unique," lines 17-21 reveal his reasons for this: the contribution of "our citizens of Negro, Japanese, Chinese, and Philippine ancestry" to the "cultural and civic life." These contributions are recognized only in this space and only in a particular section of life. The use of the word "colorful" is linked to "great attractions for other citizens from all section of the city and particularly for tourists." Lines 45-49 present additional information in terms of the effect of constructing this area as "colorful" on social practice: an extension of curfew. The extension of curfew again draws upon governmental regulatory discourse. Despite the expressed intention of the mayor to recognize the contributions of the City's minority citizens, his statement effectively constructs the district and its citizens as the exoticized 'other.' This construction also effects a specific governing (e.g., extended curfew) of the district as the 'other.' Thus, this text exemplifies maintenance of Orientalism (Said, 1978) discourse through governmental regulatory discourses.

Who were the beneficiaries of this act of governmental power? The mayor in these texts discusses the contribution that "people of many racial backgrounds"

made to “our civic and cultural life.” Who is (and isn't) included in “our” is not specifically mentioned. Nonetheless, given the context, it is likely that whoever makes up the “us” in this statement are not necessarily the same people who lived in the newly named “International Centre.” Lines 22-23 inform this interpretation.

The exoticizing of this area appears to have been for the benefit of citizens outside the district who were able to afford homes in nicer neighborhoods but could visit this “unique and colorful” area to get their “cultural” needs met, all without having to live next to those of “Negro, Japanese, Chinese and Phillippine ancestry.” This discourse contributes to the reproduction, distribution, and consumption of stereotyped images of ethnic minorities, as well as their “cultures,” as exotic subcultures for sale for the consumption of the mainstream consumers. This representation is echoed in Text 4 and Text 5 in Chapter 4 (see Chapter 4 for detailed discussion).

What is missing from this text is the context of racism. In the 1950s, the four ethnic minority groups named in the mayor's statement faced enormous difficulties buying or renting homes or businesses in areas of Seattle other than what was freshly named as the “International Centre” because of overt or covert redlining practices and other housing restrictions (Chin, 2001). Thus, it was neither by accident nor by a fully voluntary choice that these ethnic groups populated this area. Texts 16 and 17 obscure racist dynamics that undergird this spatial restriction through silenced discourses.

Mayor Devin's proclamation of the "International Centre" is often cited as the first official use of the wording, "International," in the name of the area. This discursive event is consumed and interpreted differently by different community members. In Text 18, Interviewee 4 discusses her interpretation of this speech act.

1     Text 18

2     [...] In 1951, is when uh, the mayor decided that the area  
3     was still bad and decided to create, I use the term  
4     *reservation*, for people of color. And only four groups. And  
5     that was the letter, uh, the document that you're looking at  
6     there. And in order to hide this racist act, he called it  
7     International Centre, created for Negros, uh, Filipinos,  
8     Japanese, and Chinese neighbors. And that's the context.  
9     Uh, there are groups that take this out of context and claim  
10    this is the origins of the International District. But it has, if  
11    you look at the context, you can see it was to get rid of  
12    Chinatown. And this is how the Chinese community has  
13    viewed it ever since. To try and abolish and get rid of  
14    Chinatown for other purposes. [...]

Although this text is an interview, Interviewee 4 also draws upon a journalistic discourse type by presenting a newspaper article (the same text as Text 16 above) during her response to my question. In this Text, Interviewee 4 interprets Mayor Devin's proclamation as a "racist act" that was to create a "reservation for people of color," and his intent as an effort "to try and abolish and get rid of Chinatown for other purposes." This interpretation may be construed as a contesting reading of the prior discourse through manifest intertextuality.

In this text, Interviewee 4's inclusion/exclusion criteria are two-fold. In the first layer, "people of color" are recognized as the "other," forced into the "reservation" by a racist act by governmental power. In the second layer, "Chinatown" and "Chinese community" become the ultimate victims, at risk of being abolished. Thus, Interviewee 4 forges an alliance with other ethnic groups in terms of confronting racism from the dominant society (represented by the mayor, who was white) but then draws a line between her own ethnic community and other ethnic minorities when talking about the ultimate victims of this discourse change produced by governmental power. This layered approach to inclusion/exclusion is an example of the deployment of multiple articulations of "solidarity from a sense of particularity" (Gilroy, 1994, p. 407).

In Text 14-2 below, Bob Santos interprets the same discursive event (the proclamation) in a different light. (Text 14-2 is an excerpt from the same article from which Text 14 in Chapter 4 was drawn.)

1            Text 14-2  
 2  
 3            **Colors NW**  
 4            April 2001, p. 8-9.  
 5  
 6            **The International District: Does it stand a chance of**  
 7            **survival?**  
 8  
 9            Visiting voice by Bob Santos.  
 10  
 11            [...]  
 12            The post-war years in the International District were years  
 13            of a new multicultural emergence. In 1951, Seattle Mayor  
 14            William A. Devin issued a proclamation designating the  
 15            neighborhood known as Chinatown as Seattle's  
 16            International Centre. In an article in *The Seattle Times* that

1 year, Mayor Devin was quoted as saying the area was a  
2 particular attraction for tourists and that its citizens of  
3 “Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Negro” ancestry had  
4 made outstanding contributions to the city’s civic and  
5 cultural life.  
6  
7 The later term “International District” grew out of the  
8 Jackson Street Community Council, a local community-  
9 advocacy group made up of visionary leaders from the  
10 various ethnic groups that owned property or businesses in  
11 the community.  
12  
13 The Jackson Street Community Council spearheaded  
14 events in the International District in cooperation with the  
15 Chinatown Chamber of Commerce and the Japanese,  
16 Filipino and African-American communities. Heading the  
17 list of events were the Lunar New Year celebration, the  
18 Bon Odori and the street carnivals in the early years of  
19 Seafair. [...]

In this Text, Santos links the mayor’s proclamation to a “new multicultural emergence” and highlights the acknowledgement of the minority contribution within the mayor’s statements. This interpretation evokes discourse of multiculturalism, especially read in light of the last paragraph (which lists culturally specific ‘celebrations’). On the one hand, this interpretation may be construed as an uncritical reading of a prior text, which has the effect of maintaining a dominant discourse. On the other hand, when read in light of the second paragraph, this interpretation may be construed as an innovative reading of a prior text. In the second paragraph, Santos discusses how the community leaders incorporated the term, “International Centre” into the later term, “International District.” This change then shifts the intertextual chain, transforming the

consumption of the word, “International.” This speech act may be interpreted as the community’s negotiation with the governmental discourse and taking ownership of the name by innovating it. This community-grown term, “International District,” is currently in active use, whereas the government-generated term, “International Centre,” has ceased to exist. This discursive change can be interpreted as the community’s gaining control over the meaning of the term, thus “achieving hegemony” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 109).

As powerful as this proclamation may have been, it did not halt the use of the term, Chinatown. Lines 93-98 of Text 15 demonstrate the limits of governmental regulatory discourse on changing social practice, as well as discursive changes over time. As indicated in Text 15, this discursive change has been contentious since what is at stake is the social control of historicity. At the same time, as Text 15 also indicated, the contention is not always heated. In times of external threats such as the Kingdome construction, different groups in the community have been able to mobilize together against the ‘outside’ (e.g., see Text 11; lines 44-46). At other times, the groups within the community contend with each other. Some of these struggles were stimulated by dynamics outside the community. Text 19 illustrates this phenomenon. Text 19 is an excerpt from an article published in 1976 (about three and a half years after the anti-Kingdome protest) in *The Seattle Times*.

### Text 19

1 *The Seattle Times* (A 18)

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Monday, February 9, 1976

Divisions hamper International District

(Can the International District, Seattle's onetime ghetto for immigrants, prostitutes and gambling, make a comeback? This is part two of a series exploring the prospects and problems.)

By Susan Schwartz

"Before the stadium, we didn't have anything to fight," chuckled Alexander Bishop. A black man, he has watched the International District's slow decay for 39 years from his pharmacy on Jackson Street.

He is glad to see the area's new activism—a sort of defense mobilization against the coming flood of cars.

But the stirrings in the old ethnic ghetto have awakened abiding bitternesses and powerful cultural and economic differences lessen the district's chances for survival.

Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, blacks and Caucasians have different things from it, the druggist pointed out.

Filipinos are the newest "immigrants" to the district. They own no land and only a few small businesses. Yet aging Filipino workingmen who struggle along on small pensions in dingy hotel rooms are the largest group of residents in the area.

Ownership around the district's edges is mixed among the ethnic groups. The Japanese businesses are concentrated particularly in the pre-World War II Japantown north of Jackson Street.

But the core "Chinatown"—the King Street area with its Chinese restaurants, stores and social clubs—is owned and occupied almost entirely by Chinese. A powerful portion of the Seattle's Chinese population wants to keep it that way.

"It's the backbone of our Chinese community. It represents 70 years of our elders' blood, sweat and tears. We need it for our youth, so they can understand their culture," said County Councilwoman Ruby Chow.

45 She is also president of Chong Wah, the traditional Chinese “umbrella  
46 association,” headquartered in the district.

47

48 Chinatown, with its tongs and family associations, is “the concentration  
49 of our Chinese culture,” said Ling Mar, president of Chong Wah and  
50 his own Mar-family association.

51

52 “We don’t want to lose our identity. We don’t want people to say, ‘Let’s  
53 go to Asian town for Asian food.’ We want them to say, ‘Let’s go to  
54 Chinatown for Chinese food,” he said

55

56 Other International District groups should not interfere in Chinatown,  
57 he said.

58

59 “Our way of doing things has been to keep quiet unless something very  
60 serious happens,” said Mrs. Chow.

61

62 But numbers of young Chinese resent this. They view it as refusal by  
63 Chong Wah and the landowning tongs and clubs to join in efforts to  
64 improve the district. And they say there are other reasons besides  
65 tradition.

66

67 “I can see why they feel threatened. They’ve got those big elephant  
68 buildings,” said Vera Ing, a young Chinese planner who heads the  
69 board of the International District Improvement Association (InterIm).  
70 Others charge that Chong Wah and Councilman Chow are fighting to  
71 keep their traditional status, as spokespersons for the Chinese to the  
72 city.

73

74 Mrs. Chow retorted, “They say we don’t represent them. We  
75 represented their father’s and grandfathers.” The noisy young activists  
76 are a small group who delay district progress more than they contribute  
77 to it, she said.

78

79 Many Filipinos resent what they see as Ruby Chow’s undue influence  
80 with city government at the expense of other Asian minorities, said Gus  
81 Bello, a Filipino who recently was named to the district’s Special  
82 Review Board by Mayor Wes Uhlman.

83

84 And Tomio Moriguchi, Japanese Owner of Uwajimaya, the district’s  
85 largest store, said of the councilwoman: “She does not have a  
86 business here. If she tries to speak for business people here she is  
87 meddling in what does not concern her.

Text 19 is a newspaper article written in journalistic report discourse type. This text represents the main topic as “divisions” (line 5), which anticipates “dispute,” in Text 15 (which was produced nearly 30 years after Text 19), a stronger word that invokes legal discourse. This text starts with a quote from Alexander Bishop who is identified as a black man who had a long-term business in the district. Bishop constructs the “division” as something positive: the new activism that was stimulated by the Kingdome construction (lines 13-19). Although this text draws upon the journalistic report genre and is, therefore, assumed to be neutral in its views, the author counters Bishop’s perspective by providing her own view (i.e., the divisions lesson the ID’s chance for survival). These discrepancies may be interpreted as an insider vs. outsider perspective.

In lines 25-26, Bishop presents the issue as different racial/ethnic groups wanting different things. Although Bishop mentions Blacks and Caucasians as well as Filipinos, Chinese, and Japanese in this comment, the author, Schwartz, focuses the rest of the article only on the three Asian ethnic groups. Thus, the author represents the issue (“divisions”) as something occurring between these three groups. This move simultaneously positions Filipinos, Chinese, and Japanese inside the issue and places Blacks and Caucasians outside. This positioning has the effect of constructing the three Asian groups as the ones that have legitimate (if hotly contested) claims to the district.

The author presents different sources of legitimacy for the three Asian ethnic groups (lines 28-40). In her representation of Filipinos, the author draws upon the discourse of demographics. The source of legitimacy for the Japanese is represented as business ownership. The Chinese are represented as a powerful group whose legitimacy comes from building ownership as well as the longest history in the area. However, younger Chinese are shown to contest this representation. They counter the historical claims by the older Chinese groups by employing the discourse of contribution to improve the district (lines 62-65). These discourses (demographics, history, and contribution) are echoed in Text 15 in the strategies used for claiming legitimacy.

The older Chinese in this text use the discourse of “ethnic identity and heritage” (lines 42-54). This insistence that Chinatown must be preserved for Chinese ethnic identity, even though the other ethnic groups’ contributions are acknowledged, is similar to the strategy of Interviewee 4 in Text 18. Furthermore, Chow makes the same argument in Text 18 as she did in Text 15. Reading against this text, the effect of both Text 15 and Text 18 is maintenance of intertextual chains.

Lines 67-87 represent the underlying context of this division: the authority to represent the district. Younger Chinese contest the older Chinese group’s authority and motivations, while the older Chinese draw upon historic legitimacy to insist on their authority to represent them (lines 67-77). In lines 79-82, Bello contests Chow’s authority to represent other Asian groups while complaining of

her “undue influence” in city politics. Moriguchi also contests Chow’s legitimacy through the use of the discourse of expertise (lines 84-87). Although the text’s author initially presented the divisions as those between three Asian ethnic groups, these contestations represent the divisions as those between the older Chinese groups and other Asians, including younger Chinese. This representation is echoed in Text 15.

Text 20 illustrates these contestations in much the same way but with a different focus. *The International Examiner* (“the *Examiner*”) is a non-profit Asian American community newspaper located in the ID.

### Text 20

1 ***International Examiner***

2 Jan 31, 1976. Vol. 3, Iss. 1; p. 2

3

4 **In the International District, There is a Chinatown**

5

6 *Tsutakawa, Mayumi; Chew, Ron.*

7 Looking back over accomplishments in our District in 1975, one could  
8 get the distinct feeling that things are moving right along. However,  
9 under the surface, those who are active in the District have serious  
10 differences in perspective.

11 A primary problem is that people active in District improvement are  
12 largely looking at the situation from one viewpoint—their own. That  
13 perspective could be commercial, social service, urban planning, or  
14 one of narrow nationalism.

15 The *Examiner* thinks all these viewpoints are important because there  
16 are many components to our community. It is difficult to say that one  
17 project should have priority over all others. After all, we need people  
18 with all kinds of skills and ideas to make the whole place come alive.  
19 Housing, for example, is a foremost problem. But only recently, after a  
20 year or more of housing demands, did a few business people state

21 their support for low income housing in the District, probably because  
22 they previously saw low income housing as detrimental to their  
23 interests. Likewise, some activists don't understand why we should be  
24 concerned with increased commercial activity.

#### 25 Chicken or Egg

26 Whether commercial shops can attract housing developers or whether  
27 residential units are needed first for small business activity to flourish is  
28 a chicken and egg argument.

29 People involved in one or another District improvement need to  
30 support each other. Some are now realizing that behind-the-back  
31 name-calling about "District capitalists" or "radical kids" is  
32 unconstructive and a barrier to progress.

33 Those with business interests and those who are concerned with social  
34 welfare demands now see that they need each other. Examples of  
35 efforts being made to span the gap are numerous: The Corrective  
36 Action Program Committee (CAP) making personal contact with  
37 businesspeople about the social action plan proposed last fall, and  
38 CAP's support for Ray Chin and Jimmy Woo who applied to HUD for  
39 Section Eight funds. IDEA's effort to provide a few complimentary  
40 tickets to community organizations for their development conference a  
41 few months ago is another concrete example of willingness to  
42 communicate with the other side.

43 Sadly, though, there exists another hinderance (sic) to District  
44 cooperation. This is the division between those who feel the area is an  
45 "international" district and those such as Chong Wah who see the area  
46 as "Chinatown."

#### 47 Hassles Everywhere

48 Perhaps most visible during the long process of forming the public  
49 corporation, the ID vs. Chinatown hassle has been surfacing  
50 everywhere. During the early public corporation talks, the strong  
51 Chinese faction was represented and essentially wanted control of the  
52 entire process. Later Chong Wah pulled out of the largely Interim-  
53 sponsored effort and announced it would create a separate public  
54 corporation. The Chong Wah corporation charter turned out to be the  
55 same as Interim's, except for the substitution of the term Chinatown for  
56 International District.

57 Let's look into the reasons for this difference of approach. Chong Wah  
58 has been the most influential organization in the Chinatown area since  
59 the turn of the century. The Japanese lost a great deal of business and  
60 property in the area during the Second World War. Filipinos have  
61 essentially used the District as a stopping-off point between fishing and  
62 agricultural labor contracts. The Chinese have come to see the ID core  
63 area as owned and populated by Chinese, an argument which is  
64 statistically unsound. They recognize that other ethnic groups also live  
65 and work in the area, but prefer to consider the area "Chinese" thus  
66 falling under the jurisdiction of Chong Wah, the Chinese Benevolent  
67 Society.

#### 68 Mayor Office Takes Task

69 The Mayor's office was charged with mediating the dispute.  
70 Compromises were made including corporation name changes and  
71 allowing equal representation from both groups on the list of charter  
72 members.

73 The result was a compromise slate which is the same thing that could  
74 have been achieved if the groups had worked together to start with,  
75 instead of having the Mayor "mediate" between the two groups. The  
76 only and most important difference was that since the compromise  
77 process was under the Mayor's control, he could consult the side he  
78 favored, Chong Wah, on the choice of the charter member list.  
79 Unfortunately, that Chinese group does not speak for the International  
80 District.

81 Again, we see the "For Chinese Only" label placed on the kiosk for  
82 Hing Hay Park. The IDEA/Interim Kiosk raffle netted a couple thousand  
83 dollars and the design process of a kiosk for the park began. The  
84 Chinatown Chamber of Commerce heard about the project, didn't think  
85 the design was Chinese enough, and promptly submitted their own  
86 design and funds to the Park Department. The Chamber's claim was  
87 that the park is Chinese, and the pagoda is Chinese, therefore the  
88 kiosk must also be Chinese.

#### 89 Looking at Problem

90 What we're getting at is the problem of people looking at a situation in  
91 different ways...and how the problem is made worse by hassling over  
92 what viewpoint will predominate. We all need to run the show, not the  
93 Mayor's office, or HUD officials who keep forgetting that they have

94 made a verbal commitment to the ID. Every time these petty,  
95 personalized hassles appear, someone loses and its always the  
96 District as a whole and especially its residents.

97 Of course, it's unrealistic to think that everyone will start liking one  
98 another in the upcoming year. But at least people should recognize  
99 that every project will be delayed if we don't develop common goals  
100 and work together. We don't have to love each other, but we do have  
101 to quit working against each other.

This text draws upon the journalistic genre. This article lists two authors, Mayumi Tsutakawa and Ron Chew; however, as an editorial piece, the perspective of this article is assumed to represent the perspective of the *Examiner*. This assumption becomes evident in line 15 (“The *Examiner* thinks....”).

The authors present the “primary problem” as “serious differences in perspective” (lines 9-14). This representation echoes Bishop’s statements in Text 19. However, the authors of this text do not present different perspectives according to different ethnic groups; rather, they present these differing viewpoints as “commercial, social service, urban planning, or one of narrow nationalism” perspectives. This representation has an innovative effect on the intertextual chain.

The authors use the example of housing, echoing the focus of anti-Kingdom community mobilization discussed in Chapter 4, to illustrate the differences in perspectives between business people and housing activists. This “chicken and egg” question in lines 15-42 (i.e., whether business or housing development should take priority) strongly echoes the 1973 report by John Huston.

In his assessment of the potential for economic development and the creation of a cultural center, Huston wrote:

[...] To be effective and sufficiently broad ranging to have an impact on the overall appearance of the District, improvements in several areas will have to be coordinated and occur within approximately the same time period. The key issue is one of momentum: establishing it in the first place and using it as a tool to prod the start of other projects. Most of the improvement will be the result of business decisions.

Business decisions in the final analysis are a matter of confidence. Confidence can be related directly to the area's momentum. Which projects or type of projects go first is really not important. It is important that progress in several areas occur at about the same time so that, for instance, housing improvements do not lag far behind the establishment of new retail facilities. [...]

Source: The potential for economic development and the creation of a cultural center within Seattle's International District. Prepared for The City of Seattle, International District Improvement Association: Inter\*Im, International District Economic Association: IDEA. By Northwest American. John Huston. (1973).

Both texts demonstrate the competing needs that create a conflict of interest within the district and the potential solutions for it. Huston urges the City of Seattle (as well as Inter\*Im and IDEA) to coordinate improvements in several areas so they may occur at the same time. Similarly, Tsutakawa and Chew urge various community groups to support one another. Lines 29-32 in Text 20 demonstrate changes in discursive and social practices through efforts in collaboration.

Although the authors of Text 20 list several sources of conflicts, their focus in this article is on what they construct as “the division between those who feel the area is an “international” district and those such as Chong Wah who see the area as “Chinatown” (lines 44-46). This framing changes the ethnicity-focused framing of Text 19 and anticipates the name dispute in Text 15.

Lines 48-52 in Text 20 describe “the ID vs. Chinatown hassle” during the public corporation charter process. In this paragraph, “those who feel the area is the ID” are represented by Inter\*Im, and “those [who] see the area as Chinatown” are represented by Chong Wah. This designation of specific and concrete bodies on either side of the controversy is significant in that, as it will be shown in other text samples, these two organizations are represented throughout the intertextual chain on this issue. Lines 52-56 demonstrate that the ways in which control over a public/government regulation discourse (embodied in public corporation charters) both produce and represent the struggle for hegemonic control over the district. This paragraph also reveals the community groups’ attempts at enlisting and co-opting a governmental regulation discourse (public corporation charters which must be filed to and recognized by the City) in their “self-making” (Ong, 1996) process.

Lines 57-67 in Text 20 provide a quick historical look at the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino presence in the ID while explaining Chong Wah’s perspective. This approach is echoed in Text 15 and Text 19, demonstrating strong intertextual maintenance of this particular discourse. The authors also use a

demographic argument in this paragraph (lines 62-64), similar to the one in Text 19.

Lines 68-80 in Text 20 discuss how the Mayor's office became involved in mediating the dispute. This involvement of an 'outside' governmental body in the community dispute is reminiscent of the situation in Text 15. In their discussion of the involvement of the Mayor's office, the authors contend that the Mayor took the side of Chong Wah, the side he favored. This charge is echoed in Bello's statement in Text 19. Again, this claim reveals the ways in which power dynamics within the community are influenced and shaped by the larger political dynamics of the City.

The involvement of the Mayor's office in settling the charter dispute is an ironic strategy, as the public corporation charters were meant to grant the community more autonomous control over the ID. However, since both the public corporation charter and the Mayor represent the regulatory power of the government, this example demonstrates that the "self-making" (Ong, 1996) processes within the community are not isolated from larger social and political structures but constantly confined by and engaged with them.

In lines 94-96 in Text 20, the authors bring attention back to the residents of the ID as the ones who lose out in these "hassles." This re-focusing resonates with earlier activist efforts during the anti-Kingdome movement (see Chapter 4). Thus, this re-focusing positions the *Examiner* into the activist discourse. In addition, this activist position retrieves the earlier question of who has the

authority to represent whom. As indicated before, the activists of the early 1970s constructed themselves as representing “Asian Americans.” In Text 19, the older Chinese and the younger Chinese disagreed on whether the Chinese associations had the authority to represent younger Chinese. In this text, the authors argue that the “Chinese group does not speak for the International District” (lines 79-80). Thus, the issue of authority to represent the community metaphorizes the struggle for the social control of historicity.

The older Chinese groups have asserted their claims to this authority by arguing their long history in the ID (Text 19, lines 74-77), dismissing the dissenting younger Chinese as “the noisy young activists.” This representation of the same group of activists is echoed by the description of “radical kids” in line 31 in Text 20. The youth of the activists, as well as their outspoken-ness, is used to discredit their authority. This strategy is similar to the mainstream newspaper’s representation, in Text 2 in Chapter 4, of the Asian American activists who were protesting the Kingdome construction as a group of young people with little legitimacy.

In response, the “young activists” used a public forum (a community newspaper) to assert their legitimacy in the ID, as below.

- 1        Text 21
- 2        ***International Examiner***
- 3        Mar 31, 1978. Vol. 5, Iss. 2; pg. 10
- 4
- 5        **Who are those young people?**
- 6

- 7 Shari Woo's father, Henry Woo, who passed away recently,  
8 was president and officeholder and respected elder in the  
9 Hop Sing Tong for 35 years.
- 10  
11 Elaine Ko's grandfather, Sadahiko Ikoma, was the founder of  
12 the North American Post, a Japanese daily newspaper still  
13 published in the District.
- 14  
15 Connie Chin's father, Don Chin, is a leader of the Chinese  
16 community and represents our area on the Division on Aging  
17 Board. Her mother, Myra Mar-Hing Chin, is of the Mar family  
18 who operate the Yick Fung Co. Connie's grandfather, Shong  
19 Chin, owned the shop which is now Sun May Co. since the  
20 1880s, but at that time, its name was Boh Wah Co. Today  
21 Connie's parents own and run the Sun May Co.
- 22  
23 Tom Mar's parents, Dewey and Sew Lin Mar, operate the  
24 Chinese movies every Monday and Tuesday night at Kokusai  
25 Theatre on Maynard South.
- 26  
27 Bob Santos' father, Sammy Santos, was a main event boxer  
28 locally and along the West coast in the late 1920s and '30s.  
29 He lived in the I.D. for 30 years. His grandfather, Cornelious  
30 Nicol, settled in the Seattle area in 1902.
- 31  
32 Maxine Chan's father, Robert Chan, owns the Chinese  
33 Garden in Lacey and worked at the Tai Tung Restaurant for  
34 many years.

This text demonstrates the activists' linkage to the community through the exposition of their family histories, which is their rebuttal to the historic discourse employed by the older Chinese groups. At the same time, these "young people" that appear in this text are decidedly multi-ethnic: Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino. Thus, this text asserts the identity of the "young people" as a multi-ethnic group of Asian Americans.

The struggle between the older Chinese groups and the younger, multi-ethnic group of Asian Americans over the authority to represent the ID is also influenced by larger political dynamics. While the authors of Text 20 claimed that Mayor favored the Chong Wah (and implicitly, its spokesperson, former King County Councilmember Ruby Chow) in his mediation on the public corporation charter issue, City of Seattle Resolution number 24704 designates the International Improvement Association (Inter\*Im) as “an official coordinating agency for a public Cultural/Community Center in the International District.” This resolution was adopted on October 7, 1974, and positions Inter\*Im, whose staff and supporters were decidedly multi-ethnic Asian American activists, as the authority in terms of the coordination of a public center in the “International District.”

Similarly, City of Seattle Ordinance number 104974 authorizes the City to “contract with the International District Improvement Association (INTER\*IM) to provide certain health, recreational and other permissible social services to qualified low-income residents of the City's International District; increasing certain expenditure allowances in the 1975 Budget of said Department; making a reimbursable appropriation from the Emergency Fund and declaring the emergency therefore.” This ordinance was passed on September 24, 1975. These government procedure discourses both represent and produce changes in the construction of the authority in the ID by the City power structures, which in turn produce changes in power dynamics within the ID.

Lines 81-88 of Text 20 demonstrates Fairclough's (1992) argument that gaining "acceptance for particular meanings for words, and for a particular structuring of their meaning potential, is indeed interpretable as a matter of achieving hegemony" (p. 190). Furthermore, the signage of the public space positions this discursive struggle in a spatial discourse. This struggle for hegemony in the naming of public spaces is strongly re-enacted in Text 15. Similarly, Text 22 describes the conflict over the name of the bus tunnel, thirty years later.

1            Text 22

2            *Northwest Asian Weekly* (page 1)

3

4            November 6-12, 2004

5

6            By Chris S. Nishiwaki

7

8            The controversial yet familiar debate over the name of  
9            Seattle's historically Asian neighborhood resurfaced earlier  
10           this fall. This time it came in the form of the underground  
11           Metro bus tunnel station at the intersection of South Jackson  
12           Street and Fifth Avenue South.

13           King County Council member Dwight Pelz has  
14           introduced legislation that would change the name of the bus  
15           tunnel station from "International District Station" to  
16           "International District/Chinatown Station." The ordinance will  
17           be heard by the King County Council's committee of the  
18           whole and voted on by the full council by the end of  
19           November, said Pelz.

20           [...]

21           Proponents of the "Chinatown" name say it reflects the  
22           long history of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in  
23           the district.

24           Supporters of the "International District" name say that  
25           title is more appropriate because it reflects the diversity and  
26           history of the area.

27            [...]  
 28            Betty Lau, a Garfield High School teacher and long-  
 29            time proponent of the Chinatown name, along with former  
 30            King County Council member Ruby Chow, approached Pelz  
 31            about the name change. Lau asked Pelz to change the bus  
 32            tunnel station from “International District” to simply  
 33            “Chinatown.”  
 34            A compromise was what they got from Pelz, but Lau  
 35            isn’t entirely happy with it. She would rather see “Chinatown”  
 36            at the front of the name.  
 37            Proponents of the “International District” name say it’s  
 38            about inclusivity.  
 39            “Adding ‘Chinatown’ is disrespectful,” said Tomio  
 40            Moriguchi, chairman and CEO of Uwajimaya. “You are being  
 41            disrespectful to the Filipino community. You are being  
 42            disrespectful to the Japanese community. You are being  
 43            disrespectful to the black community.”  
 44            [...]

This text is an excerpt from an article in the *Northwest Asian Weekly*, a community newspaper. As such, it draws upon the journalistic reporting discourse type. This text was produced four months after Text 15. There is striking similarity between this text and Text 15 in terms of the framing of the issue (the conflict over the naming of a public space) as well as the claims to legitimacy: longest history (lines 21-23) vs. history of ethnic diversity (lines 24-26, 37-43). The enlisting and utilization of the governmental regulatory discourse (in this case, through the powers embodied in the City Council) figure prominently as a strategy to gain control over the lexicalization of the public space. Furthermore, the same subjects (Lau and Chow on the “Chinatown” side, and Moriguchi on the “International District” side) appear in both texts. Read against other texts in this chapter, this text demonstrates not only the reproduction and maintenance of the intertextual chain but also the actors in this process of discourse production.

In Text 23, Lau follows up this story in her letter to the editor.

### Text 23

*Northwest Asian Weekly*

12/18/04-12/24/04

Letters to the editor

“Chinatown/I.D.,” not “Chinatown”

To the editor:

I want to set the record straight on my position on the name of the neighborhood. I have always advocated for the “Chinatown/International District” name because it is in City Ordinance 119297, stemming from the Chinatown/I.D. Neighborhood Strategic Plan. The said plan was worked on and signed on by all major agencies and organizations in the district.

When another community representative and I met with King County Councilman Dwight Pelz, he said he would follow the city, so I gave him a copy of Ordinance 119297 and the page from the neighborhood plan that listed all the supporters. I never asked him to use the Chinatown name alone in county signage; nor did I say or indicate that to the Northwest Asian Weekly, as reported in your Nov. 27, 2004 issue (“13-0 vote changes name of bus station”). [...]

Betty Lau  
Seattle

In this text, Lau again draws upon government regulatory discourse by citing City of Seattle Ordinance number 119297, which was passed in 1998. This ordinance is the same one that was mentioned by Sanchez (lines 110-112) and Lau in Text 15 (lines 107-112). The particular section in question in this ordinance is Section 1. C, as below:

The Land Use Element of the Comprehensive Plan is hereby amended as shown in Attachment 3 to this Ordinance to confirm the designation and growth targets for the Chinatown/International District Urban Center Village, and to reflect the name change of the Urban Center Village from International District to Chinatown/International District.

In Lau's interpretation, this ordinance changes the name of the district. However, Sanchez interprets this change as limited to the name of the project (the Urban Center Village). These discrepancies in interpretation not only illustrate different perspectives but also different perceptions by these interpreters of what is at political stake.

### **Discourses of Change**

The struggle over the control of historicity in the district (such as the name debate) is not new, as illustrated in the above sections. However, this re-surfacing of the conflict over the identity of the district is not random or generated solely by the community itself. The changes inside and outside the district due to urban development pressures, population changes, and globalization further complicate the internal struggle. One of the stimuli for this conflict is the urban development boom that swept through the City of Seattle (especially the downtown area) starting in the early 1990s. Just as urban construction in the early 1970s threatened the survival of the ID, these development pressures posed a threat to the viability of the district. Text 24 illustrates this situation.

Text 24

1 *The Seattle Times*

2

3 Business: Sunday, May 06, 1990

4

5 **Chinatown Core Feels Gentrification Squeeze**

6

7 Carey Quan Gelernter

8

9

10 How will increased land prices and development east of the freeway  
11 affect the Chinatown core?

12 That's what concerns Ken Kitahara, director of the International  
13 District Improvement Association (Interim). How, he wonders, can the  
14 district maintain "the tricky balance" between encouraging renovation  
15 and improvement without driving out old-time businesses and  
16 residents?

17 A squeeze play seems almost unavoidable. Pressure at the eastern  
18 edge comes from Little Saigon-generated development. At the western  
19 edge downtown development encroaches, notably the coming \$150  
20 million Union Station office and retail complex and new downtown bus  
21 tunnel terminus.

22 Many families who own property in the Chinatown core have been  
23 holding it for decades, Kitahara says, and are waiting to see what will  
24 happen with Union Station. "They're willing to let the buildings sit  
25 vacant or as SRO (single-room-occupancy) hotels that need  
26 rehabilitation for now."

27 He says such recent ID developments as a Hong Kong-owned major  
28 hotel and condo project going in at Fifth Avenue/Jackson Street/South  
29 Main Street "could represent a trend, especially with the whole  
30 character of the area changing."

31 Recently tentative plans for a 13-floor, 95-unit condo project on land  
32 at Seventh Avenue and Main Street were presented publicly; units  
33 could sell for \$175,000 to \$400,000, with a few affordable units in the  
34 mix. "This could be the bellwether," Kitahara says. "I think the market  
35 for this is people from Hong Kong" leaving before the People's  
36 Republic of China takes over in 1997.

37 But Shiao-Yen Wu, one of the project's local owners, says Hong Kong  
38 people will probably account for only a portion of the buyers, with local  
39 Asians probably buying most of the units.

40 Although Kitahara fears that foreign investors soon will be the only  
41 ones who can afford to buy in Chinatown, Interim is trying to

42 encourage local property owners to undertake “community-oriented”  
43 renovation projects themselves, including low-income housing.  
44 “That way you don’t have the speculation, and rehabilitation is more  
45 cost effective and affordable,” he says, noting that some kind of  
46 government assistance may be in order.  
47 Interim has city money to study development in the ID, including the  
48 area east to Rainier Avenue. It will schedule public meetings this  
49 spring and summer to find out what people in the district want to see  
50 happen, with a report due by early fall.  
51 “Who will live here in the future? Who will work here?” Kitahara asks.  
52 “That’s a really unknown question right now.”

This text is a mainstream newspaper article and draws upon the journalistic reporting discourse type. In this text, Kitahara, the director of Inter\*Im, is most frequently quoted, and his view most prominently presented. He or Inter\*Im, as a subject, is often placed in the information-prominent positions in phrases as well. This demonstrates the prominence of the authority Inter\*Im had gained since the early 1970s (see for comparison, Text 20).

In lines 12-16, Kitahara represents the concern as maintenance of “the tricky balance” between improvement and renovation and preventing old-time businesses and residents from being driven out. This concern for “balance” echoes the concerns of the early 1970s activists and maintains the specific construction of the ID through intertextuality (see Chapter 4).

In lines 17-21, the author characterizes the pressure for this situation as coming both from development inside the district (Little Saigon-generated development on the east side) and development instigated by outside interests (downtown development). The first pressure (Little Saigon development) refers to

changes in ID demographics. The U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, as well as changes in immigration and refugee policies, brought a sizable number of new immigrants from Southeast Asia in the 1970s and 1980s to the ID (Chin, 2001). Little Saigon consists mostly of Southeast Asian (particularly Chinese Vietnamese) shops and businesses. Most of this new group of refugees and immigrants came after the 1970s movement and do not share the same history of immigration, discrimination, and mobilization with earlier immigrants in the ID. This is an example of one of the ways in which the construction of an immigrant neighborhood such as the ID is produced by larger political and historical dynamics.

The second pressure, downtown development, reflects the urban gentrification that was ushered in by economic changes in the Seattle area in the 1990s. This pressure for urban gentrification in downtown Seattle is consistent with Lin's (1998) study of urban ethnic neighborhoods.<sup>1</sup> Lin argues that rising housing prices in the suburbs and growing appreciation for cultural diversity often generate gentrification pressures on the urban core. This gentrification time and again results in the dislocation of immigrants and other minority populations that kept alive once-forsaken downtown areas during eras of economic hardship (Lin, 1998). Thus, the "tricky balance" that Inter\*Im is trying to maintain can be interpreted as a resistance to the dominant gentrification discourse.

In lines 27-36, Kitahara described another potential pressure: foreign investors that "could represent a trend, especially with the whole character of the

area changing.” He was specifically concerned about investors leaving Hong Kong before its take-over by the People’s Republic of China in 1997. Lin (1998) states that foreign investors from Asia often bought properties in urban ethnic neighborhoods, creating intra-ethnic tensions between profit-driven investors and community members who want to protect the integrity of their neighborhood. Lines 27-36 demonstrate the ways in which global political and economic dynamics may influence the construction of, and changes in, the ID.

Lines 40-50 describes Inter\*Im’s strategies to resist gentrification pressures as well as foreign investors’ pressures that might change “the character of the area.” Kitahara asks in line 52, “Who will live here in the future? Who will work here?” The future of the district, implied in these questions, is linked to the “character” of the district. Contention regarding the “character” of the district became even more intense as urban development pressure escalated during the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Having reclaimed the district through community activism in the 1970s, the ID experienced many ‘outside’ threats in the 1980s and 1990s. Facing these threats, the community was often able to mobilize community solidarity in its defense. For example, proposals to locate a county jail near the ID in 1979 and a plan to build a federal prison near the ID in 1993 were successfully halted through community efforts (Santos, 2002). Similarly, a proposal to locate a garbage-burning facility near the ID in the 1980s was also successfully resisted (Santos, 2002). Facing these proposals, which had potentially negative consequences for

the neighborhood, different groups in the community were able to mobilize a sense of community that united them in their opposition to these outside threats (Gilroy, 1994). However, urban development pressures in the 1990s brought different interpretations by different groups within the ID, uniting internal factions in opposition to one other.

Two developments in the ID intensified the debate of the “character” of the district in this era: the Lane Street closure (due to the expansion of Uwajimaya, the mega Asian supermarket in the ID) and McDonald’s proposal to open a fast-food restaurant in the ID. Both developments reveal the dialectical connection between discursive and spatial controls. Text 25 is an excerpt from a book on local history by long-time community activist Doug Chin. This excerpt describes the “Lane Street controversy.”

### Text 25

1  
2 Chin, Doug (2001).  
3  
4 Seattle's International District: The making of a pan-Asian American  
5 community  
6  
7 P. 109  
8  
9 [...]
10 In the spring of 1998 Uwajimaya, the huge regional supermarket/gift  
11 shop headquartered in the District, announced a plan for a major  
12 expansion that set the community buzzing with controversy. The plan  
13 called for the construction of a new complex, Uwajimaya Village  
14 (immediately south of the existing building), and the relocation of the  
15 supermarket, gift store, and bookstore from the existing site, and new  
16 retail and restaurants on the ground floor. The upper floors would  
17 contain some 177 new apartments. A new underground parking facility

18 would be constructed under the supermarket/apartment complex with  
19 an adjoining new ground level parking lot developed on the adjacent  
20 block. Lane Street, which adjoins the parking lot and the supermarket,  
21 would have to be vacated or closed.

22

23 Shortly thereafter, members of the Chong Wa Association and  
24 Chinese/Chinatown Chamber of Commerce learned of the project in a  
25 local daily newspaper article. They began an organized campaign  
26 against it. Called "Save Lane Street," the two organizations mounted  
27 an all-out attempt to curtail the project by disallowing the street  
28 vacation. Over the next few months, they organized mass  
29 demonstrations around Uwajimaya, submitted a petition with hundreds  
30 of signatures to the City Council, lobbied city council members, and  
31 filed lawsuits and appeals to block the vacation of Lane Street.

32 [...]

33

34 [...]

35 Most people in and out of the community actually supported the  
36 project, which would develop a couple of blighted blocks into a new  
37 complex that would create more jobs, businesses, and much needed  
38 housing. Street vacations in Seattle are not uncommon. For many,  
39 especially those who wanted to see greater development in the  
40 District, vacating a block of Lane Street—largely unused and  
41 abandoned for decades—was a good exchange for the planned  
42 Uwajimaya Village project and the new development it would bring.  
43 Even the "Save Lane Street" group claimed that they were in favor of  
44 the new project; they simply opposed the closure of Lane Street, or so  
45 they said.

46

47 The Uproar over the project by the "Save Lane Street" side seemed to  
48 reflect the old animosity and inter-ethnic conflict that has existed in the  
49 District for years. Businesses in the District welcome the patronage of  
50 those of a different ethnic or racial group, but business competition can  
51 sometimes lead to racial or ethnic conflicts. The fact that only the  
52 Chinese protested against the Uwajimaya Village project suggests that  
53 ethnicity has something to do with it. The closure of Lane Street, traffic  
54 problems, and other complaints about the project may well have been  
55 a pretext for shielding larger issues of territorial dominance and control  
56 of the area, and concern that project would detract from their  
57 businesses.

58 [...]

It is apparent from this text that Chin is in support of the Uwajimaya Village project and not in favor of the “Save Lane Street” protests. In lines 10-21, he carefully describes Uwajimaya’s planned expansion, leading to the need for the vacation of Lane Street. In lines 23-31, Chin constructs the “Save Lane Street” protests as an effort coordinated by only Chinese organizations (in contrast to the support for the Uwajimaya project from “most people in and out of the community”). Similarly, he characterizes these protests as ethnically motivated and their goal as “territorial dominance and control of the area” in lines 47-57.

Chin characterizes Lane Street as “a couple of blighted blocks.” However, the control over these “blighted blocks” became a metaphor for the control of space as well as the claim to legitimacy in the ID for the Lane Street protesters. Lines 23-31 demonstrate the ways in which community groups enlisted and utilized governmental regulatory powers in their strategy for gaining control. Thus, even though the “Save Lane Street” mobilization did not succeed in preventing the closure of the street, it succeeded in mounting a controversy that involved people both inside and outside of the community.

The proposal from McDonald’s, the global fast-food chain, to open a store in a prominent location in the ID provoked a fervent protest and another controversy in terms of the character of the ID. The anti-McDonald’s protests became even more controversial since the people involved on the either side of this issue were also involved in the Lane Street controversy. Text 26 reports the debate instigated by the McDonald’s proposal.

Text 26

1 *The Seattle Times* Local News

2

3 Friday, June 23, 2000

4

5 **No McDonald's in International Dist.**

6

7 Paige Parker, Beth Kaiman

8

9 McDonald's will not open a restaurant in the International District  
10 because of complaints that burgers, fries and shakes would undermine the  
11 character of Seattle's most prominent ethnic neighborhood.

12 McDonald's made the announcement yesterday and made clear that  
13 the protests figured strongly in the decision not to open at Fifth Avenue  
14 South and South Jackson Street. The concern, said Donald Becka,  
15 regional real-estate manager for McDonald's, was "our ability to be  
16 successful there both immediately and well into the future. . . . There is a  
17 fair amount of dissent to make it questionable."

18 The location had been seen as a prime one—across from Union  
19 Station, Paul Allen's new headquarters and, soon, close to thousands more  
20 office workers in buildings now under construction. But some in the  
21 International District balked, insisting that McDonald's didn't belong, would  
22 take away business from Asian restaurants and pave the way for other  
23 fast-food chains.

24 Leading the opposition was Frank Kiuichi, executive director of  
25 Interim Community Development Association, an advocacy group that  
26 helps develop affordable housing in the district. "We're pleased,  
27 obviously," Kiuichi said.

28 The group had collected hundreds of signatures, organized  
29 community meetings and put pressure on property owner Michael Chu not  
30 to lease his building to McDonald's. Even yesterday, after receiving a call  
31 from McDonald's in the morning, Kiuichi led a noon protest by about 60  
32 people outside the McDonald's at Third Avenue and Pine Street. Kiuichi  
33 said because the call had not been placed by Becka, he did not consider  
34 the news official.

35 Earlier this year, Mayor Paul Schell's office played a role in the anti-  
36 McDonald's campaign. In February, Deputy Mayor Tom Byers sent Becka  
37 a letter urging the chain to reconsider because of the historic character of  
38 the International District.

39 Many people who signed Interim's petitions live outside the  
40 International District. And, several business owners in the neighborhood  
41 said they saw no problem with McDonald's—that a fast-food chain wouldn't  
42 detract from the atmosphere or present a threat to Asian restaurants. Chu  
43 and Becka said the McDonald's proposal exposed a divide in the  
44 community between those who insist on tradition and those who can  
45 accept change. "There are some things inside the community that we may  
46 have stepped in the middle of," Becka said. In time, he added, McDonald's  
47 might try again.

48 Chu, whose Buty Building caught the eye of McDonald's  
49 developers, is angry. He said he was bullied by people who don't live or  
50 work in the area where he has owned several businesses and residential  
51 and commercial buildings for years. "They have a loud voice, these young  
52 men," said Chu, who came to the United States from Taiwan 20 years ago.

53 Kiuichi said his group is prepared to help Chu find a tenant. "We're  
54 very interested in assisting Mr. Chu with finding another business, a better  
55 business."

This text is a newspaper article that draws upon the journalistic reporting discourse type. The main subject of this article is McDonald's, positioned against the ID. McDonald's as the subject is represented by either its name or by its real-estate manager, Donald Becka. In this text, the representative of the ID as a subject is often Frank Kiuichi, the executive director of Inter\*Im, but with definite resistance from ID property owner, Michael Chu (see lines 49-53).

The first sentence presents the core of the complaints as "undermin[ing of] the character of Seattle's most prominent ethnic neighborhood." The author's construction of the ID as "Seattle's most prominent ethnic neighborhood" demonstrates the stability of the "ethnic" "neighborhood" construction (see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion) through intertextuality. However, who made the complaints is not readily clear from this sentence. This ambiguity may not be

accidental since the later part of the text focuses on the fact that the entire ID was not opposed to McDonald's proposal (see lines 43-46).

While Becka admits that "there is a fair amount of dissent" against the McDonald's proposal (line 17), he constructs the problem as "the divide in the community" (line 44), rather than the threat to the ID's character that McDonald's might bring. This framing (i.e., the problem is the divide in the community) is an effective move, because it steers the issue away from the concerns expressed by the community (i.e., "McDonald's didn't belong, would take away business from Asian restaurants and pave the way for other fast-food chains"). This construction positions McDonald's as the victim of the community's division, rather as than the 'outside' threat. This construction also allows McDonald's to "try again" (line 47).

Lines 18-23 demonstrate that the issue is not simply a fast-food chain looking to locate itself in a neighborhood. The location in the ID, which may not have been attractive in the past, became "a prime one" because of the development of the Union Station and Paul Allen's new headquarters. Thus, lines 18-20 reveal that the strong wave of urban gentrification is what brings this particular global chain to this ethnic neighborhood. Lines 21-23 echo Kitahara's concerns in Text 24, expressed 10 years prior to this text: the mounting forces of urban development threatening the ID's character.

Lines 35-38 illustrate City officials' support of the ID and its "historic character." Read against the texts from the 1970s in Chapter 4, this demonstration

of support exemplifies the rise of the ID in City politics. It also shows the ways in which the community enlists and utilizes the governing power of the City.

In lines 43-45, Chu and Becka represent the divide in the community as “between those who insist on tradition and those who can accept change.” Thus, they construct the protest from Inter\*Im and others as a failure to accept change, and portray change as inevitable. However, it is not clear what this “change” entails, as the “historic character” is in question.

In lines 39-43, the author constructs the parties opposing McDonald’s proposal as those who live outside the district and positions them against the “several business owners” who were not opposed to the proposal. Chu also constructs the opposition as outsiders and loud young men who bullied him (lines 49-53). Again, this construction harkens back to the previous-era’s issue regarding the authority to represent.

Chin (2001) constructs the opposition party quite differently. He writes:

[...] The District activists were not alone in their opposition to McDonald’s. [...] A large number of Asian American, community, and labor groups opposed a McDonald’s in the International District, including the International District Housing Alliance, International District Improvement Association, Inter\*Im Community Development Association, Organization of Chinese Americans, Chinese Information and Service Center, Minority Executive Directors’ Coalition, Northwest Labor Employment and Law Office, Commission on Asian Pacific Affairs, and Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance. Many area businesses as well as individuals, including elected officials such as King County Councilmember Larry Gosset, and State Representative Velma Veloria, Sharon Tomiko Santos, and Kip Tokuda, also urged McDonald’s to stay away. [...] (p. 110)

Chin, Doug (2001). *Seattle’s International District: The making of a pan-Asian American community*.

This description evokes images of the anti-Kingdome protests by a multi-ethnic coalition of activists in the early 1970s. In fact, many of the community social service organizations and the public officials named in Chin's text above were active during the anti-Kingdome movement. Thus, unlike Chu's construction, Chin constructs the anti-McDonald's protest as part of the community's on-going resistance movement against an 'outside' threat supported by people inside and outside the community. Again, in Chin's construction, the community organizations and activists are legitimate representatives of the ID.

The Lane Street controversy and the McDonald's controversy intensified the debate on the "character" and the future of the ID in the face of urban gentrification and globalization. Text 27 illustrates some of these contentions in the Letters to The Editor section of the *Northwest Asian Weekly*, a community newspaper.

Text 27

1        *Northwest Asian Weekly*  
 2        Letters to the Editor  
 3        August 12-18, 2000  
 4        **What does "preserving Asian character" mean**  
 5  
 6        To the Editor:  
 7  
 8        I am responding to a letter than appeared in the June 24  
 9        issue of the Asian Weekly about preserving the "Asian  
 10        character" of Chinatown/ International District ("McDonald's  
 11        issue pits capitalism against people").  
 12

13 If "preserving the Asian character" refers to architectural  
14 style, then I see extremely few buildings and structures in the  
15 district that reflect the traditional Asian architectural styles,  
16 nor do I see any new construction that is required to follow  
17 the traditional architectural style of China, Japan or Korea.

18  
19 If "preserving the Asian character" refers to Asian ownership  
20 of properties and businesses, then it is unfair to [sic] Doug  
21 Chin and others to oppose Michel Chu's right to lease to a  
22 non-Asian business while remaining silent as non-Asian-  
23 owned banks, espresso shops and other businesses lease  
24 spaces from Chu's competitors.

25  
26 If "preserving the Asian character" refers to saving the many  
27 small restaurants, shops and businesses in Chinatown/I.D.,  
28 then it is hypocritical of Chin and others to stand idly by while  
29 the community fights the loss of an entry route, South Lane  
30 Street, to a private business.

31  
32 Finally as an African American, I am uneasy about the talk  
33 concerning preserving the "Asian characters" because of the  
34 implications for African American, African, Middle Eastern  
35 and Latino businesses that might wish to locate in this so-  
36 called International District.

37  
38 Barbara Cochran  
39 Seattle  
40 [\*Errors in the original were not changed.]

41  
42 **Reader challenges logical of McDonald's opposition**

43  
44 To the editor:

45  
46 I have one question for Doug Chin, who wrote a letter about  
47 greedy business owners in an issue of your newspaper  
48 ("McDonald's pits capitalism against people," June 24, 2000).

49  
50 Who is greedy: the property owner who considers a  
51 legitimate offer of rental or the property owner who takes out  
52 a public street for private profit at the expense of emergency  
53 vehicle traffic for over 1,000 elderly and through traffic to  
54 small businesses?

55

56           Shiao Yen Wu  
57           President, Chinese/Chinatown Chamber of Commerce  
58           Seattle

The first letter, from Cochran, questions the definitions of “Asian character” and counters with three possible definitions (Asian architectural styles; Asian ownership of businesses; small businesses-environment). Finally, Cochran expresses a concern over the “Asian character” discourse itself, on the grounds that it might discourage people of other ethnicities (although only minorities are mentioned in her letter) from locating in the “so-called International District.”

This last charge is interesting in two ways. It reveals the changes in discourse in terms of multi-ethnic contributions and legitimacy in the ID. Although Asian Americans in Text 15 explicitly acknowledge the contributions of non-Asians to the area, the current discussion focuses on “Asian” character. As early as 1976, Text 19 represented the divisions over the identity of the ID as an issue between different Asian ethnic groups. This may pertain to the fact that after the 1960s, housing restrictions loosened and people of color have been able to move out of the area. In the meanwhile, in addition to providing homes for Asian elderly who have lived in the district for a long time, the ID continued to be a reception area for newer groups of immigrants from Asia whose numbers increased after the Immigration Act of 1965. Thus, the demographic changes and the concern over “Asian character” demonstrate: 1) the influence of public policies and racial dynamics on the construction of the district, and 2) the connection between discursive changes and changes in social practice.

In her letter, Wu, the president of one of the two Chinese organizations that organized the “Save Lane Street” campaign, counters Chin’s construction of the McDonald’s issue as “capitalism against people” by constructing the Lane Street closure as an act of a “greedy property owner” who took away a street from the elderly and small businesses for private profit. This discourse—profit versus people—used by people on both sides of the issue (whether the McDonald’s issue or the Lane Street closure) demonstrates the pressure economic changes puts on the construction of the district.

Interviewee 5 sees the Uwajimaya Village construction as a defense against the gentrification pressures from the ‘outside’ in Text 28, below.

### Text 28

[...] I largely understand the argument of, of Lane Street, and saying that they want to keep it open because they have yet another road-block in an already congested place. But...*nothing* was on Lane Street. I think the English speaking people, or the more second, third generation Asian Americans, saw that what was happening. They saw that [urban gentrification] movement is coming, encroaching. And for me, I saw Uwajimaya as a very good barrier. They’re not going to want to jump over Uwajimaya and go to something on the other side, and so it blocks them. So this is where you stop, and this is where we start. And so I thought it was a good thing. Because if they didn’t do it, I mean the fact that the whole street was abandoned warehouses, someone was going to do it. And we probably would not have gotten it. And it would have just imposed even further along, and so I’m really grateful that, that they stopped it. You know, even now there are parts of the ID being looked at [by the outside developers]. I think it’s silly though, because a lot of these people who are opposing, you know, Uwajimaya are the ones who are trying to buy, sell, their buildings to somebody really quickly. And you know it’s not going to happen. And it’s not

going to happen because a) the Uwajimaya's there, and b) because I think the PDA and the Inter\*Im have selectively bought enough buildings that no big developers are going to want to come when they can't get the whole block. [...]

In this text, Interviewee 5 constructs the disagreements between the Lane Street supporters and Uwajimaya supporters as a difference in perspectives held by newer immigrants and English-speaking or second-, third-generation Asian Americans. This construction reproduces "the older Chinese" vs. multi-ethnic group of Asian Americans (including younger Chinese Americans) construction of the identity debate in Text 20. He also constructs part of the problem as the abandoned buildings that leave the district vulnerable to the "big developers," and the owners of these buildings as "the ones who are trying to buy, sell, their buildings to somebody really quickly." Thus, he draws upon the contribution discourse, resonating with the voices of other Asian Americans in Text 15, as well as with Interviewee 3 and Interviewee 6.

Interviewee 5 sees the construction of Uwajimaya Village (and the closure of Lane Street) as a community strategy to stop the urban development process from encroaching upon the district. Although a major expansion such as Uwajimaya Village may be construed as part of pressures for commercial development (as in Wu's letter), Interviewee 5 produces it as a "barrier" to block outside encroachment by building something significant from inside. In addition, Interviewee 5 describes how community organizations such as the PDA (Seattle/Chinatown Public Development Authority) and Inter\*Im strategically

bought some of the buildings in order to make the blocks unattractive to developers. These strategies in Text 28 demonstrate the ways in which the community resists, co-opts, and negotiates with larger forces such as urban development.

The ‘cultural character’ question remains, and it is unlikely that there will be one definitive answer to this enduring issue. As the identity of the community is multiple and contingent, insisting on one, fixed answer may be interpreted as a demand for an essentializing discourse. At the same time, the fact that there is no one, fixed “identity” or “cultural character” should not be interpreted as not having an identity or character. In fact, the debates over the identity of the ID represent and produce the ID’s continued existence as a community. After all, other historic neighborhoods in Seattle, such as Ballard and Pioneer Square, have long ceased debate over their identities or character as waves of gentrification changed their demographics and character. The ID continues to survive as a community and a neighborhood through contestation and resistance, both in opposition to the ‘outside’ and to each other (Gilroy, 1994).

This chapter illustrates the production of community identity through the processes of contestation and negotiation within the ID by tracing intertextual chains regarding the name debate. Despite the fact that this struggle over the name has played out inside the community, it did not necessarily originate in, nor has it remained confined to, dynamics inside the community. In fact, larger socio-

economic and political dynamics such as urban development, population changes, and globalization are strongly implicated as critical factors in this struggle. In return, community members actively enlist, negotiate with, and co-opt these ‘outside’ political forces. As the ID continues to face outside threats and complex changes, it also continues to engage and negotiate with various social, economic, and political forces. This dialectical process—a strategic “self-making” (Ong, 1996, p. 738) within the confining forces of larger socio-economic and political dynamics—exemplifies immigrant cultural citizenship as defined by Ong.

Gilroy (1994) argues that collective identity constructed around the notion of community is a powerful means to create solidarity and to mobilize collective action. However, as poststructuralists elucidate, identity is not fixed or consolidating but contingent and multiple (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of this topic). Community identity is no exception. As a symbolic construction, the strength of community identity lies in its ability to provide a boundary within which plural, contradictory, and evolving meanings can co-exist (Gilroy, 1994). As such, community identity bears within it possibilities for multiple articulations of “solidarity from a sense of particularity” (Gilroy, 1994, p. 407). These plural articulations imply that collective identity may be formed against an outside threat *and* against others within. Thus, the struggle for the social control of historicity (Gilroy, 1994) occurs within the community as well as between the community and the ‘outside.’ This chapter concludes that the identity of the ID, produced

through such struggles, has been and remains contingent, varied, and emergent, as it continues to be innovated and changed through multiple articulations.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

*Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles  
or systems for domination, but is the thing for which  
and by which there is struggle,  
discourse is the power which is to be seized.*

*Michel Foucault, The Order of Discourse*

#### Notes on Genre

As I begin to discuss the findings and implications of the present study, I would like to remind the readers (as well as myself) about the productive and constraining effects of genre. As stated in Chapter Three, genre is a socially endorsed way of using language in association with specific types of social activity (Fairclough, 1995). As such, it informs the relationship between text and context. For example, both writers and readers associate with, and expect, particular types of language to be used for newspaper articles, novels, or cake recipes. Similarly, both speakers and listeners have different expectations for a formal speech than they do for a casual chat. Thus, genre anticipates not only the ways in which social practices are signified but also how they are produced and interpreted. It signals what kinds of language are to be used and shapes how they are consumed.

The present text is no exception. It has been produced and will be consumed within a specific genre: academic dissertation. As such, it privileges certain types of

language use and disregards others. One of the consequences of writing in (and being produced by) this particular genre is that it sometimes suppresses my own voice as well as the voices of participants of this study. For example, although it is assumed that I am the one who is writing this dissertation, very few sentences use an “I” as the subject. Avoiding the subject “I” is not a random move; it is done in accordance with academic convention. Thus, this move signals the genre in which I am writing (academic writing). At the same time, it reinforces what is expected of that genre. Furthermore, the text data (e.g., the interview texts) in this dissertation are reproduced in a particular fashion and interpreted through the use of theoretical concepts, which is one of the expected and ratified ways of academic writing. In this process, the theoretical concepts, which represent academia-endorsed voices, are produced as the authority over the text data, which represent the lived experiences of subjects. (However, I must point out that this ‘academic voice versus lived experience’ construction is yet another problematic binary, which reflects and reproduces the structuralist tradition of language use.) Thus, I write these notes on genre not as a personal acquittal for a voluntary eclipsing of my own voice and the voices of those who have participated in this study for the sake of an adherence to a genre but to illustrate the ways in which both the writer and the readers are interpellated by genre. By writing these notes, I am both acknowledging the productive power of genre *and* calling attention to the ways in which academic writing is naturalized. Ultimately, questioning of what is taken for granted is at the heart of this dissertation project.

### **Purpose**

This dissertation examined the role of cultural citizenship in the construction of immigrant community identity. Immigrant cultural citizenship is the process by which immigrant individuals, groups, or communities create a legitimized social space for themselves while contesting and negotiating hegemonic discourses that seek to define and limit their subject position (Rosaldo, 1997; Ong, 1996).

Through this examination, this study seeks to contribute to social work theorizing about immigrant community identity. I have argued that limited theorizing of immigrant community identity is problematic in that it leads to a narrow scope of social work interventions and impedes social workers' abilities to imagine environmental change. Immigrant communities, ethnic minority immigrant communities in particular, are often perceived as 'ethnic enclaves' that are isolated, self-sustaining units separated from the larger society. As I have argued, this conceptualization is problematic in that it ignores the immigrant communities' contribution to the larger society, illegitimizes such ethnic enclaves' bid for socially just participation, and impedes their access to resources. However, I have also argued that it is equally problematic to assume that ethnic minority immigrant communities simply adopt this externally imposed construction without contention. Such an assumption rather uncritically privileges social structure and discounts the agency of those communities in asserting their rights as citizens of civil society. At the same time, it is equally problematic to over-privilege the agency of ethnic

minority immigrant communities, since in doing so we discount the constraining and productive power of social structure. Accordingly, I have argued that the construction of immigrant communities must not be understood as a simple binary but theorized with attention to the dialectical play between structure and agency. Cultural citizenship, as described by Ong (1996), provided a useful analytic frame for examining this process: “a dual process of self-making and being made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civic society” (p. 738).

Poststructural and post-colonial theoretical frameworks were used to examine the role of immigrant cultural citizenship in the construction, since the 1970s, of the International District (ID) of Seattle, Washington. In this examination, I employed Fairclough’s methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in reviewing mainstream and community newspapers, personal reports of community members in the form of in-person interviews, memoirs, archives of community history, and government documents such as city council ordinances. These materials were reviewed to trace the intertextual chains through which the identity (i.e., subject position) of the ID was and is produced, deployed, and changed.

### **Findings and Analysis**

As a poststructural project, it would be contradictory for this study to offer a set of objective ‘truths’ discovered by this research. However, I would like to present some central themes observed in my study and my analysis of these themes. The primary finding of this study is that the cultural citizenship of the International

District community continues to be produced and sustained through a constant and evolving process of contestation and negotiation, located both *within* the community and *between* the community and the dominant society. The identity (or subject position) of the ID that is produced through such process is not stable or singular but flexible, contingent, and evolving.

#### Cultural citizenship: Discourse of contestation and negotiation

This study suggests that the construction of an immigrant community is not located solely within the community nor simply dictated by the unilateral regulatory control of the government or other regimes of civil society such as mainstream media discourses. Rather, the subject position of an immigrant community is negotiated within and between these two structures. The review of the data shows that there are several ways by which hegemonic discourses, as represented by mainstream media and city and county level decisions about physical space, imposed a subject position on the ID community. As illustrated in Chapter 4, mainstream media produced the ID as an exotic commercial district/tourist attraction through essentializing discourses. These discourses resulted in the construction of the people in this neighborhood as foreigners who existed to serve consumers from outside the district. Through classificatory discourses of 'race,' mainstream media also produced the ID as a homogeneous 'Asian' community and its population as an indistinguishable group of 'Asians.' Similarly, as discussed in same chapter, the decisions of governmental regimes produced the ID as a spatially restricted neighborhood and its

residents as expendable and irrelevant. For example, during the urban renewal period, the city and county governments largely ignored the ID in their urban renewal projects while building highways that bisected the district and spatially restricted its growth. By the end of the 1960s, residents of the ID were made invisible by, and thus severely neglected by city services. The police and fire departments were known to respond slowly (or fail to respond at all) to emergencies in the ID, putting the lives and safety of ID residents in danger. Garbage was not picked up regularly, adding to the sense of decay in the district. When the decisions about the Kingdome construction were being made, the City and County councils paid little attention to its environmental impact on the ID. The concerns of the ID community members about building the mega sports stadium adjacent to the ID (that it would turn the neighborhood into a parking lot for the stadium and squeeze out the local businesses and low-income housing options, thus changing the cultural character of the district) were not seriously considered. Through their decisions about physical uses of the district and their practices of neglect, city, county, and state governments contributed to the production of the ID as a spatially restricted community with little political power.

However, CDA of selected materials indicates that ID community members did not simply and automatically perform these interpellations. Far from being docile, empty vessels sutured into these subject positions, community members—in all their multiplicity and contingency—consistently resisted, contested, and negotiated with the normative and regulative practices that constituted them as

particular subjects (Hall, 1996). Information from personal interviews, community historical archives, memoirs, and community newspaper articles demonstrates that ID community members generated counter-discourses that resisted the production of the identity of “other” by external forces.

It is important, however, to understand the powerful role dominant discourses play in the production of subject positions. While dominant discourses do not always succeed in complete interpellation of subjects, they do present the confining structure against which subjects must resist. Post-colonial theories recognize that agency is not a ‘free will’ of a centered author but “a constant, agnostic process of struggling with, resisting, negotiating and accommodating the normative or regulative rules with which [subjects] confront and regulate themselves” (Hall, 1996, p. 14). A good example of this is the anti-Kingdome movement in the 1970s, which was discussed in Chapter 4. It was the threat from dominant social interests (in the form of the Kingdome construction) to the integrity of the community that mobilized community organizing in the ID. Faced with governmental and mainstream media constructions of the ID as a marginal community with little political power, Asian American activists generated a counter-discourse of ‘cultural character’ around which they were able to mobilize the community.

Another important contributor to production of counter-discourses is historical contexts. The anti-Kingdome movement and Asian-American activists were influenced by, and were part of, larger socio-political movements such as the Civil Rights Movement and other new social movements based on identity. These

socio-political movements challenged dominant discourses and confronted the status-quo on issues of race, gender, and class in U.S. society. Collins (in Omatsu, 2003) argues that the new social movements of the 1960s were also part of a worldwide trend that created a “crisis of legitimation” (p. 138) for hegemonic structures in post-colonial societies everywhere.

The anti-Kingdom movement was also part of the civil rights movements in communities of color and labor movements in the Seattle area in the 1960s and 1970s. Santos (2002) argues that local ethnic labor organizers, African-American communities, Latino communities, and Native American communities were all waging their own struggles against dominant structures in that era. According to Santos, the organizers of these movements often collaborated in support of one another. Combined, these local civil rights movements critically destabilized hegemonic constructions and created opportunities for generating and deploying counter-discourses.

Similarly, the anti-Kingdom movement was part of the national Asian American Movement. The term itself, *Asian American*, had been coined by Yuji Ichioka in the late 1960s as part of the nascent Asian American Studies and Asian American Movement in Berkeley (Chang, 2002). Asian American Movement campaigns during the late 1960s, such as the International Hotel Campaign in San Francisco, became an inspiration and example for organizing in Asian American communities on the west coast to defend their communities from forces representing the power of the state and capital (Geron, 2002) that sought to dominate local ethnic

economies. This local organizing, in turn, contributed to the production and maintenance of the larger Asian American Movement. Hence the production of subject positions in the ID must be understood in its local, national, and international historical contexts. This is consistent with Hall's (1996) claim that the practice of articulation is always placed within historically and politically specific discursive practices that summon subjects to certain positions at a particular time.

While the Asian American activists in the ID were not able to (nor did they aim to) stop the construction of the major sports stadium, they were able to contest and interrupt the maintenance of the external discourse of the ID as a powerless immigrant community by generating counter-discourses. These counter-discourses articulated local and flexible constructions of an immigrant community, ultimately changing the subject position of the ID within the larger political structures. For example, as discussed in Chapter Five, City government readily supported ID activists in their protest against McDonald's in 2000, which demonstrates changes, since the 1970s anti-Kingdome movement, in the position of the ID in Seattle's political structures. The imposition of identity by hegemonic discourses and the generation of counter-discourses by subjects are consistent with the post-colonial claim that post-colonial identity is fundamentally a contested and negotiated process (Bhabha, 1994).

One of the enduring and compelling constructions of the ID is that of a pan-Asian American community. Doug Chin (2001) represents the ID in his book, *Seattle's International District: the Making of a Pan-Asian Community*, as:

[...] It is more than fried rice, sushi, fortune cookies, cheap eats, chicken adobo, humbrows, herb stores, and a place to find ginseng that will make you young again.

It is more than Chinatown... more than a huge Japanese American supermarket... more than a place where you hear Asian languages and music... and more than an exotic locale for movie settings.

This is the community where different Asian immigrants settled, lived, worked and established business and institutions side by side. This is the area where the East met the West, where Asians collided among themselves and with the outside society. [...] (p. 10)

[...] This is the most successful experiment in pan-Asian Americanism on the U.S. mainland, where the development of Asian American identity and character has made great stride. The International District is uniquely the only area in America where Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos settled and grew together, at most times cooperatively, with tolerance, but other times much less so. [...] (p. 10-11)

In the first and second paragraphs, Chin categorically counters the Orientalizing constructions of an Asian immigrant neighborhood. In the third and last paragraphs, he generates a counter-discourse to these dominant discourses. This text produces the ID as a community that refuses to submit to the interpellation of an essentialized construction of Asian-ness.

Nor does Chin accept the ID as a single-ethnic group Asian community, as they so often are constructed in other parts of the continental U.S. It is not only the place where the rub of the cultures and politics happened (“the area where the East met the West”), but also the place where subjects challenged the dominant discourse of a homogeneous ‘race’ and ‘culture’ (“where Asians collided among themselves”).

This text also represents the ID as a unique place where pan-Asian Americanism succeeded and Asian American identity and character developed. This re-articulation of the meaning of 'Asian American' is an important act of resistance in that it problematizes the hegemonic construction of a homogeneous 'race' or 'ethnicity.' Analyses of the data in this study demonstrate that Asian American identity was not developed by a simple amalgamation of stable, essential meanings of 'Asian' and 'American.' Nor was it developed through the stable dominance of a singular ethnic-cultural discourse. Rather, it was developed through a reiterative process of engagement, contestation, and negotiation among multiple Asian ethnic and generation groups with different historicities.

Touraine (1977) defines historicity as: "the symbolic capacity that enables [society] to construct a system of knowledge together with the technical tools which it can use to intervene in its own functioning" (p. 15). Historicity is what allows a society to create and re-create itself in a particular image. As discussed in Chapter Five, the ID contains multiple groups with widely differing historicities (and the discourses within). For example, every ethnic group in the District has its own discourse of history and its own cultural model, both in terms of ethnic heritage and migration history. Even within an ethnic group, there may be competing discourses depending on generation (e.g., 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> generation immigrants) as well as orientation (e.g., commercial development, neighborhood preservation, etc.). The co-presence of multiple ethnic groups in the ID produced a group of Asian Americans from various ethnic backgrounds who constructed a discourse of the ID as a multi-

ethnic Asian neighborhood.

Touraine (1977) argues that the ruling (i.e., dominant) class appropriates and controls the historicity of the society. The popular (i.e., non-dominant) class, in turn, contests this appropriation and attempts to take back the control of historicity. As illustrated in Chapter 5, the ID has experienced and continues to experience different groups struggling for the control of the District's historicity. However, the struggle does not stop within the District. The ID community as part of the non-dominant class also engages in contestation against the control of historicity by the dominant class outside the ID (represented by the city and county governments, the mainstream media, etc). The emergence of an 'Asian American community' discourse during the 1970s has been successful in bringing together multiple historicities within the ID in its contestation against the imposition of historicity by the dominant class outside the District. The discourse of 'Asian American community' provided a new, hybrid cultural model that enabled the ID to incorporate a wide range of historicities without demanding their consolidation or privileging one version over another.

As illustrated in Chapter Five, the discourse of 'Asian American community' continues to evolve through a reiterative process of re-definition. Although the term, 'Asian American' employs historically problematic signifiers such as race and nationality, the meanings of 'Asian' and 'American' are re-defined in this iterative process. This is consistent with the post-colonialist claim that because of the historically hegemonic use of race as an essentializing signification, the meaning of

race must be re-defined by the social actors in their specific social and historical contexts (Gilroy, 1994). The Asian American identity thus emerged is always contradictory and ambivalent, opening up “the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assured or imposed hierarchy” (Bhabha, 1994, p.4). The ID community’s articulation of hybrid identity through a constant process of engagement, contestation, and negotiation, exemplifies Hall’s (1996) assertion that identification is not accomplished by simply suturing subjects into subject positions by hailing but also through the process of articulation by the subjects. Thus, the production of a flexible and local hybrid identity in the ID demonstrates a possibility for immigrant subjects to alter the discourses that constitute them as particular identities through the generation of counter-discourses.

#### Discourse of historicity

The process of contestation and negotiation that produces the ID’s subject position is located not only between the ID community and dominant structures but also within the community itself. The data show that the identity of the ID can be seen to be produced through multiple contingent discourses, such as history, contribution, and change. For example, throughout the economic, social, and political development of the ID since the early 1970s, there has been on-going contestation about the name of the district itself. From a poststructuralist perspective, naming is significant because discourse does not merely reflect or represent social practices but produces, transforms, and reproduces objects of knowledge and social

subjects and subject positions (Fairclough, 1992). As the name is produced, deployed, and consumed, the social subject gains knowledge of him/herself and engages in the ongoing process of performing and reproducing his/her subject position.

The naming process involves inter-related issues of recognizing who has the legitimacy to name the community, as well as the production of identity through the name itself. Within this process is the struggle for power. By gaining an understanding of the underlying power dynamics within the ID, we are able to understand the nature and production of relationships and identity. In the ID, the naming process was, and is, the substantive issue through which the contestation and negotiation of community identity took shape. Within the community, there are two groups who have positioned themselves as having the power to name the community and thereby the power to shape its identity: the Chinese Family Associations(*hui*) who insist on the name, "Chinatown," and a multi-ethnic coalition of Asian Americans who assert the name, "International District."

Study data reveal that discourses of history and contribution are a significant source of contestation that has centered on the 'cultural character' of the community, and this active discussion is evident in community newspapers. Since the debate about the name of the community started in the early 1970s, the Chinese Family Associations continue to claim that, because the Chinese were present in the ID the longest, they have the right to represent their contribution in the name of the community. In contrast, the multi-ethnic coalition of Asian Americans argues that

the historical presence of other ethnic communities must be recognized and that the name of the community should reflect the “international” nature of the community. They argue that it is not only the early immigrant groups but also more recent immigrant groups that contribute to the survival of the community. What lies beneath this discourse of history and contribution is the struggle for legitimacy and authority to produce the identity of the community. In this struggle, texts—whether they are published newspaper articles, editorials, letters to editors or spoken statements—both represent and constitute the battle.

In their struggle for control of discourse, both parties engage not only community media but also dominant structures of the city government to gain power and legitimacy. Data show that both parties actively sought out the power of governmental regimes to aid their legitimacy through regulatory discourses such as city ordinances and resolutions. This engagement of governmental regimes by ID community groups has the ironic effect of re-producing the disciplinary control vested in governmental discourses. This engagement also demonstrates what Ong (1996) calls a “modern attitude” where immigrant subjects seek to engage the very regimes of power that regulate and discipline them. As immigrant subjects recognize they can not escape the disciplinary control vested in the regimes of government and civil society, they sometimes seek to co-opt them instead. Ong argues that this “modern attitude” is required in the process of “self-making” that is part of developing immigrant cultural citizenship.

In the early 1970s, the parties involved in the naming debate came to a

compromise which is represented in the official name of the district: Seattle Chinatown/International District. However, study data reveal that the debate around 'cultural character,' and consequently the identity, of the district keeps resurfacing. This is not surprising, since in poststructuralist perspective, construction of subject position (or identity) is not a definitive, singular event but an evolving discursive process of production, deployment, consumption, and re-production. This evolving process involves constant changes, and subjects must integrate and accommodate new information in their performance. In the case of this study, this new information included population changes influenced by immigration policy changes that resulted in the influx of new ethnic groups to the ID. It also included an urban development boom in Seattle which swept through many traditionally ethnic communities and changed local geographies. Finally, it included forces of globalization that many feared would bring increased transnationalism and alter the way that capital is invested in the community and used by its members.

Population changes in the ID have always been influenced by immigration policy changes. Early immigration policies such as the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), Scott Act (1888), Johnson-Reed Act (1924), and Tydings-McDuffie Acts (1935) severely restricted immigration from Asia and structured the ID's population base. The Immigration Act of 1965 finally opened immigration from Asia, and refugee resettlement policies after the Vietnam War brought Southeast Asian refugees. Since the 1970s, these policy changes have had a profound influence on the population base of the ID, attested to by the arrival of new immigrants and

refugees from Asia and Southeast Asia.

These new immigrants and refugees from Asia and Southeast Asia were different from the existing population base in the ID, and from one another, in several respects. One of the most important in terms of community identity development was that many of these new immigrants, such as Koreans, Vietnamese, and Cambodians, were from countries that had little or prior presence in the ID. This meant that there was very little shared history between these new immigrants and existing Asian American community groups. For example, the new immigrants did not experience the political struggles of the 1970s, and therefore did not necessarily identify with the issues of identity and community that framed those struggles. Compared to the 1960s and 1970s when the Asian American Movement flourished, the political climate of the U.S. was much more conservative in the 1980s when many new wave (post-1965) immigrants from Asia were acculturating (Omatsu, 2003). For example, the 'model minority' discourse of that era constructed Asian immigrants as "hard-working" and "self-reliant," consistent with American capitalistic values. In addition, differences in language, socio-economic background, and experience in homeland politics made it difficult for newer immigrants to identify with other immigrant groups or with existing Asian Americans in the community (Lai, 2003).

This lack of shared history and politics presents a new challenge in terms of production of a shared community identity. Lai (2003) argues that lack of identification with past political movements contributed to recent Asian immigrants'

tendency to “go it alone” (Cain, in Lai, p. 248), i.e., organize around their own specific ethnic groups, rather than participating in the pan-ethnic Asian American movement. As suggested earlier, data regarding the Save Lane Street protest in the 1990s show that Chinese Family Associations were able to deploy the co-ethnicity (Chinese) discourse, as many of the new Asian immigrants, present in the ID in the 1990s, were ethnic Chinese from mainland China and from Southeast Asia. While there are numerous differences between new ethnic Chinese immigrants and established Chinese Americans (such as the leaders of the Chinese Family Associations), as well as between the new immigrants themselves, the discourse of shared ethnicity had been successful in producing an articulation of identity that provided a strategic boundary between themselves and other Asian Americans. This is consistent with Gilroy’s (1994) claim that collective identity may be formed against an outside threat *and* against others within.

The challenges inherent in the population change in the ID are compounded by the urban development boom that has been reconfiguring the geography of Seattle since the early 1990s. As the areas adjacent to the ID, such as the Central Area which had been a traditionally African-American neighborhood, and the downtown core experienced major gentrification, many ID community members feared that such gentrification would change the ‘cultural character’ of the ID as it did in those other neighborhoods. The most illustrative incident of fear was McDonald’s proposal to open up a new restaurant in the ID in 2000. McDonald’s, the global fast-food chain, had sought to lease a building located in the ID. This proposal drew

much protest from ID community members who feared that a McDonald's would take away business from Asian restaurants in the neighborhood and serve as a block buster for other fast-food chains. However, some in the district did not agree with anti-McDonald's protesters that urban gentrification posed a threat to the community. Rather, they saw economic opportunities in terms of leasing or selling buildings at improved profit.

Just as in the 1970s, the discourse of 'cultural character' was employed in community organizing which, in this instance, gained support from government officials and eventually dissuaded McDonald's from opening a restaurant in the ID. However, this incident did not bring unity in the ID. Instead, it re-surfaced long-held debates regarding community identity in the face of a changing environment. The pressure of urban development pushed the community to re-evaluate its future. This incident highlights the way in which larger economic developments may influence the production of community identity. It also reveals that organizing against the power of capital is much more complicated than mobilizing against governmental power. While the dominant constructions of the ID in the 1970s were presented through governmental regulatory discourses which interpellated the district as a whole to a particular subject position, the new economic pressure is much more complex as it interpellates individuals and groups in the community to different subject positions. This complicates the task of creating "solidarity from a sense of particularity" (Gilroy, 1994, p. 407) which in the past has provided an important focus for group identity. Thus, the discourse of urban development and economic

opportunity adds another complicating factor to the production of community identity.

The third major influence that must be integrated and accommodated in the production of community identity for the ID community is globalization. Data indicate that community organizers are concerned about foreign capital coming into the District and changing the character of the community. As transnational investors are often not present in local areas, they are not likely to identify with the local history of the community or to be concerned about preserving its 'cultural character' when making decisions about building uses and businesses. This is consistent with Lin's (1998) observation that foreign investors from Asia (especially those who were fleeing Hong Kong before the take-over by the People's Republic of China in 1997) often bought properties in urban Asian neighborhoods creating tension between profit-driven investors and community members who want to protect the integrity of their neighborhoods. This tension is further complicated in a multi-ethnic community such as the ID by the fact that some transnational investors share ethnic backgrounds with some local ethnic subjects and deploy the discourse of co-ethnicity. Ong (1999) claims that China, for example, specifically sought overseas Chinese as their allies in economic development by deploying discourse of *guanxi* (loosely translated, 'interpersonal relationship' or 'kinship'). The co-ethnic discourse poses questions of loyalty in terms of ethnicity and locality.

However, globalized capital or other influences do not necessarily mean the end to a multi-ethnic Asian American community discourse. As Gilroy (1994)

argues, the symbolic construction of a community does not mean that all members share wide clusters of meanings that are attached to symbols, whether they are related to the notions of race, ethnicity, or locality. Rather, the strength of community identity is in its ability to provide a boundary within which plural, contradictory, and evolving meanings can co-exist. Again, the community's identity does not arise from a binary (e.g., Chinese vs. American) but, as poststructuralists contend, is produced by an evolving discursive process. Consequently, the evolving process of constructing community identity persists as subjects continue to struggle with external pressures, and one another, to produce flexible, hybrid identities that allow them to accommodate, resist, and negotiate ongoing change.

Lin (1998) also argues that while globalization presents economic opportunities for ethnic neighborhoods, it also creates competition between transnational capital and small-scale, local actors for use of space. One of the strategies that ID community organizations, such as Inter\*Im, employed to counteract this competition for space is to buy and renovate vacant or neglected buildings in the district to house community agencies or to create low-income housing options before overseas capital makes inroads on available space. In addition, as discussed in Chapter Five, some community members consider the major expansion of Uwajimaya, a local Asian mega-grocery store, an effective strategy to resist spatial encroachment by outside investors. These strategies illustrate community members' contestation and negotiation with the discourse of the inevitability of globalization. This is consistent with Lin's (1998) observation that

ethnic communities with a strong sense of identity were less easily consumed by globalization and generated creative efforts to counteract the effects of these economic and cultural influences.

The discourse of physical threat to the community which sparked community organizing in the 1970s is echoed in this era of globalization. However, a complicating factor in this era is that community members must negotiate with structures that are outside their local, state or national contexts. Thus, globalization places local ethnic actors within the complex dynamics of broader political-economic relations with nation states and global capital (Lin, 1998). Coupled with population changes and the pressures of urban development, transnational capital investment presents a significant challenge to the intricate balance between development and preservation the District is trying to maintain.

The challenges brought by population changes, urban development pressures, and globalization may further fragment a community that already has a long history of internal struggle. However, although the internal struggle for power to name and define the community is generally considered a negative, dividing force, it nevertheless contributes to the production of community identity. First, it may play a role in the ID's constant process of self-creation and thus help to avoid stagnation. As the community is involved in on-going debates over its 'cultural character,' it is forced to constantly re-evaluate its subject position and create strategies that will accommodate new developments as well as resist unwanted changes. It is evident that in other historic ethnic neighborhoods in Seattle such as Ballard and the Central

Area, debates over the identity or character of community have largely ceased as gentrification changed their demographics and physical compositions. In contrast, the discourses of 'cultural character' represent and produce the ID's continued existence as a community. Second, the internal struggle may help the community avoid the destructive sequelae of essentialization. As the identity of the community is flexible and contingent, insisting on one, fixed identity may be interpreted as a demand for an essentializing discourse. Thus, the lack of unified, static identity disrupts dominant discourses that produce this community as a coherent and unified subject. The debates over 'cultural character' are part of discourse of resistance and negotiation in the contexts of social, economic, and political changes.

As findings of this study indicate, the identity of the ID is produced neither through a singular dominant discourse or a coherent internal discourse. Rather, the identity of the ID is produced by multiple, complex, and interrelated strands of discourses, including hegemonic constructions generated by external structures, social, economic, and political changes, historical influences, internal struggles for power, and counter-discourses generated by the community. Cultural citizenship, as a theoretical frame, provides an avenue to understand how an immigrant community navigates through these multiple webs of power in its "dual process of self-making and being made" (Ong, 1996, p. 738). The cultural citizenship of the International District community continues to be produced and sustained through a constant and evolving process of contestation and negotiation, located both within the community and between the community and the dominant society. The community identity of

the ID that is produced through such process is flexible, contingent, and evolving, opening up possibilities for preservation and change. The discursive changes produced by processes of cultural citizenship illuminate the possibility that immigrant communities may be able to change the very discourses that produce them.

## **Discussion and Implications**

### Social Work Theory

This study contributes to social work theory by examining immigrant identity development as a dynamic, evolving process. This position departs from the usual modernist assumption of an essential, unified subject. While much of social work's discourse of immigrant adaptation centers on the concept of immigrant identity, there has been a general lack of critical analyses of just how such immigrant identity is constructed. Part of the problem is the way that immigrant identity has been, and continues to be, conceptualized. The social work literature on immigrant identity tends to treat identity in a static, cross-sectional manner. As discussed in Chapter 1, this cross-sectional approach can lead to static, binary constructions that place immigrants in either/or positions (e.g., acculturated vs. traditional). Even in theories that offer more than one position (e.g., integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization [Berry, 1990]), immigrant identity is nevertheless conceptualized as a fixed position. Conceptualizing immigrant identity in a static, cross-sectional manner is problematic since it may result in the consolidation of immigrants' diverse

and contingent experiences into limited and essentializing positions. Furthermore, a cross-sectional and static approach makes it difficult to understand the complex processes through which immigrant identity is developed. Without understanding the processes involved in such development, it is difficult for social workers to identify mechanisms for possible community change, which, in turn, limits our ability to generate strategies for social work interventions on a community level.

Another limitation in regards to the conceptualization of immigrant identity is the lack of critical analyses of the environments in which immigrant identities are developed. Much of the social work literature focuses on individual adaptation to the environment without appreciation of the historical, political and social forces that constitute the immigrant's environments (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). Within models of individual adaptation, concepts like 'culture' and 'cultural differences' are often defined in isolation from the socio-historical contexts in which these concepts were, and are constructed and enacted. Thus, most of the relevant literature is targeted on helping immigrant individuals successfully make the transition from their 'original culture' to the 'new culture' (both of which are often conceptualized as fixed, static structures). For the most part, these models describe three strategies for immigrant adaptation: a) learn to assimilate, b) find a way to learn how to switch back and forth between two 'cultures,' or c) insist on the original 'culture' and reject the 'new culture.' (The fourth option, marginalization, is generally considered an unsuccessful acculturation strategy.)

While successful adaptation is important, none of these options question the

role of power or social and historical contexts within the environment. Given these omissions, it is difficult to conceptualize and implement intervention strategies that might target such hegemonies. Furthermore, without consideration of power and social and historical contexts, there is little possibility of understanding the dialectical relationship between the person and the environment. The exclusive focus on individual adaptation to environment undermines our ability to imagine how immigrants may utilize a variety of creative and flexible strategies to negotiate their complex environments. Finally, because these models tend to treat immigrant adaptation as a wholly individual phenomenon, we may tend to ignore cultural resistance or community mobilization by minority groups as adaptive strategies for negotiating their subjectivity.

Poststructural and post-colonial frameworks enabled this study to overcome these limitations. Grounded in poststructural and post-colonial theories, this study examined the dynamic processes through which immigrant subjects engage, contest, and negotiate with, as well as submit to, the hegemonic discourses that interpellate them to a particular subject position. The role of the agency of the subject in this process is at the heart of this study. Consistent with post-colonial theories, this study demonstrated how immigrant subjects perform, resist, invest in, and sometimes change their subject positions. Simultaneously, this study suggests that the agency of subjects is never outside historicity but always operates within specific historical locations. Thus, this study attempts to broaden social work theorizing by conceptualizing immigrant identity as a constantly evolving process contingent upon

specific historical, political, and social dynamics. This approach to understanding immigrant identity is particularly pertinent to social work theorizing because it expands the scope of social work intervention by suggesting that subjects may be able to change their relationships with the environmental forces that produce them through flexible engagement and resistance.

This study also contributes to social work theorizing of identity on the community level. In the social work literature, it is often assumed that signifiers such as race or ethnicity may serve as proxies for identity in regards to a community of color. Doing so assumes that there is one-to-one relationship between such signifier and its 'essence,' thus essentializing subjects. Although the social work community organizing literature emphasizes the importance of identity in organizing communities of color (or other 'communities of identity'), there is little exploration as to how this presumed shared community identity is formed. Poststructural and post-colonial theories have proven vital in interrogating this lacuna. This study demonstrated that a community's identity is far from stable or coherent. Nor do signifiers such as "Asian" have a singular, consolidating meaning. In fact, this study illustrated how signifiers such as 'Asian' and 'culture' were debated and negotiated within a community, and how community members constantly produced, deployed, and challenged multiple meanings of their community. The identity of a community thus produced does not mean that all members of the community share the multiple meanings that are attached to it. Instead, the identity of a community must be flexible enough that it allows multiple meanings to be incorporated without

demanding they be sacrificed or consolidated.

This study also elucidated that various pressures, including external threats and internal conflicts, contributed to the process of community identity formation. In this respect, this study demonstrated that the identity of a community is neither a result of nor a pre-condition for mobilization. Rather, the meaning of a community is created in the practice of collective resistance to the external encroachments (whether physical or ideological) as well as through internal struggle for the control of historicity. Furthermore, the identity of a community is constantly evolving as the community (and the social, political, and economic discourses through which it is produced) continue to change. Thus, this study adds to social work understanding of community identity development by exploring the multiple and contingent discourses through which it is formed.

### Social Work Research

I believe that one of the strengths of this study is the fit between its theoretical framework and its research method. Fairclough's CDA provided this study a vital framework with which to examine the dynamic processes involved in the construction of subject positions. The fact that CDA shares with poststructural theories basic tenets about language renders it a highly suitable method for poststructural projects such as this dissertation study. As a research method, CDA is especially helpful in identifying and mapping out discursive processes that produce a particular version of reality. It enables the analyst to explore and discover both

hegemonic discourses and counter-discourses and how they might influence one another through examination of intertextual chains. Thus, CDA provides social work research a method to explore what is often obscured by the usual post-positivistic enterprise of proving and disproving dynamic processes. Understanding such processes and the relations of power that constitute them is particularly useful for social work research as it may illuminate novel opportunities for intervention.

While the fit between poststructural theories and CDA contributed to the strength of this study, there are limitations as well in this approach. Consistent with a poststructural theoretical perspective, this study does not claim to report universal truths or 'solutions.' Rather, as a poststructuralist project, this study produced a particular, contingent version of a social reality. This position limits generalization in a post-positivistic sense. However, the purpose of poststructural projects is not to generate a grand theory but to pose questions and critique what is taken for granted. These purposes may not be seen as relevant or valuable within the modernist viewpoint; nevertheless, posing questions and critiquing (e.g., challenging the assumption of a stable and coherent subject, as in this study) can have a profound influence on social work theory and practice by expanding the limits of current theorizing and by offering alternative ways to understand multiple 'truths.'

Consistent with the poststructural standpoint that discourses—and the social constructions produced by them—are not neutral, I, as an interpreter, do not claim to be bias-free. For example, the selection of data, and even selection of the interviewees, reflected my own biases or 'reading' of partial and multiple realities,

privileging some constructions at the expense of others. At the same time, according to poststructural theories, 'self' is not outside discourses but rather a product of them. Thus, my interpretation is also a product of the discourses that constitute my own subjectivity. This theoretical stance situates my interpretations within the larger intertextual chains that shape my approach to this study. Similarly, this study is not separated from the discourses that construct the ID as a community. Rather, it is generated out of, and transforms, the discourses that construct the ID's subject position. As a consequence, this text must be understood as part of the discourse "for which and by which there is struggle" (Foucault, in Fairclough, 1992, p. 57).

### Social Work Practice

This study contributes to social work practice by broadening social work theorizing of immigrant identity and by expanding the scope of social work interventions with immigrants and immigrant communities. One of the core problems this study explored was constructions that interpellated immigrants to essentialized subject positions. As part of the regulatory regime of civil society, social workers possess disciplining power over their clients (Ong, 1996). This study reminds us that the social work profession must re-examine its disciplinary power and its role in sustaining hegemonic and often destructive constructions of immigrants.

As suggested earlier, the social work literature often engages in essentializing constructions of Asian immigrants. In social work practice, these essentializing

constructions may result in a forceful interpellation of the Asian immigrants to subject positions that are based on such normative discourses. An excellent example of this is Ong's (1996) observation of U.S. social workers' production of Cambodian immigrants' gender relationships. Ong (1996) writes:

[...] The disciplinary approach to Cambodians often takes the form of teaching them their rights and needs as normative lower-class Americans. In the Bay Area, the refugee and social service agencies are driven by a feminist ethos that views immigrant women and children as especially vulnerable to patriarchal control at home. Implicit in social workers' training is the goal of fighting Asian patriarchy— "empowering" immigrant women and "teaching them their rights in their country," as one lawyer-activist explained. Perhaps influenced by essentializing statements that Khmers are "more prone to divorce and separation" than Vietnamese (Rumbaut and Ima, 1988: 75-76), service workers tend to view the Khmer family as rife with patriarchal domination and violence. [...] Indeed, Cambodian men complain that service workers are not only eager to interfere in their family affairs but favor women and children over men in domestic battles. Another social worker notes that "often, among refugees of all nationalities, men have lost their place in society. They don't like to ask for help, and it seems they've lost control over their families. Women tend to ask for help more." Sam added that both the welfare system and affirmative action favored women of color over men, so that the former had easier access to resources and jobs. [...] (p. 745)

Thus, well-meaning, liberal social workers appear to regulate and discipline Cambodian men and women's gender relationships through their deployment of feminist gender discourses. This discursive practice, coupled with the service structure, produce complicated gender dynamics in the Cambodian immigrant community which may work to the detriment of all but service providers.

Since immigrant subjects may not fully invest in the subject positions to which they are interpellated by social workers, they may resist performing those

subject positions accordingly (e.g., failing to change according to the ascribed notions of acculturation). In this case, they may be construed by social workers as problematic clients, as Cambodian men were perceived to be in the excerpt above. Furthermore, immigrant clients who resist such interpellation may not seek or return to social work services, as evidenced by the social worker's statement that Cambodian men did not like to ask for help. Indeed, statistics show that Asian immigrant clients have a lower level of accessing social work services than their white, U.S.-citizen counterparts (Uba, 1994). Thus, a pertinent implication of this study for social work practice is that social workers must re-examine the ways in which our normative discourses contribute to sustaining essentializing and problematizing constructions of Asian immigrants and refugees.

As discussed in the Social Work Theory section above, it is hoped that this study expands the scope of possible social work intervention to changes on the environmental level by highlighting the dialectical relationship between the person and environment in the process of immigrant identity development. As discussed earlier, the myopic focus on cross-sectional conceptualization and on individual adaptation is inherently limited in its critical analyses of the environment. Thus, these approaches often prescribe interventions that are geared toward changing the individual to adapt to the environment and consistently fail to address needed environmental changes.

This study indicated that an environmental change is possible through examining the process of dialectical engagement between subjects and their

environments in the production of community identity. Study data demonstrate that adaptation is not a one-way process where immigrant subjects learn to perform their subject positions interpellated by dominant discourses. Instead of unquestioningly and passively adapting itself to dominant discourses, the ID community consistently generated counter-discourses through a process of engagement and contestation with the larger environment. The generation of these counter-discourses not only allowed the ID community to resist hegemonic encroachments (both physical and ideological) but also changed power relations in society. The ID illustrates that it is possible for an immigrant community to change the discourses which produce them through the generation of counter-discourses, thus opening up possibilities for social change. This dissertation study indicates that collaborative mobilization leading to the generation of counter-discourses may be an effective social work intervention on the environmental level.

This dissertation research explored the construction of a multi-ethnic Asian immigrant community by examining intertextual chains through which the identity of the International Community was and is produced. The results of this study indicated that social work theorizing of immigrant identity must be expanded to include a thoughtful discussion of immigrant cultural citizenship. The present study may serve as a reference point for future research on community identity development. As the ID is relatively unique in its multi-ethnic Asian American character, future studies may be needed to contrast its process of community identity development with those of ethnic immigrant communities that are constructed as

single-ethnic communities. On the other hand, the multi-ethnic character of the subject of this study may provide a reference point for studying community identity formation in mixed-ethnic neighborhoods with widely differing historicities. For example, is it possible for an ethnically mixed neighborhood such as East Harlem of New York (where U.S.-born African Americans and Latino/a immigrants often co-reside) to produce a discourse of community that may allow them to resist encroachments by external, dominant forces? Future studies such as these may further elucidate the dialectical interplay between immigrant communities and the social and historical contexts within which they are produced.

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## Curriculum Vitae

**Hye-Kyung Stella Kang, MSW, MA, Ph D**

**605 W. 113<sup>th</sup> #2 New York, NY 10025**

**Wk: 212-636-6690 Cell: 206-235-1919 E-mail: hkang@forham.edu**

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### Education

2006 (expected conferral date: 11/06)

**Ph. D. in Social Welfare**

University of Washington School of Social Work. Seattle, Washington

Dissertation topic – Immigrant cultural citizenship: Construction of a multi-ethnic Asian American community.

Supervisory committee: Dr. Anthony Ishisaka (Chair), Dr. Edwina Uehara, Dr. Susan Kemp.

2003

**MSW (Concentration: Multi-Ethnic Practice)**

University of Washington School of Social Work. Seattle, Washington

1995

**M.A. in Psychology**

Antioch University. Seattle, Washington

1988

**B.S. in Psychology**

University of Washington. Seattle, Washington

### Professional Certification

- Washington State Ethnic Minority Mental Health Specialist certification (WAC 275-57-320 (3))

### Awards and Honors

2005

Rainbow Award (for excellence in teaching GLBTQ issues). UW School of Social Work

2004

Faculty Presenter. (Selected by the BASW class of 2004.) UW School of Social Work Graduation Ceremony

2004

Nominee. Excellence in Teaching Award. University of Washington. (Nominated by UW School of Social Work Dean's Office.)

2003

Golden Feather Award (for excellence in teaching disability issues). UW School of Social Work.

1999-2002 National Institute of Mental Health Pre-doctoral Prevention Research Trainee Fellowship

### **Research Interests**

- Cultural citizenship: construction of immigrant communities, immigrant identity.
- Globalization and transnationality.
- Community mobilization and organizing
- Immigrant/refugee mental health

### **Teaching Interests**

- Social policy practice
- Social justice and multicultural diversity
- Human behavior and the social environment
- Social work practice with immigrants and refugees
- Qualitative research methods

### **Research Experience**

- 2003-2004 **Program Evaluator.** *Eastside Teen Peer Advocate Program.* Developed evaluation plans and conducted program evaluations for a SAMSHA-funded project. Asian Counseling & Referral Service, Seattle, WA.
- 2002-2003 **Program Evaluator.** *Integrated Care Project.* Co-authored the grant, developed evaluation plans, and conducted program evaluation for a SAMSHA-funded clinical project. Asian Counseling & Referral Service, Seattle, WA.
- 1999-2003 **Research Assistant.** *Help-seeking behaviors among Asian and Pacific Islander American clients.* Conducted literature search and quantitative analysis; collected and analyzed narrative data for an NIMH-funded R01 project.  
Supervising faculty: Edwina Uehara, Ph D.
- 2001-2002 **Pilot Study Data Collection/Analysis.** *Collective identity and community mobilization.* Designed study, prepared human subjects application, collected data from community informants; analyzed data using qualitative methods. Supervising faculty: Pauline Erera, Ph D.

### **Teaching Positions**

#### **Fordham University Graduate School of Social Service. New York, NY**

- Assistant Professor of Social Work  
January 2005 - Present

#### **School of Social Work, University of Washington. Seattle, WA.**

- Instructor  
September 2002 – December 2004

#### **Antioch University Seattle Master of Arts in Psychology Program. Seattle, WA.**

- Adjunct Faculty  
January, 1998 - August, 2003

#### **School of Social Work Continuing Education. University of Washington, Seattle, WA.**

- Instructor for the Certification in Mental Health Clinical Supervision  
September 1997 – August 1998

### **Practice Experience**

- 2001-2002     **Community Consensus Facilitator**  
Asian Counseling & Referral Service. Seattle, WA.  
Provided consultation and community consensus facilitation for a SAMHSA-funded clinical project.
- 2000            **Interim Clinical Supervisor**  
Asian Counseling & Referral Service. Seattle, WA.  
Provided clinical supervision and training to adult mental health counseling program staff.
- 1997-1999     **Consultation and Education Program Coordinator**  
Asian Counseling & Referral Service. Seattle, WA  
Planned, implemented, and directed consultation and education program. Developed training and education curricula. Provided clinical consultation, training and education to state-wide mental health professionals, higher-education institutions, and community agencies.
- 1997-1999     **Domestic Violence Program Coordinator**  
Asian Counseling & Referral Service. Seattle, WA.

Initiated and managed the operation of the domestic violence perpetrator intervention program. Created culturally and linguistically relevant perpetrators intervention curriculum. Facilitated multilingual/multi-cultural domestic violence perpetrator intervention groups. Trained and supervised program staff.

- 1996-2000 **Group Facilitator**  
Seattle School District. Seattle, WA.  
Facilitated two weekly education/support groups for young Asian Pacific American women at Roosevelt High School.
- 1996-2000 **Health Educator**  
Seattle School District. Seattle, WA.  
Conducted health and sexuality education seminars for middle school students and their families through the Seattle School District.
- 1995-1997 **Support Group Coordinator**  
Seattle Rape Relief. Seattle, WA.  
Developed and managed sexual assault support group program. Facilitated support groups for sexual assault survivors and provided clinical consultation to program staff. Recruited, trained, and supervised volunteer group facilitators.
- 1994-1996 **Mental Health Counselor**  
Asian Counseling & Referral Service. Seattle, WA.  
Provided mental health counseling for ethnic minority clients, facilitated support groups, and delivered client advocacy. Provided ethnic minority case consultation to community mental health professionals.
- 1992-1994 **Program Coordinator**  
Big Sisters of King County. Seattle, WA.  
Co-managed a casework team serving the Seattle urban area. Planned, coordinated, and evaluated program service. Provided training, supervision and clinical consultation to caseworkers. Designed and implemented the Asian-American Outreach program.
- 1990-1992 **Intake Counselor**  
Big Sisters of King County. Seattle, WA.  
Performed client intake and supervised caseload. Assessed and trained volunteers.
- 1988-1990 **Counselor/Caseworker**

Southeast Youth and Family Services. Seattle, WA.  
 Provided counseling to youth and families of diverse backgrounds.  
 Conducted outreach and advocacy services; developed community  
 resources. Designed and implemented youth leadership development  
 programs.

1988-1989     **Mental Health Specialist**  
 Highline Evaluation & Treatment Facility. Seattle, WA.  
 Provided milieu therapy, assessment, case management and  
 community linkage to acute, inpatient psychiatric clients.

### **Manuscripts Submitted for Publication**

Uehara, E., Smukler, M., Lewis, S., & Kang, H. (under review). Harnessing narrative  
 evidence: innovative qualitative methods for mental health service research.  
*Journal of Health and Social Behavior.*

Nicotera, N, & Kang, H. (submitted). Beyond diversity courses: Strategies for  
 integrating critical consciousness across social work curriculum. Submitted to  
*Journal of Social Work Education.*

### **Manuscripts in Progress**

Kang, H. (in progress). Contestation, negotiation, and historicity: Discursive  
 construction of Seattle's International District. (To be submitted to *Social  
 Service Review.*)

Kang, H. Grounded Theory: implications for critical social work research. (To be  
 submitted to *Qualitative Inquiry.*)

Kang, H. & Robinson, R. (In progress). Biopolitics of immigrants and refugees:  
 social work implications. (To be submitted to *Journal of Community  
 Practice.*)

### **Jury-Selected Conference Presentations**

Oct. 2006     *Contestation, negotiation, and historicity: Discursive construction of  
 Seattle's International District.* Paper presented at the Place Matters:  
 Seeking Equity In a Diverse Society conference. University of  
 Washington. Seattle, WA.

- Sep. 2005 *Beyond diversity courses: Strategies for integrating critical consciousness across social work curriculum.* Paper presentation at the 18<sup>th</sup> Asia-Pacific Social Work Conference. Seoul, Korea,
- Feb. 2005 *Beyond diversity courses: Strategies for integrating critical consciousness across social work curriculum.* Paper presentation at the 51<sup>st</sup> Annual Program Meeting of the Council on Social Work Education. New York, NY
- Jan., 2004 *Grounded Theory: Implications for critical social work research.* Paper presentation at the Society for Social Welfare Research (SSWR) Annual Conference. New Orleans, LA.
- Nov., 1998 *How a victim's or offender's race, ethnicity, class impacts safety and accountability issues.* Presentation and workshop at the Creating a Public Response to Private Violence Conference (an international conference on domestic violence). Duluth, MN.
- Sept., 1998 *Creating a coordinated community response to domestic violence in Asian Pacific Islander immigrant refugee communities.* Presentation at the Immigrant and Refugee Services Administration's National Conference. San Francisco, CA.
- May, 1998 *Culturally relevant mental healthcare for immigrant and refugee clients.* Presentation at the Washington Behavioral Healthcare Conference. Ellensburg, WA.
- May, 1998 *Cultural and linguistic interpretation for Asian domestic violence perpetrators treatment group: a preliminary report.* Paper presentation at Critical Link 2: Interpreters in the Community (an international conference on interpretation). Vancouver, BC, Canada.

### **Other Selected Training and Presentations**

Feb., July, and Sept. 2006

#### Adolescent development

Training provided for Big Brothers Big Sisters of New York Mentoring Certificate Program. New York, NY.

- May 2005      Cross-Cultural Alliance  
Lecture and discussion activity presented at the Korean American Behavioral Health Association. Flushing, NY
- Nov. 2004      Beyond the rhetoric of multi-culturalism: Toward a critically contextual counseling practice.  
Lecture and discussion provided for the B.C. Association of Clinical Counselors. Vancouver BC, Canada.
- Spring and fall, 1996-2002  
Cultural diversity and environmental justice.  
Lecture and discussion activity presented at the American Lung Association. Seattle, WA.
- July, 2001      Culturally relevant children's mental health assessment.  
Training provided for the Asian Counseling & Referral Service. Seattle, WA.
- June, 2001      Making schools safe for all children: Anti-harassment and bullying.  
Training provided for Seattle Public Schools Principals Education Institute. Seattle, WA.
- Nov., 1997      Coordinated community response to domestic violence.  
Lecture presented at Seoul National University Children's Hospital. Seoul, Korea.
- April, 1997      Cultural sensitivity and issues of power in dispute resolution.  
Training provided for the King County Dispute Resolution Service. Seattle, WA.

### University and Community Service

#### **At Fordham University GSSS**

- Jan. 05-present      Foundation Area Committee
- Apr. 05-present.      International/Global Service Committee
- Sept. 05-present      Initial Appointments Committee
- March 06-present      Conversations on Race Committee

**Other services**

- 1993-2005 Co-founder/Board Member  
Asian Pacific Islander Women & Family Safety Center. Seattle, WA.
- 2000-2001 Student Representative  
University of Washington School of Social Work Dean Search  
Committee.
- 1999 Research Award Committee Member  
University of Washington School of Social Work.
- 1997 Reviewer (HIV community education)  
Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum. San Francisco,  
CA.
- 1996-1999 Research Committee Member  
Minority Health Coalition. Seattle, WA.
- 1996-1997 Co-Chair  
Korean Community Domestic Violence Council. Seattle, WA.
- 1992 Co-founder  
Asian Women's Network. Seattle, WA
- 1992 Planning Committee Member  
Asian American Heritage Month. Seattle, WA.
- 1987 Oral History Project Volunteer  
Korean American Historical Society. Seattle, WA

**Professional Affiliations**

- Member Council on Social Work Education (CSWE)
- Member National Asian Pacific Women's Political Forum (NAPWF)