

Not in My 'Hood: Social Control, Ethnicity, and Crime in Seattle's International District

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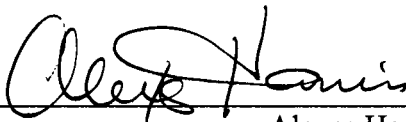


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Abstract

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Current theories regarding collective efficacy may not effectively capture neighborhood social organization in some ethnic neighborhoods. In particular, current definitions of collective efficacy neglect the powerful influence of non-residents who may also “take ownership” in the neighborhood despite not living there. The presence of these “neighborhood adoptees,” defined as non-residents, who identify with and claim the neighborhood as their own, augments predicted low levels of collective efficacy. Through an analysis of data collected from the “Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey” as well as ethnographic interviews of residents, business owners, and neighborhood adoptees in Seattle’s International District, this paper demonstrates that culture and ethnic identity are key elements that often lead Asian American neighborhood adoptees to take ownership and participate in a neighborhood that they do not reside in. In turn, the ubiquitous presence of these neighborhood adoptees results in an increase of collective efficacy that normally is unmeasured in surveys. This study further describes the manner in which neighborhood adoptees affect social control and social cohesion in the neighborhood.

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DEDICATIONS

To my dad. I miss you.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Social scientists have grown increasingly interested in the possibility that a higher level of collective efficacy within a neighborhood is associated with reduced crime and violence. Collective efficacy is defined as “the linkage of cohesion and mutual trust with shared expectations for intervening in support of neighborhood social control” (Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999, p.612-613). High levels of collective efficacy in neighborhoods explain lower rates of crime and observed disorder after controlling for the structural characteristics of the neighborhood (Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999).

This dissertation investigates the manner in which collective efficacy operates in a predominantly Asian American neighborhood. Many neighborhood studies of collective efficacy exclude Asian Americans. For instance, much of the existing research on neighborhood collective efficacy uses data from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) (Taylor, 2002). However, these data only included information pertaining to neighborhood clusters of blacks, whites, and Latinos. This is somewhat surprising since Chicago has a Chinatown area and over 125,000 Asian American residents. Other studies on crime and collective efficacy have focused on cities with predominantly white populations, once again neglecting the Asian American population (Gibson, Zhao, Lovrich, and Gaffney, 2002).

In this dissertation, I contend that traditional measurements of collective efficacy using surveys of residents have neglected to analyze predominantly Asian American neighborhoods; even so, these measurements may not adequately capture the true levels of social organization exhibited in predominantly Asian American communities. Survey data neglect the strong influence of non-residents who participate in neighborhood activities and whose involvement is triggered by a strong sense of ethnic identity. This suggests that levels of collective efficacy may often be underestimated in ethnic neighborhoods. Furthermore, although this study focuses on a predominantly Asian American neighborhood, these findings may be applicable to other ethnic neighborhoods which serve as cultural epicenters and attract those who feel connected to the neighborhood through ethnic identity.

For instance, Portes and Jensen (1987, 1989) have argued that residential definitions of ethnic enclaves are inappropriate and should be expanded to include actors who participate in enclave activities yet do not reside there. In their study (1989) on Cuban workers in ethnic enclaves of South Florida, they asserted that other works such as Sanders and Nee's research (1987) on ethnic enclaves and Cuban and Chinese immigrants are weakened by the fact that only residents are included in their operational definitions. Portes and Jensen maintained that educational and income characteristics of those living outside of the ethnic enclave were dramatically higher than the enclave residents. It follows that

studies that chose to only include residents in their analyses may have failed to capture the effects of these non-residents.

With structural characteristics of a predominantly Asian American neighborhood indicating relatively extreme disadvantage, the International District¹ of Seattle offers an excellent site for field research. Some researchers (Wilson and Hernstein, 1985) have suggested that racial discrimination of Asian Americans during the early 1900s has had the unintended consequence of lowering criminality for Asian Americans. Through forced segregation, the development of Chinatowns and Asian American neighborhood ethnic enclaves emerged. Coinciding with this forced isolation came the growth of culturally protected communities that helped maintain social order (Wilson and Hernstein, 1985).

One of the residents that I interviewed conveyed this point in his perception of crime in the neighborhood:

We were recently looking at news articles that we had from 1895 to 1915. The tong wars were happening here. So this (crime) has been happening for a long time. Things that drove things here. First, we all shouldn't be here. The ID is here because of crimes that were committed upon us. We couldn't live in certain areas, we couldn't own land, and we couldn't vote, couldn't go to school, couldn't do a lot of things. We kind of banded together to make this community work. What is unique about this community is we did band together to make it work. –Michael

This dissertation closely examines the manner in which the International District community has “banded together to make it work.” This research offers

¹ This neighborhood is also referred to as Chinatown, the I.D., and/ or the Chinatown-International District.

an alternative way to measure collective efficacy and explores the role of ethnic identity in influencing neighborhood social control. Previous research within the related disciplines of sociology, criminology, and ethnic studies has helped to guide and shape this dissertation. In subsequent chapters, I describe some of this research and then continue to explain my method, data, and empirical findings. Finally, I conclude with the study's implications for other racial or ethnic minority groups as well as suggestions for future research.

1.1 Asian American Neighborhoods

There are few studies focused on crime in Asian American neighborhoods. Very little research on race, crime, and violence strays from the black-white dichotomy in America. Kitano (1967) examined low crime rates within the Japanese American youth. He surveyed 25 Japanese American juvenile offenders and 37 non-offenders and concluded that a form of social control occurred within those that adhered to traditional Japanese values and cultural norms. Furthermore, delinquent youth were more likely to come from broken homes, associate with non-Japanese American peers, and be more dissatisfied with their upbringing.

Chambliss and Nagasawa (1969) contended that crime statistics are inaccurate measures of actual crime. They examined the official and unofficial delinquency rates of black, white, and Japanese youth. They concluded that due to stereotyping, visibility of offenses, and police bias, the actual criminal activity

of the Japanese youth is much higher than the official crime statistics would indicate.

Yet, for the most part, the inclusion of Asian Americans within criminological research is limited. Hawkins (2003) argued that criminology could benefit from further research on other racial and ethnic groups besides blacks and whites. Jang (2002) also contended that most researchers of crime and violence rarely focus or even include Asian Americans. In addition, the widespread proliferation of Asian American gangs has not seen an increase in their inclusion in gang studies and research (Toy, 1992).

Several explanations for the dearth of research on Asian American neighborhoods can be offered. First, Asian Americans remain a relatively small percentage of the total American population, at around four percent. Moreover, Hune and Chan (1997) and Osajima (1995) have argued that Asian Americans are often overlooked in research because of stereotypes and tendencies to view them as the “silent minority” or the “invisible minority.” Similarly, Tuan (1998) stated that Asian Americans are ignored because they are often lumped together as “honorary whites” and exhibit the same general characteristics as the mainstream white majority or are perceived as “forever foreigners” who are not Americans at all. Some studies (Guthrie and Hutchinson, 1995; Merry, 1980) found that subjects did not make a distinction between recent immigrants and long-term Asian Americans. Moreover, Guthrie and Hutchinson (1995) discovered that diversity was not recognized within the Asian American population and that many

black and white Americans categorize all Asian Americans as Chinese, with the belief that all persons of Asian ancestry share the same qualities regardless of country of origin.

Furthermore, some researchers have had difficulty in quantifying what constitutes an Asian American neighborhood. For instance, perhaps due to small Asian American populations in various areas around the United States, some studies have defined Asian residential enclaves as areas that are as little as ten percent Asian (Bobo, Oliver, Johnson, Jr., and Valenzuela (eds.), 2000))

Neighborhood studies on Asian Americans primarily focus on ethnic enclaves and their changing nature and role in the assimilation process of newly arrived Asian immigrants. Several studies (Lyman, 1974; Wong, 1982; Kwong, 1987; and Zhou, 1992) have focused on the socioeconomic lives of Chinese Americans and the changing dynamics within American Chinatowns. An important component within these studies is also a description of ethnic collaboration and dense social networks and integration. For instance, Kwong (1987) described an informal political and social structure in New York's Chinatown that revealed an interconnectedness between the various Chinese American institutions. As a result, there is a heightened degree of ethnic solidarity within the neighborhood. Zhou (1992) also examined New York's Chinatown and found that members residing in an urban ethnic enclave may have benefits that often go unnoticed. Some of these benefits that Zhou described included trust and loyalty and insulation from societal prejudice and

discrimination. As a result, social ties and networks may also be strengthened. Lyman's (1972, 1986) research found that although competition and conflict among various social institutions exists within Chinatown, institutional and social order emerges through a system of "antagonistic cooperation." Horton (1995) examined the shift in politics and ethnic diversity that arrived with the heavy influx of Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park, California. He found that although much initial resistance to immigration existed among the nativist white population, racial divisions were eradicated as interracial and interethnic unions formed to improve life in the community. Social cohesion was exhibited in Monterey Park such as when Chinese American residents collaborated to defeat the establishment of a gambling parlor.

Studies on Korean American populations also reveal strong cultural networks and ethnic solidarity. Many studies on Koreatowns mainly focus on the economic aspect and relations with the African American community after the L.A. riots. Bergesen and Herman (1998) examined the 1992 L.A. riots in the context of African American attitudes and responses to increased immigration from Korea and the formation of Koreatown. Kim's (1999) edited work continued along the same lines as Bergesen and Herman but further expands to the Koreatowns of Chicago and New York. Yoon (1987) also investigated Korean neighborhoods and communities within a business and ethnic enterprise context. He discovered that among Korean American entrepreneurs, there is a great deal of coalition building and ethnic solidarity rather than competition. Min

(1992) contributed to the existing research with findings focused on the social functions of Korean immigrant churches. Min concluded that Korean immigrant churches increase social networks in the Korean immigrant community by providing fellowship for Korean immigrants, helping to maintain Korean culture and traditions, providing jobs and opportunities for Korean immigrants, and providing social services for the Korean community as a whole.

Many studies of Vietnamese Americans also indicate strong cultural networks. Most studies focus on the refugee experience and immigration rather than the conditions of Vietnamese American neighborhoods. Kelly (1977) argued that although there were systematic efforts in the refugee and resettlement camps to discourage Vietnamese refugees from forming their own ethnic communities once they arrived in America, the high levels of ethnic solidarity among the Vietnamese did in fact result in a migration from outlying areas to ethnic communities in major urban centers. Rutledge (1992) found that a possible disconnect between Vietnamese and Vietnamese Americans is culturally bridged through a mutual appreciation for Vietnamese customs, beliefs, and traditions. This led to stronger levels of social cohesion and ethnic identity. One interesting study that investigated a specific Vietnamese American community was Wood's (1997) analysis of Vietnamese neighborhoods in Northern Virginia. Wood argued that for the most part, Vietnamese American residences, churches, and other distinctive ethnic identifiers are inconspicuous. However, the business presence of "Little Saigon" areas was extremely visible and ethnically distinct,

comparable to Chinatowns and Koreatowns. He found that such place making fosters the development of ethnic identity and social relationships.

Danico (2004) examined the unique case of Orange County, California, which has one of the largest Asian Pacific American populations in the country. In Orange County, there is a Koreatown and Little Saigon adjacent to each other in the cities of Garden Grove and Westminster. Danico described some of the political struggles of community members and prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behavior of some of the white residents.

Several research studies examined the Japanese American communities in the larger metropolitan areas of Seattle and Los Angeles. Miyamoto (1984) focused on the Japanese American experience in Seattle and the social networks that bind this community. He found that ethnic solidarity and social ties within the pre-WWII Japanese American community was cultivated through Japanese culture and traditions. Takami (2000) investigated the effects of WWII and the internment of Japanese Americans in the Seattle and Puget Sound area. He asserts that although the internment experience certainly had a divisive effect on the Japanese American population, social cohesion reemerged and was manifested in the successful campaign for redress. Kurashige (2002) investigated the historical changes occurring in Little Tokyo in Los Angeles and the impact of the *Nisei* Week festival. Kurashige finds that although one of the effects of WWII was the dispersal of Japanese American and the weakening of Japantown, the

Nisei Week festival promoted social bonding within the Japanese American community.

In sum, there is growing research on the ethnic identity and social solidarity of Asian Americans. However, there is still very little research that examines crime in predominantly Asian American neighborhoods. Furthermore, studies on collective efficacy essentially ignore Asian American neighborhoods. With the recent *Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey* of Matsueda, Crutchfield, Guest, and Kubrin (2003) indicating that the International District of Seattle may be a neighborhood outlier in statistical models, this current study also provides qualitative field research that reveals unique relationships between ethnic identity, culture, social cohesion and networking, collective efficacy, and crime.

1.2 Collective Efficacy Research

Multiple studies have used data from Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) to analyze collective efficacy. Sampson et al. (1997) used these data to investigate the relationship between collective efficacy and perceived violence, homicide, and victimization. Collective efficacy was measured through survey responses pertaining to informal social control and social cohesion/trust. To measure the shared expectations for informal social control, respondents were asked on a five-item Likert-type scale the likelihood of neighbors to take action or do something if: a.) children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner, b.) children were spray painting graffiti on a local

building, c.) children were showing disrespect to an adult, d.) a fight broke out in front of their house e.) the fire station closest to home was threatened with budget cuts. In order to gauge a level of social cohesion/ trust, respondents were asked on a five-point scale how strongly they agreed that: a.) "People around here are willing to help their neighbors," b.) "This is a close-knit neighborhood," c.) "People in this neighborhood can be trusted," d.) "People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with each other." After combining the informal social control and social cohesion/trust measures together to create a measure of collective efficacy, the researchers concluded that high levels of collective efficacy reduce all three of the outcome variables of violence, homicide, and victimization.

In an examination of collective efficacy and disorder, Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) argued that collective efficacy is a stronger predictor of crime than observed disorder. The researchers supplemented their survey data by videotaping 23,000 street segments in Chicago and then constructing social and physical disorder scales for the 196 neighborhoods that they observed. They also conclude that the Kelling and Coles's (1996) "broken windows" approach to policing has little support, noting that the relationship between public disorder and crime is spurious, due to collective efficacy, except perhaps in the case of robbery.

Morenoff, Sampson, and Raudenbush (2001) also examined Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) data along with

structural characteristics from the 1990 census to determine that concentrated disadvantage and low collective efficacy predict increased homicide. They also discovered that the effect of collective efficacy was strongest in black neighborhoods. Furthermore, they assert that the fundamental causes of neighborhood violence are fairly similar across race.

Using survey data from three predominantly white “middle America” cities of midrange size, Gibson et al. (2002) investigated the manner in which individual perceptions of collective efficacy mediates between social integration and fear of crime. Data from random sample mail surveys of adults in Boise, Idaho; Council Bluffs, Iowa; and Spokane, Washington were analyzed. They concluded that social integration had the most important effect on individual perceptions of collective efficacy and perceptions of disorder had the second most important effects on individual perceptions of collective efficacy. Moreover, the researchers found that even after controlling for the effects of other known predictors of fear of crime, increased perceptions of collective efficacy had a fairly large impact on decreasing fear of crime among residents.

Browning, Feinberg, and Dietz (2004) also explored the existence of neighborhoods with high levels of collective efficacy but also high levels of crime. They contend that although social networks contribute to the increase in collective efficacy, the availability of social capital for potential offenders is increased as well. Thus, the mediating effects of collective efficacy on violent

crime in neighborhoods with strong social networks are negated by the fact that criminals may also benefit from these very same social networks.

Wells, Schaefer, Varano, and Bynum (2006) aimed for a better understanding of why residents may be unwilling to act and become involved when crime and deviance plague the neighborhood. Guided by social disorganization theory and theories on collective efficacy, the researchers were surprised to find that residents of neighborhoods characterized by lower levels of collective efficacy are no more or less likely to become involved than residents of other areas in the face of rising crime. The researchers suggested that perhaps respondents in their study felt that neighborhood problems were beyond their means of control.

Drawing on social disorganization and collective efficacy theory, Browning and Cagney (2003) investigated the impact of neighborhood structural characteristics on individual health. Also focusing on data from Chicago, the researchers found that neighborhood affluence was a more powerful predictor of individual health than poverty. Moreover, neighborhood affluence also exceeded individual demographic background, socioeconomic status, health behaviors, and insurance coverage as a predictor of individual health. The study also contends that collective efficacy is a significant positive predictor of health.

In a study examining the relationship between neighborhood characteristics and reporting crime, Goudriaan et al. (2006) found that victims in neighborhoods with high social cohesion were more likely to report crimes.

Using a sample of Dutch victims, the researchers also found that victims in socio-economically disadvantaged neighborhoods were less likely to report crimes.

A few studies offer recommendations on building collective efficacy. Nolan, III, Conti, and McDevitt (2004) argue that rather than broken windows policing or community policing, “situational policing” is needed in order to effectively address neighborhood crime and disorder and also promote the development of collective efficacy. They propose that the development of neighborhood collective efficacy generally passes through four stages. The first stage includes dependence on the police to solve problems related to crime and disorder. In this stage, residents generally view the police as competent and are respected. In the second stage, conflict and dissatisfaction with the police emerge when the police are unable to effectively keep the neighborhood safe. In stage three, the community and the police recognize that they share mutual responsibility for neighborhood safety and community members begin to develop social networks and work together towards collective efficacy in regards to maintaining social order in public spaces. Police and residents develop stronger and trusting relationships. In the fourth and final stage of interdependence, collective efficacy is developed as police work collaboratively with residents through a strong, trusting community network. The researchers present this model as a guide for the police to work towards the development of collective efficacy.

Ohmer and Beck (2006) discussed research and strategies for social workers and other community practitioners to increase neighborhood collective efficacy in poor communities. They found that the more residents participated in community activities and organizations, the greater their perceptions were of neighborhood organizations to collectively solve neighborhood problems and also organize neighborhood mobilization and get people to know one another. The researchers urge social workers to engage residents in local neighborhood activities to develop organized collective action that can address neighborhood problems.

1.3 Neighborhood Organization and Crime Research

Miethe and Meier (1994) analyzed data obtained through the Seattle Victimization Survey of 1990, in which 5,302 Seattle residents in 114 census tracts were asked about their experiences with crime and victimization. The researchers were interested in investigating the neighborhood conditions that were more or less likely to result in crime and victimization. One of their conclusions was that neighborhoods that are predominantly black, have high residential mobility, and a high proportion of single-parent families experience more predatory crime. Warner and Rountree (1997) also used data from the Seattle Victim Survey and focused on the relationship between social ties and crime. They explored the effects of social ties, which were measured by community activities such as neighbors borrowing tools or food from each other, having lunch or dinner with neighbors, or helping neighbors with problems. One of their

findings was that strong social ties had a negative effect on assaults only in predominantly white neighborhoods. They also investigated the manner in which the effectiveness of social ties may vary depending on one's gender. They concluded that female social ties were more effective in controlling crime (Rountree and Warner, 1999).

In addition, Bellair (2000) analyzed data from the Seattle Victimization Survey to examine the relationship between informal surveillance and neighboring, robbery/stranger assault, and residents' perceptions of risk. He concluded that when one controls for risk perception, then informal surveillance has an inverse effect on robbery/stranger assault.

Although studies utilizing the Seattle Victimization Survey have indeed contributed to our understanding of social control and crime, the opportunity to further explore how social control within an Asian American neighborhood might operate differently was not explored. Asian Americans represent the largest racial minority in the city of Seattle, yet this population tends to be overlooked. Other studies on neighborhoods and crime continue this pattern.

For instance, Kapsis (1978) analyzed survey data from three adjacent low-income neighborhoods in the Bay Area that had varying degrees of change among its black population. The neighborhoods were classified as having low, moderate and high delinquency. Focusing on black male delinquency, Kapsis discovered that the neighborhoods that had the highest levels of racial stability had the lowest rates of delinquency. Also, the low-delinquency neighborhoods had relatively

strong social cohesiveness compared to the moderate and high delinquency neighborhoods. Since it is well known that the Bay Area is home to an extremely large Asian American population, it would have been interesting to determine whether or not Kapsis's findings would have been applicable to some of the local Asian American ethnic neighborhoods.

Campbell and Lee (1992) investigated social networks using data collected from 81 neighborhoods in Nashville. They examined the effects of gender, age, education, and income on personal neighbor networks. They argued that there are no differences between men and women in regards to the frequency or intensity of relations with neighbors. Also, those with higher education and higher income levels know by name and talk or visit more with their neighbors. Thus, having well-developed social networks would reduce crime by increasing the levels of informal social control in these neighborhoods. Since the limited studies on Asian American neighborhoods or communities describe cohesive social networks, analyzing the relationship between informal social control and crime in a predominantly Asian American neighborhood could offer interesting findings.

Through an analysis of victimization survey data from neighborhoods in Rochester, St. Petersburg/Tampa, and St. Louis, Bellair (1997) investigated the effects of social interactions and victimization. He argued that even infrequent interactions that symbolize weak social ties have an effect on reducing crime, particularly in more affluent and homogeneous neighborhoods. For Seattle's

International District, since many non-resident community members take interest in the neighborhood due to their Asian American ethnic identity even though they do not live there, it is certainly possible that their weak social ties to the neighborhood may still have an effect on crime reduction. Moreover, many neighborhood adoptees possess an affluent status that the predominantly poor International District residents lack.

Using the British Crime Survey, a study of 10,905 household surveys from 238 British neighborhoods, Sampson and Grove (1989) proposed a theory of social disorganization. Their intent was to test the effects of mediating social control factors such as friendship networks, peer groups, and organizational participation on structural community characteristics such as urbanization, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, socioeconomic status, and degree of family disruption. The researchers concluded that the mediating social control factors had important indirect effects on the crime rate, lending support to social disorganization theory.

Veysey and Messner (1999) tested Sampson and Grove's theory further and concluded that it was only partially right. They stated that for urbanization and family disruption, the mediating social control variables have no impact and that these structural variables actually have large direct effects on the crime rate. Also utilizing the data from the British Crime Survey, Markowitz, Bellair, Liska, and Liu (2001) concluded that disorder may indirectly increase crime by increasing levels of fear. This increase in fear level, in turn, leads to reduced

social involvement and collective efficacy. These conclusions are intriguing relative to social conditions in the International District. Since many International District residents express fear of retaliation by criminals, possible social control factors that circumvent residents' levels of fear can be investigated.

Patillo-McCoy's (1999) ethnography of the black middle-class neighborhood of Groveland also provides insight into neighborhood organization. She argues (p.69) that the "flaw in social organization theory lies in the assumption that dense networks always work *against* crime." Through her fieldwork, she discovers that the dense social networks of Groveland residents allow for criminal enterprise, despite the neighborhood's middle class status, residential stability, and mostly law-abiding citizens. She also argues that being next to impoverished neighborhoods leads Groveland to be subjected to some of the same social ills and problems with crime that affect those poorer neighborhoods. The middle-class status of Groveland did not insulate it from problems affecting many poor black communities (Patillo-McCoy, 1999). This study in the International District also considers outlying neighborhoods and the overall impact of dense social networks.

Traditional measures of neighborhood collective efficacy have been limited to survey data of residents. For most neighborhoods, this technique is effective. However, in a predominantly Asian American community such as the International District, measures of collective efficacy should expand beyond residents to capture the effects of "neighborhood adoptees," which I have defined

as non-residents who identify with and claim the neighborhood as their own. As a result, neighborhood adoptees augment collective efficacy and increase social cohesion in the community.

The aim of this study is to explore the likelihood that current definitions of collective efficacy presently used to measure social cohesion in predominantly white neighborhoods may be inadequate for a predominantly Asian neighborhood. My research questions are twofold : (1) What factors influence the International District's level of social cohesion and what effect does that have on the community's crime rate? (2) Why do neighborhood adoptees participate in the International District community and how does their involvement lead to the creation of collective efficacy?

Chapter 2

Seattle's International District: A Unique History, an Evolving Present

“For reasons unknown, the District is the only location in the continental United States where the various Asian settlers—Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Vietnamese—settled together and built one community.” –Ron Chew, Executive Director, Wing Luke Asian Museum

2.1 Brief Historical Overview of the International District

The boundaries of Seattle's Chinatown-International District may differ depending on who is defining them. Census tract boundaries of the neighborhood do not coincide directly with residents' perceptions of the neighborhood. However, most community organizations acknowledge that Seattle's International District stretches from Fourth and Yesler from the west and north and extends until Fourteenth and Dearborn on the east and south.

Perhaps some of the first evidence of crime in the area were the anti-Chinese riots in 1886, when whites stormed the original Chinese quarters and forcibly put Chinese onto ships headed to San Francisco and Port Townsend. However, Seattle's location as a port city and also the need of the United States for cheap labor led to continued immigration from Asia and by 1890, Seattle's Chinese population was back to the pre-riot levels (Chin, 2001; Hsu, 1987).

Historically, the International District has had distinct areas: *Nihonmachi* (Japantown), Chinatown, and more recently, Little Saigon. But Filipinos, blacks, and white laborers have also resided in the International District. According to local historians, “It is perhaps the only area in the continental United States where Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, African Americans, Vietnamese and Koreans settled together to build a single neighborhood” (Seattle PI, Webtowns profile).

After the forced displacement of the Chinese immigrants, the first buildings to go up in the new area were the Kong Yick buildings, financed by the entrepreneur Goon Dip. This development led to the stable establishment of the Chinese community in the area after it had been displaced from the original location near 2nd Avenue and South Washington Street. With more immigration from China causing a demand for space, a new or second Chinatown developed rapidly east up into King Street and along Jackson Street (<http://www.wingluke.org/IDHistory.htm>).

The Japanese community developed a *Nihonmachi* or Japantown along Main Street bordering the new Chinese settlement. The Japanese businesses-- restaurants, bathhouses, laundries, dry goods stores and markets – disappeared when the local Japanese American population was forced into internment camps during World War II. The Filipinos were the third Asian group to arrive, often residing in neighborhood hotels while seeking connections to work in the Alaskan fishing canneries. Some Filipinos operated cafes, pool halls, barbershops, and other small businesses. During World War II, there was an increased African

Americans presence in the neighborhood. African Americans residents increased as war industry jobs were plentiful. They also established diners, groceries, taverns, tailor shops and night clubs. For many years, the International District was the center of Seattle's after-hours jazz scene, which thrived on Jackson Street (<http://www.wingluke.org/IDHistory.htm>).

After the Immigration Act of 1965 voided the Chinese Exclusion Act which had existed since 1882, new Chinese arrivals, including families, began to settle in the neighborhood's hotels. Shortly after though, the possible construction of the Kingdome on the western border of the District, combined with the construction of the Interstate 5 freeway which would cut the neighborhood in half, created a threat to the area's survival. By the 1970s, many hotels and businesses had shut down (Chin, 2001).

Around this time, young Chinese, Japanese and Filipino student activists, as an offshoot of the Civil Rights Movement to promote Asian American unity, led a fight to reclaim the area. Priorities for these Asian American activists included low income housing, setting up bilingual social service programs, and forming a public corporation to preserve and renovate historic buildings. Moreover, there was an influx of college-educated Asian American professionals who set up offices in the International District, close to where their parents or grandparents may have lived. They collaborated together with current residents to garner public funds. As a result, hotels and streets were refurbished, new senior apartments were erected, and community based service centers were

established. Then in the 1980's, Vietnamese refugees opened restaurants, markets, and other stores near 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street. Others opened in storefronts in the core of the International District (<http://www.wingluke.org/IDHistory.htm>).

Today, Latino workers and Latino-owned produce shops are also sprinkling throughout the neighborhood, making the International District even more ethnically diverse. Seattle's International District remains one of the few communities in America in which diverse ethnic groups reside, own businesses, have community meetings, and collaborate on social issues without the heavy influence of the mainstream culture (Santos, 2002).

2.2 Field Site Analysis

As mentioned earlier, previous studies (Gibson et al, 2002; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; Sampson et al., 1997; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Morenoff et al. 2001) that have focused on collective efficacy did not include any predominantly Asian American neighborhoods. Performing ethnographic research in a neighborhood within a city in which the largest racial minority group is Asian American will add to the existing literature on Asian American neighborhoods. Theories relating the association between neighborhood social composition and collective efficacy predict that neighborhood concentrated disadvantage and immigrant concentration will be negatively linked to neighborhood collective efficacy (Sampson et al., 1997). The International District provides an interesting area of study because of the neighborhood's social

composition. As Table 1.1 below shows, the International District is the most impoverished census tract and has the highest percentage of immigrants in Seattle. Moreover, the percent who actually own their own homes is less than three percent, compared to over fifty percent for the city overall. Thus, in an area of high poverty, immigrant concentration, and low residential stability, current theories would predict that neighborhood collective efficacy in the International District would be low.

Table 1.1-- Overview of Tract 91: The International District and City-wide Comparisons of Several Demographic Variables

Census Data	Tract 91	City	Rank
Percent Asian	58.4	13.2	1
Percent Foreign Born	61.7	17.0	1
Percent in Poverty	49.6	11.4	1
Percent on Public Assistance	15.8	3.3	2
Percent Unemployed	22.8	5.2	1
Percent Own Home	2.8	50.5	121
Collective Efficacy	2.49	3.01	122
Violent Crime : 2002-2004 Avg. Yearly crime rate per 1000 residents	40.5	7.0	4
Predicted Violent Crime (R2=.734)	48.2	7.3	2

Sources: www.census.gov; Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey

(Matsueda et. al, 2003)

In Seattle, all of census tract 91 lies within the International District.

Figure 2.1 reveals that this census tract covers almost the entire neighborhood, including the heart of the district as well as its north and south boundaries.

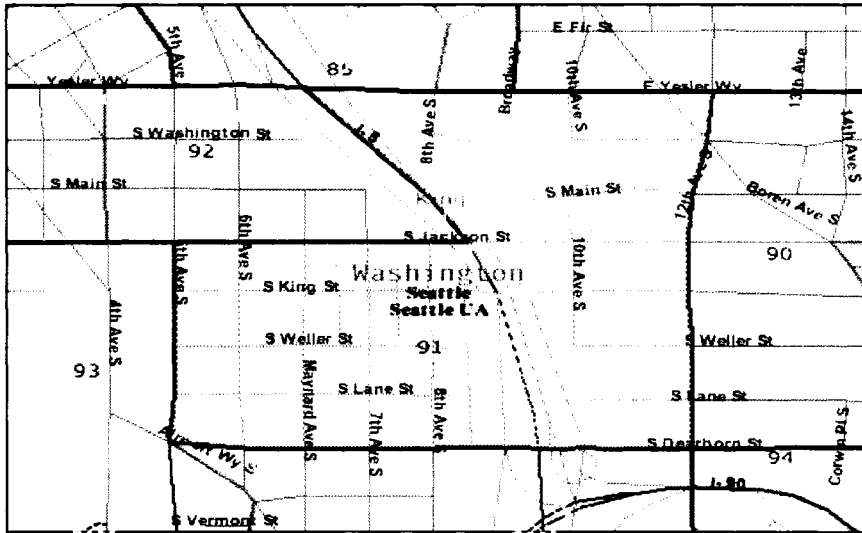


Figure 2.1-- Census Tract 91: The Heart of the International District
 Source: www.census.gov

The neighborhood lies just south of Seattle's downtown area. The Little Saigon area that is home to many Vietnamese delis, restaurants, groceries, and mom and pop gift stores begins on the eastern border of Tract 91 but also crosses into Tract 90. Tract 90 and neighborhoods just northeast of the International District comprise the Central District of Seattle, which has historically been home to Seattle's black community.

Tract 91 is unique in several ways and suggests the International District's status as an outlier in regards to the neighborhood's structural characteristics and violent crime level. The census tract has the highest percentage of Asian residents, unemployed persons, foreign born persons, and persons living in poverty in the entire city of Seattle (Table 1.1). Out the city's 123 census tracts, it has the second highest percentage of individuals on public assistance. Only 2.8 percent of the residents own their own home, which is third lowest in the city.

Also, in a model predicting violent crime as a linear function of poverty, public assistance, unemployment, female-headed households, percent black, percent Hispanic, percent Asian, percent immigrant, residential stability, home ownership, and collective efficacy, there would be 48.2 violent crimes per thousand residents predicted between 2002-2004 per year. However, within census tract 91, the average yearly violent crime rate was only 40.5, approximately *20 percent less* than the model would predict.

Clearly, the International District is a unique neighborhood that merits investigation. Since survey data and quantitative analyses may not offer an adequate explanation as to why actual violent crime is much less than predicted, field research within the neighborhood may better provide elucidation.

2.3 Brief History of Neighborhood Activism and Neighborhood Adoptees

Researching the political culture of Koreatown, Los Angeles, Chung (2005, p. 913) wrote that “An abundance of literature has speculated on the so-called ‘political inactivity’ or, in some cases, the general ‘apathy’ of immigrant and native-born Asians in America...” In her compelling study on Japanese and African American relations in Chicago, Harden (2003, pp.120-121) stated that “Most of us, whether of Asian ancestry or not, see Asian American activism as nonexistent...Americans believe, despite contrary evidence, that Asian Americans are not activists.” Through her field research, Harden is then astonished to discover that Japanese Americans have been involved in activism for over fifty years in Chicago.

Similarly, Asian American activists have long participated in social protests in the Seattle area. Executive Order 9066 wrongly interned 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, two-thirds who were American citizens by birth. When President Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, it provided an official apology and financial compensation in the form of \$20,000 for those who were unjustifiably interned. This was the pinnacle of a twenty-year odyssey for redress that started in Seattle by the local Japanese American Citizens League (Shimabukuro, 2001).

In 1998, dozens of protesters picketed Obachine restaurant in Seattle. The owners of the restaurant had a piece of artwork depicting a Chinese caricature that many local Asian Americans found racist and stereotypical. The restaurant owners initially stated that the artwork would be removed but decided to keep it up as an issue of “freedom of expression.” Enraged demonstrators continued to picket the restaurant with signs such as “Sushi Yes, Slant Eye No” and “Racist Stereotypes Hurt.” Still, the restaurant owners refused to remove the controversial artwork (London, 1998). Perhaps not coincidentally, the restaurant struggled financially and closed its doors less than two years later.

In 2001, Asian American protesters demonstrated in front of the downtown store of Abercrombie & Fitch, for selling T-shirts with the slogan “Wong Brothers Laundry Service: Two Wongs Can Make It White.” Asian Americans denounced the shirts as promoting stereotypes and racism. Also, the

Greater Seattle Chapter of the Organization of Chinese Americans contributed by launching the OCA National on-line petition against Abercrombie & Fitch for their racial t-shirts and helping to organize demonstrations (Tai, 2005).

More specifically, the International District possesses a distinctive history of social activism. Interestingly, many of the activists participating were not residents but non-residents who became involved because they identified ethnically with the neighborhood. Historically and presently, the International District has been viewed as the center of the local Asian American community and continues to draw Asian Americans throughout the region who may feel connected to the community. Oftentimes, these non-residents claim the neighborhood as their own and become actively involved in influencing the everyday lives of residents as well as the overall social structure of the International District. In order to capture the powerful effects of these non-residents, I have defined the term “neighborhood adoptee” as non-residents who identify with and claim the neighborhood as their own.

Historically, the influence of neighborhood adoptees has been manifested via volunteer work and involvement in protests. For example, in 1977 the Seattle Fire Department filed a complaint against a hotel in the International District, citing 60 ongoing fire code violations. As a result, a judge ordered all of the hotel’s residents and tenants to be removed within seven days. However, knowing that these residents would have no other place to go, members of the

community and neighborhood adoptees organized and fought against the closure. Community organizations and attorneys operating in the neighborhood collaborated with tenants and asked the judge to reconsider the closure order. Quickly, more than 180 volunteers including neighborhood adoptees helped tenants make repairs in the building to bring it up to code, eventually hauling away more than 20 tons of trash and making thousands of dollars worth of repairs within one week. Impressed by the community efforts, the fire department actually wrote a letter of support to the judge and urged the city to allow the hotel to remain open. The judge agreed as long as there was a 24-hour fire watch until a fire alarm system was installed. Amazingly, the fire watch lasted for a year and a half, with neighborhood adoptees and community members staying in the building and providing fire protection and personal security seven days a week, 24 hours a day, for 18 months straight. The community wanted to ensure that the residents, who were mostly elderly Chinese and whites, lived in a safe environment (Santos, 2002).

Neighborhood adoptees have also been influential in housing issues for residents and also in the preservation of the neighborhood as an ethnic community. Several high-profile protests in the International District have led to disputes between gentrifiers and neighborhood adoptees over who represents and makes up the community. In 1971, the King County Council approved the recommendation that the Kingdome, a multi-purpose stadium, be built on a

location adjacent to the International District. Shortly after, five buildings in the International District were closed for failing to meet new fire and building code requirements. Asian American community activists charged that the buildings were targeted so that the city could use the land for parking for the Kingdome. There were also concerns that the stadium would displace the poor and elderly and create traffic congestion. The chant of “Hum Bows, Not Hot Dogs” resonated with those who wanted to retain the Asian ethnic identity of the I.D. At the stadium groundbreaking, about 40 Asian American protesters interrupted the ceremony, yelling “Stop the stadium!” and hurling mud at the dignitaries involved. Although the ceremony was actually stopped short because of the protesters, some organizations were quick to point out the activists did not necessarily represent the International District community. In fact, the Chinatown Chamber of Commerce voted in favor of the stadium because they believed that it would be beneficial for business in the area. Other prominent organizations in the neighborhood such as the Japanese American Citizens League and Filipino Community, Inc. chose not to take any official stand on the issue. Still others criticized the fact that some of the protesters did not even live in the neighborhood (Santos, 2002; Chin, 2001).

In another incident that sparked controversy, in spring of 2000, a building owner in the International District was negotiating with McDonald’s and allowing a restaurant on his property within the boundaries of the neighborhood. In

response, there were several rallies by many protesters, including neighborhood adoptees to prevent this from happening and to keep the neighborhood's pan-Asian ethnic character.

Once again, there were rumblings that these protesters did not represent the community. The building's owner and the Chinese/Chinatown Chamber of Commerce argued that he had the right to lease to anyone. In response to the charges that McDonald's would ruin the goal of preserving the neighborhood's Asian character, he responded, "What is Asian?" Others who supported him criticized the fact that some of the protesters, the neighborhood adoptees, did not live or own businesses in the International District but attempted to represent community concerns nonetheless. *The Seattle Weekly* reported that "Property owner Michael Chu, for whom activists have pledged to help find a different tenant, is angry about the activism, claiming that many of the petition-signers lived and worked outside the International District" (Parrish, 2000). His anger was aimed directly at these neighborhood adoptees who were neither residents of the neighborhood nor worked there, but obviously had a powerful response to the events (Chin, 2001).

Moreover, neighborhood adoptees go beyond the census-defined boundaries of the neighborhood and also become involved in issues in surrounding areas, with the belief that issues of neighboring areas might trickle into the International District. For instance, recently the mayor proposed an

emergency shelter in a neighborhood close to the International District. Yet, neighborhood adoptees vigorously opposed this site, even though it was not located in census tract 91. They argued that some of the problems related to the homeless shelter could reach the International District. Residents and neighborhood adoptees collaborated together and sent letters, e-mails, and had face-to-face talks with city officials, urging them not to locate the shelter so close to the International District. After their advocating was successful, one of the neighborhood adoptees said, "I think it's a big win for our neighborhood." An article in the *Northwest Asian Weekly* wrote that, "Many Chinatown/International District advocates breathed a sigh of relief." They also argued for the city to build more housing in the International District in order to attract more families (Vu, 2005). This is important since other researchers have also asserted that participation in community organization not only directly affects the immediate area but the spatial effects of community participation also impact the surrounding, adjacent neighborhoods (Swaroop and Morenoff, 2006).

Also, in April of 2006, there was a demonstration in support of immigration and immigrants' rights that culminated with 25,000 supporters marching through the center of the International District. Although most of the demonstrators were of Latino descent, there were Asian American community members from the International District who also participated. More recently (See Appendix, D4), on April 21, 2007, over 400 protesters marched in the streets and carried signs and banners that read "No Cultural Gentrification" and "Save

Little Saigon”. They also shouted the rally cry of “Hey, Hey! Ho, Ho! Big-Box retail has got to go!” Protesters included residents, business owners, and neighborhood adoptees who were criticizing a plan to build a shopping mall that included a possible Lowes and Target store in the neighborhood. The protest shut down traffic from the Central District in Tract 88, all the way to Dearborn and Rainier Streets on the border of Tracts 90 and 91. In fact, the demonstration march was so large that 18 police motorcyclists escorted the protesters. The ethnic flair of the protest was evidenced by the presence of Chinese lion dancers and traditional drumming (Phan, 2007).

However, not everybody agreed with the protesters. The project developer argued that the construction would be “urban and as unmall-like as you can get.” He also argued that “There is going to be impact from the project, but they are not as catastrophic as the community describes...” He has also stated that he would contribute funds to the neighborhood’s Business Improvement Association and to the formation of a Vietnamese Cultural Center (Phan, 2007).

Similar to the antagonism from whites toward the ethnic minorities in Orange County and Monterey Park described by Danico (2004) and Horton (1995), the International District has also been targeted for criticism by whites. In a letter to the editor of the Northwest Asian Weekly, a reader with an Anglo surname wrote:

To the editor:

The International District/Chinatown distinguishes itself as a very inclusive neighborhood and shopping area serving mostly those who never transitioned, even in minor ways, to the U.S. culture.

The area is unappealing to mainstream shoppers. The shops are rundown, dirty. The storefronts are unpainted, have dirty windows. The streets are bare of trees; flowers; a green, welcoming environment. Alleyways are filthy, rats scrambling freely.

At the cash register, receipts seldom come out, making one wonder if taxes are being paid.

The dragons, high up in the air on poles, are gorgeous. Unfortunately, it is at ground level that the eye seeks beauty and a welcome.

Very few people outside the many non-English-speaking shoppers come to this area.

They have had many years to make this area beautiful, attractive and welcoming to all — but have failed to do so. Ugly describes this area. A green void.

A Target store — chain that it is — will at least serve the needs of the larger community. Hopefully that project will plant trees, have flower baskets and bring some green beauty to that ugly area — and invite everyone to shop, not just a closed, small community, as the International District is now.

Obviously, there are many Seattleites who still have stereotypes of Asian Americans as “non-English speaking” whether foreign born or native born. There is also the characterization of the neighborhood as being “closed-off” and “ugly”. On the other hand, the Ballard neighborhood of Seattle, which is 92 percent white and home to a large population of those with Scandinavian ancestry does not face similar criticisms. Ballard, which also has the largest Norwegian parade

celebration outside of Norway (<http://www.syttendemaiseattle.com/>) has been described as having “character” and “spirit” (Higgins, 1996)

The International District has been a hub of social protests and activism for the Asian American community. The presence and participation of neighborhood adoptees undoubtedly have been influential in the development of the neighborhood. This study focuses on analyzing their impact.

Chapter 3

Method and Data

Traditional measures of collective efficacy have been limited to survey data of residents. For most neighborhoods, this technique is effective. However, in a predominantly Asian American community such as the International District, measures of collective efficacy should expand beyond residents to capture the effects of neighborhood adoptees. Qualitative methods including field observations, interviews, and focus groups are needed to include and assess the impact of neighborhood adoptees.

An ethnographic study of the International District provides rich, detailed information that survey data does not capture. As Katz writes (Katz, 1997, p. 414), “Ethnographies describe people acting in ways that build previously undetected personal and communal life stories. This is perhaps the single most compelling warrant for ethnography: the telling of the story of how people, through collaborative and indirectly interdependent behavior, create the ongoing character of social places and practices.” In addition, ethnographers attempt to “use descriptive data to illustrate their theories and to convince readers that what they say is true” (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984, p. 125).

The International District is precisely the type of neighborhood that would warrant ethnographic research. Being the “only community in the continental United States where various ethnic groups of Asian settlers built one community

together,” this neighborhood should be filled with rich “previously undetected personal and communal life stories.” Examining the “collaborative and indirectly interdependent behavior” of how these Asian community members -- including some elders whose countries of origin have historically been enemies -- have worked collaboratively against crime can best be achieved through ethnographic research.

Extensive fieldwork was an important component in this ethnographic study. As Emerson (1981, p. 352) states, “Field work has become a more clearly recognized and self-identified methodology within sociology.” As a participant observer, I immersed myself into the everyday happenings of the neighborhood. “Observation through regular participation in the naturally occurring activities of the social groupings... generates the richness of observation” (Emerson, 1981, p. 351).

During the course of my field research, I observed routine, mundane, everyday occurrences but also became involved in some of the neighborhood community-based organizations and attended various meetings and activities in the International District. I regularly attended meetings of the Community Action Partnership (CAP) for almost four years and recorded field notes about this unique group of residents, business owners, police officers, and neighborhood adoptees who collaborated together to combat crime. I also worked in conjunction with the CAP manager and organized focus group interviews with business owners and residents. In addition, I volunteered for three consecutive

years to assist the CAP manager on the neighborhood's annual Spring Cleanup Day. Interacting with and hearing about the hopes and aspirations of Spring Cleanup participants and their perceptions on crime allowed me to describe such events from the subjects' perspectives and offer their viewpoints about collaborative community efforts. In addition, analyzing the participation of neighborhood adoptees in such activities became easier through my own participant observation.

The bulk of the data for this study draws upon participant observations over a four-year period from 2003-2007 along with 40 in-depth taped personal interviews (See Appendix A for questionnaire and Appendix B for list of participants) and 3 focus groups with residents, business owners, law enforcement, and neighborhood adoptees.

After recruiting initial subjects, I implemented a snowball sampled and acquired referrals to youth, elderly, males, and females of Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, Thai, Korean, white, and multi-racial ancestry were provided by initial subjects from the Community Action Partnership meetings. Within the interview sample, I attempted to obtain gender and ethnic diversity among the respondents.

Historically, the social networks and community ties of Asian American men and women have differed somewhat. For example, Kibria (1994) found that Vietnamese American women forge active kinship networks with other Vietnamese American women and often become central gatekeepers to the family

group and household. In some cases, they collaborate together and fight against domestic abuse (Kibria, 1994). Also, in Horton's (1995) analysis of social and political transformation of Monterey Park, he describes women as the grassroots organizers (Horton, 1995). Moreover, ensuring ethnic variation among respondents was equally important since Asian Americans are a heterogeneous group and not all ethnic groups agree on the same issues. In fact, there has been a long history of disagreement between the various Asian ethnic groups in the neighborhood (Chin, 2001).

I conducted focused interviews with those of influence who invited me to their offices to conduct the interview as well as lay residents and adoptees who invited me into their homes for the interview. I also conducted interviews in public spaces such as parks and gardens. Two interview subjects ended up conducting their interviews in Mandarin. The other subjects chose to conduct their interviews in English and even foreign-born subjects demonstrated adequate English language skills. Interviews lasted between thirty minutes and three hours.

I recorded observation data through detailed field notes at different times and at various locations in the neighborhood on all days of the week. This included public parks such as Hing Hay Park, Children's International Park, and the Danny Woo Gardens in which many of the criminal activities occurred. Observations also occurred in community centers, restaurants and businesses, and community meetings that were open to the public. I ensured that observations were also done between midnight and 2:00 a.m., the time when many community

members informed me that prostitution and drug dealing were occurring rampantly near 5th and Jackson St. In addition, I also spent many hours observing unique sections of the neighborhood such as Little Saigon, Nihonmachi, ID Village Square II, and the Jungle. In addition, I observed activities and happenings within restaurants, since it is the restaurant owners who have been one of the main forces behind the plea for more of a police presence in the area to prevent loitering, drug dealing, and other vice in front of or even inside their establishments. I conducted observations of youth within the community center as well. I also observed and attended community festivals and events such as the Lunar New Year festival and Summer Festival.

In addition to the Community Action Partnership meetings, I regularly participated in the Wing Luke Asian Museum Community Advisory Council meetings. One of the community treasures is the Wing Luke Asian Museum, which is the only pan-Asian American museum in the continental United States. Currently located on 7th and Jackson, the museum will be moving to a new location on King Street and be remodeled. As a former community college instructor in the Seattle Community College District, I have been on the Wing Luke Museum's Education Board for the past four years. I attended multiple meetings with Wing Luke Staff about museum services and also with the architects who are designing the new museum. Being an Education Board member for the museum was an important component of participant observation, since the Wing Luke Asian Museum is an icon of the International District that

many Asian Americans who do not live or work in the District proudly claim ownership of or identify with. At the Community Advisory Council meetings, I met many of these neighborhood adoptees at Wing Luke-related meetings.

Furthermore, I attended public safety meetings sponsored by the International District Housing Alliance. Through these meetings, I was able to garner initial contacts from a wide variety of diverse community members, including a few recent, non-English speaking residents. Volunteers from various social service agencies as well as native-speaking sociology graduate students at the University of Washington were available and willing to assist me in foreign language interviews and translations in Chinese, Vietnamese, and Tagalog.

Moreover, I gathered and analyzed secondary data including police literature in foreign languages, social service agency handouts, fliers announcing public safety meetings, and local ethnic newspapers. This methodology is similar to other research typical of an urban case study or community study and follows the ethnographic research strategy of Patillo-McCoy (1999), Lin (1998), Anderson (1999), and Horton (1995).

Interview data and participant observation data were coded into over twenty-five different themes. The entire coding process included conducting the interview or observation itself, transcribing the interview or writing the field notes, and analyzing the transcription or field notes for emergent themes of interest. In order to ensure that my field research would be guided by the important themes, I wrote analytic memos. These memos allowed me to

reevaluate what questions I might ask of other interview subjects. Furthermore, by writing these memos, I was able to identify emerging themes to investigate more closely during participant observation and explore more thoroughly during interviews.

3.1 Gaining Access to the Neighborhood

The perception of the International District as a closed community still exists. Some still have the idea of the neighborhood being an area where exotic foods, hidden crime and vice, secret societies, and foreign goods exist. This viewpoint could be characterized as having elements of both stereotype and reality, depending on one's perception and personal experiences. I have encountered other researchers who were interested in the happenings of the International District but felt that they were "not qualified" to study the neighborhood because they were not of Asian ancestry or because they felt that it would be too difficult for them to gain access to key community gatekeepers.

Gaining access in the neighborhood was not difficult for me. Being Burmese American, I was part of the racial majority of Asian Americans in the neighborhood. In addition, in prior research on Asian American communities, I have been mistaken for having Filipino, Chinese, and Korean ancestry by members of those ethnicities themselves. I have been asked to join the Organization of Chinese Americans, the Japanese American Citizens League, and the Korean American Professional Society even though I am not of these ethnic backgrounds. Sometimes, I have been welcomed into an ethnic community

function and then later asked “Were you born in the Philippines or here?” or “Oh! You’re not Korean!” However, I have always felt welcomed and embraced by various Asian American ethnic groups who are pleased that I am interested in learning more about their unique cultural experiences and who appreciate the opportunity discuss their viewpoints.

Moreover, having worked in the International District for several years, I have a working knowledge of the neighborhood. As an employee of one of the local pan-Asian American newspapers, I made many connections as lead instructor of the Summer Youth Leadership Program. As the lead instructor, I got to know many of the community gatekeepers from prominent and influential organizations such as Inter*Im, the Asian Counseling and Referral Services (ACRS), the International District Housing Alliance (IDHA), Chinese Information Services (CIS), and the Wilderness Inner-city Youth Leadership Development Program (WYLD). I also met many neighborhood activists, politicians, and business owners through my employment in the neighborhood.

Some of my former students now work in the neighborhood at places such as the new community center, the Wing Luke Asian Museum, and various shops and restaurants. Furthermore, being involved with CAP and the Wing Luke Asian Museum’s Education Board also afforded me with access privileges. Fortunately, my associations and participation with CAP and IDHA greatly assisted me with access to residents, business owners, and police entities.

Like Patillo-McCoy in her study of Groveland (Patillo-McCoy, 1999), I followed a modified version of the grounded theory method proposed by Glaser and Strauss. A grounded theory approach allows the researcher flexibility and openness in his or her research approach. Although my initial research interests were primarily in exploring collective efficacy and policing in the neighborhood, through the course of my fieldwork, there were other themes that emerged as important. Since grounded theory emphasizes a constant analysis of data and field notes, it is possible that other important topics may be revealed throughout the data collection and coding process (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As Charmaz writes in her explanation of grounded theory (Charmaz, p. 337, 2001), “Grounded theorists evaluate the fit between their initial research interests and their emerging data. They do not force preconceived ideas and theories directly upon their data. Rather, they follow leads that they define in their data, or design another way of collecting data to try to follow their initial interests.”

As a result, while analyzing field notes and coding data, I constantly evaluated whether or not my research approach was ideal and whether or not my initial theory and research interests for the neighborhood remained accurate and research-worthy or if there were other more intriguing themes worth exploring. For instance, it is unlikely that Patillo-McCoy set foot in Groveland with the intent to focus on sports apparel in the community. Yet, after analyzing field notes and coding data, a theme regarding the strong influence of Nike emerged,

which eventually resulted in one of Patillo-McCoy's most intriguing chapters (Patillo-McCoy, pp. 146-166, 2001).

This approach afforded me the flexibility to explore possible new themes and modify my research aims. As a result, my strong initial interest in the formal policing aspect of the neighborhood gave way to the more intriguing aspect of the ethnic identity of the International District rather than the spatial identity of the neighborhood. Respondents often mentioned the importance of personal ethnic identity while making connections to the ethnic identity of the neighborhood. Thus, I shifted some of the focus from formal policing to exploration of social relationships and pan-Asian American collaboration to "save the ethnic identity" of the International District.

Chapter 4

Ethnic Identity, Neighborhood Adoptees, and the International District

4.1 Asian American Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is at the center of the theoretical rationale as to why Asian Americans or other minority groups may be expected to respond differently to neighborhood concerns than whites. For most whites, ethnicity is optional and can be stored away, only to be brought out and emphasized during ethnic specific holidays such as St. Patrick's Day (Waters, 1990). Whites have the option of not being able to claim any ethnic identity because they are the majority group in terms of numbers but also in terms of political and social power. For people of color, ethnicity is not voluntary, optional, or costless. For Asian Americans and other minority groups, ethnic identity is visible and salient every single day of their lives, with real social costs for not belonging to the dominant, majority group (Waters, 1996). Thus, issues occurring in an ethnic-specific neighborhood are more likely to garner attention from people of color versus issues in a predominantly white neighborhood attracting notice and participation from whites. Moreover, some of the main variables affecting ethnic identity such as experiences with racism and discrimination, code-switching, bringing shame from the ethnic community, and subscribing to a cultural collectivist attitude do not affect whites to the same extent as Asian Americans.

The process by which neighborhood adoptees are created begins with ethnic identity and the tendency of neighborhood adoptees to view the International District neighborhood as a cultural symbol that reinforces their ethnic identity. Figure 4.1 below illustrates the common variables influencing Asian American ethnic identity and suggests a reciprocal relationship between Asian American identity and International District in which those with strong levels of ethnic identity become involved in the International District. In turn, their neighborhood involvement reinforces their ethnic identity and further strengthens social cohesion within the Asian American community.

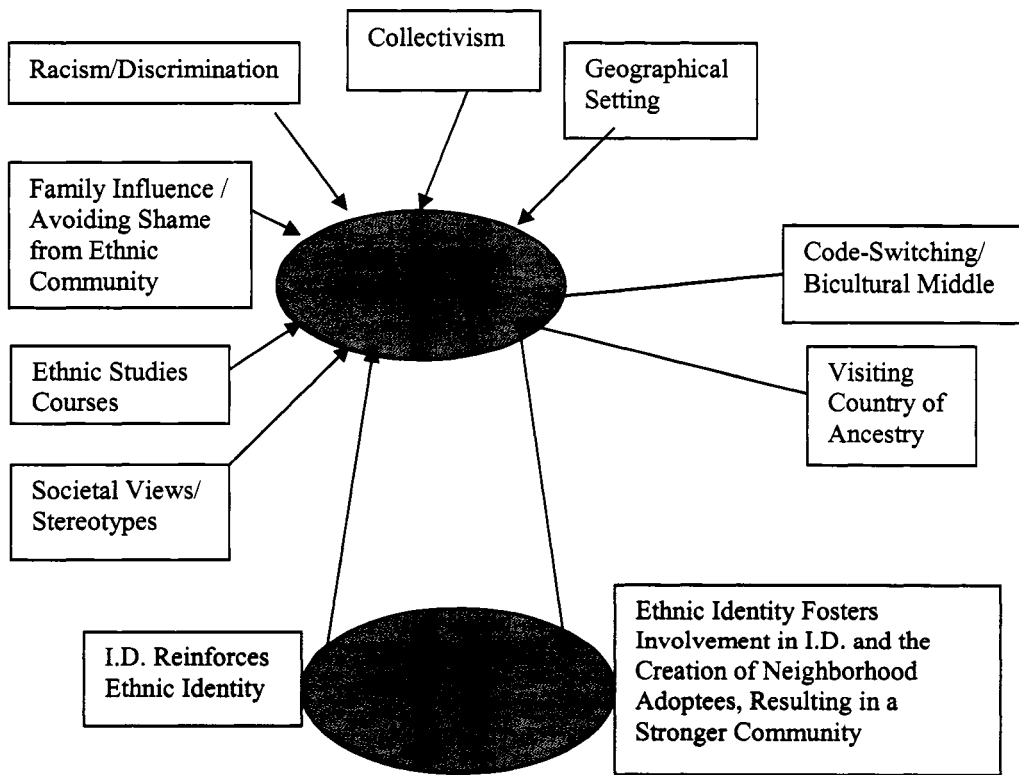


Figure 4.1 – Ethnic Identity and the International District

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to briefly describing the factors that influence Asian American ethnic identity and discussing how strong levels of ethnic identity lead to community involvement and the creation of neighborhood adoptees. Furthermore, I will offer evidence of how the International District reinforces ethnic identity by acting as a welcoming sanctuary where neighborhood adoptees can “be Asian,” “do ethnicity,” and “give back to the community.”

4.2 Influence of Racism/ Discrimination – Embracing an Asian American Identity, Code Switching, and Straddling the Bicultural Middle

Quite a few studies have focused on exploring the ethnic identity of Asian Americans. Many studies (Pyke and Dang, 2003; Min and Kim, 1999; Park, 1999; Tse, 1999; Yeh and Huang, 1996; Espiritu, 1992) by social scientists have utilized personal interviews or personal narratives of Asian Americans. Tse’s study (1999) described an awakening in which Asian Americans realize through incidences of racisms and differential treatment, that they had not been wholly accepted by the white community. In turn, they become angry at the discrimination and oppression of Asian Americans. Before, Asian Americans would blame themselves for their mistreatment and for being different. When “ethnic emergence” occurs, they shift the blame to mainstream society and express anger at the dominant group.

Quite a few respondents in this study could recall incidents of prejudice, discrimination, or racism that precipitated recognizing their minority status and

led to ethnic exploration. One subject recalled a junior high incident of being called prejudiced names:

I grew up in a neighborhood that was mostly white. The schools I went to were mostly white. So, I guess you could say that I was more white than Asian growing up because that's what I knew and most of my friends were white. But then one day, in class, we were talking about the Vietnam War and Vietnamese refugees—Shaun²

How old were you? What grade were you in?—AC³

Seventh grade, man. It was a long time ago but I still remember it. It was history class and then my classmates, these fools who I grew up with and had known for years, stated making fun of me and calling me “Boat person” or “Vietnamese Boater.” I told these idiots that I was born in Tacoma and didn't come here on no boat. It didn't matter to them. Then, they called me “gook.” I realized then that even though I was American, I wasn't really American, you know? Even though I grew up with those white kids and could dress and talk like them, I wasn't them same as them. But after that incident happened, I didn't want to be like them fools anyways. —Shaun

So who did you want to be like? —AC

Not like them! I mean, before that incident, I always wanted to kind of hide my Vietnamese ethnicity. But I did some research on who the Vietnamese boat people actually were and I was like, “Man, these people are gangsta'!” They went through so much adversity just to come to America. Trying to sell off all their belongings to get enough money to even get on the boat and then people dying or being raped by the Thai pirates. “Boater” has this negative connotation, but when you actually study or hear about what these people went through, you got to respect that. These people were survivors, man! That's why I call them gangsta'. I know if it were white people trying to survive on those boats, they'd be all dead. They couldn't do it. But the Vietnamese, we know how to survive. After learning about the boat people and then talking to some of my mom's friends who actually came here on the boats, I wasn't ashamed no more to be Vietnamese. If we could survive and prosper after what happened to us, we could do anything. Somebody could call me “boater”

² Pseudonyms were provided for interview subjects for confidentiality purposes.

³ I will write “AC” to represent myself, asking questions of interview subjects.

if they wanted and I'd probably take it as a compliment. I still might beat them down because I know they didn't mean it as a compliment, but to me, I got nothing but respect for the Vietnamese boat people. --Shaun

First generation immigrants also could recollect how incidences of racism change their perceptions and might have affected their ethnic identity. Sarah discussed how her opinion of who is an American changed after she continually encountered racism in America:

When I was in the Philippines, I learned that America was this great country of freedom and independence. We learn English there and we learn American history. So, I thought when I came to America, everybody would be great to me, right? Well, no. In the Philippines, I had a good job as a nurse. So, I thought I could do the same thing here. I went to a hospital to fill out a job application. They told me that my degree in the Philippines didn't matter because we are a third-world country. They said I could be a receptionist if I learned English. I complained that I want to be a nurse or at least work somewhat in that capacity. I also let them know that I already knew English! But, this is not my country so I followed the rules. I went to school to get a nursing degree. The classes were easy for me since I already had experience in this field. But still, my classmates looked down on me because I am Filipino. I think they see Filipinos as less smart than Americans. But here's the thing, you see. I am an American. I got my citizenship a few years before when I was eager to become an American citizen. But, they cannot see me as American, only Filipino. And I think that is how I most see myself too. -- Sarah

Pyke and Dang (2003) discuss the phenomenon of second-generation Asian Americans seeking the "bicultural middle." The bicultural middle is where individuals can either claim an American identity or an Asian ethnic identity, depending on the situation, in order to avoid negative social stigmatization. Those with a bicultural identity retain a link to their identity and understand "that as Asian Americans, they can never join the white world" (Pyke and Dang, 2003,

p. 157). In this regard, they have a commonality with ethnic traditionalists or “FOBS.” On the other hand, biculturals can also identify and easily acclimate to mainstream American culture and also relate to and “identify with whites.” So, they can also relate to the “whitewashed” (Pyke and Dang, 2003).

Likewise, some neighborhood adoptees in this study also frequently navigated their ethnic identity within the confines of the bicultural middle. Those living in suburban neighborhoods of Seattle understood that even though they were a part of mainstream society, being Asian American also prevented them from “joining the white world.” They tended to view the International District as a sanctuary in which their ethnicity became more salient in a positive manner.

One respondent discussed her experiences in the bicultural middle, straddling the line between mainstream American culture and traditional Chinese culture:

We had this essay contest in elementary school. It was on “What does Being American Mean to Me” or something like that. I was in sixth grade and wrote this essay and ended up winning the contest. Now, I can’t remember what exactly I wrote in the essay. It was so long ago. But, I remember we had an assembly in front of the school. The essay was for the whole, entire school and I won! So, I was in front of the school to get this trophy from the principal for winning this essay contest. Then, these white kids were complaining, “She can’t win this contest. She’s Chinese, not American!” –Lam

Were you mad? What did you do then? –AC

I wasn’t really mad. I was more embarrassed. I was in front of the whole school and some of these kids, who I even considered to be some of my good friends, were saying that I wasn’t American. And I guess in some respects, I actually agreed with them. I mean, I am American because I

was born and raised in Seattle. But, on the other hand, I am Chinese. I'm Chinese American. I grew up in Queen Anne but my parents always took me to Chinatown a lot. I remember seeing the signs of the shops in Chinese. So, I always knew I was both American and Chinese, but when you're only in sixth grade, you don't know about these things. --Lam

Another subject also discussed how his experiences growing up shaped his ethnic identity and how the International District also influenced it:

I remember in school people were calling me "banana." It wasn't the white kids. It was the other Asian kids.—Ray

And what did they mean by calling you banana? How old were you? —AC

They meant that I was "yellow on the outside but white on the inside." It was in junior high. I was dating white girls because I was in band and I just happened to like some of the girls in band with me. I didn't really notice that they were white or that they weren't Korean. I just knew that they were in band and we had the same interests. But other people, Asian classmates made it a big deal and started calling me "banana" and "sell-out." I think they were just mad or jealous cause they couldn't ever get a date! (laughs) Besides, why would I want to date these Asian girls who are making fun of me and calling me names just because I wanted to date outside my race?—Ray

So, have you ever dated any Korean or Asian American women?—AC

Oh, hell yeah! Not in junior high or high school though. Like I said, the Asian girls there weren't that great. But when I got to college, at UW, somebody gave me this flier for this dance club. The club was in the International District. I checked out the club with my boys one night and I was like "Holy shit! These Asian girls are fine, not like the booty ones from high school." After that, I came to the International District all the time, not just to go to the club. And I was like, "This neighborhood is pretty cool." But then, people started saying I was "too Asian." I thought that was funny. Being called a "banana" first and then later being called "too Asian." --Ray

Why was that funny? --AC

Well I don't mean it was funny like "ha ha." I just felt it was...I don't know. At first I hated it and was uncomfortable. But then, you can't please everyone. Somebody is going to be upset and say you're not this or you're not that. You just have to ignore them and do your own thing. -- Ray

Furthermore, Bui and Stimpfl state that "...ethnic identity is specifically important to Asian immigrants, because Asians, especially refugees, are among the most recent arrivals to the United States. Furthermore, their relatively low numbers and distinct physical characteristics limit alternative group membership and force the members into exclusive groupings and often examinations of their own ethnic identity" (Bui and Stimpfl, 2000, pp. 119-120) Bui and Stimpfl (2000) also propose that within the first stage of the identity achievement group, there is the hybrid identity that captures individuals who can navigate both Vietnamese and American culture. Within the hybrid identity, language is a key component in creating a social identity and code-switching is important in managing relationships. Anderson (1999) also discussed code-switching in his observation of how "decent" kids would change their personalities and act "street" in order to avoid being targets of violence.

The ability to code-switch is also important for neighborhood adoptees. Many respondents discussed the importance of being both American and Asian and have a strong ethnic identity to go with an American identity. Some interview subjects believed that navigating a hybrid identity required separating the two while others viewed the hybrid identity as being intertwined together. Nevertheless, respondents reported that the ability to code-switch identities was

important for their social well-being. Karen described how “acting white” and then “being Korean” helped her be accepted in both of her social worlds. She also mentioned that in the International District, it was much easier and acceptable to “act Asian”:

Karen: I grew up in Port Orchard, where there were hardly any Asian people at all. If I wanted to make friends and fit in, I felt that I had to “act white.”

AC: Can you explain to me what “acting white” means?

Karen: Well, you know. You’re Asian American. You probably had to do it at one point or another. It means you have to “dress white”, “talk white,” “eat white” and just be white.

AC: Hold up. I see what you’re getting at but can you still be a little more specific for me. What does it mean to “dress white” or “talk white” versus “dressing Asian” “talking Asian” or talking “Asian American”?

Karen: O.k. To “dress white” means wearing crap like Abercrombie and Fitch or Old Navy. You know, preppy stuff like button-ups and khakis and v-neck sweaters. Stuff the typical white person would wear. Non-urban. “Talking white” would mean to speak properly and not use any slang or anything. You know, not being ghetto or anything.

AC: So, tell me what “dressing or talking Asian or Asian American” would be...

Karen: Well, to me it means a little more urban. I know you probably don’t associate Asians and urban together, but if you think about it, most Asian people in the United States live in urban areas. You don’t see very many Asian people in rural areas or in the boonies like Port Orchard, right? So, when I’m not in Port Orchard, and I’m in the I.D., I can act Asian. When I’m with my Asian American friends, if I wanted to, I could wear some baggy jeans, my Nike kicks, some Fubu stuff maybe. And I can talk ghetto and just be myself.

AC: How is that being yourself if you were raised in Port Orchard?

Karen: Port Orchard is just where I grew up. Now, I live in the U-District but spend a lot of time in the International District. Just by embracing the history, and Chinatown itself has helped me to shape who I am as an individual. Because I see myself as an Asian American, not just an Asian, and not as an Asian who lives in America, but the idea of being Asian American. Although ancestry-wise I'm Korean, but Asian America still has its own history. And I think people need to recognize that within American history, besides the 13 colonies and all the blah, blah, blah, there's Latino American history and African American history. But Asian American, it's not talked about a lot. We talked about internment, maybe. And that's about it. A big part of the ID is Asian American history. It's because I'm so interested in Asian American history that I think Chinatown is the epicenter for me, realizing my identity as an Asian American and tying it Asian American history that it's an obvious place where I want to give back to. Whether if it's money or participating in community events. I just want to be involved with the ID. I never lived there, but I feel like that in some way I'm connected to it.

Along the same lines, Lam also conveyed the necessity to code-switch between an American and a Chinese ethnic identity:

I grew up on Beacon Hill, so there were always a lot of other Asian people around me. That made my Asian American or Chinese American identity important to me. I was on the Chinese Drill Team when I was younger. Then, I was a contestant in the Miss Chinatown pageant. I went to Chinese language school. I have a lot of Asian Americans friends. We can go hang out in the I.D. and have lunch or bubble tea or sing karaoke. But then at work, over at Boeing, everybody in my department is white. So, at work, I have to act like an American and tone down my Chinese side. I can't take them to Chinatown! They'd probably be shocked and shit their pants if I took them there. Like a lot of other white people in Seattle, they have stereotypes of Chinatown as this dirty, mysterious place where everybody is a criminal and people eat dogs. They might see a roast duck in one of the store windows and think that it's a dog! Well, I might be exaggerating a little, but I'm still surprised at how ignorant some of the white people at work are. So, when I'm at work, I just try to blend in and act American. -Lam

Focusing on Korean Americans and Asian Indian Americans in Texas, Dhingra (2007) also concluded that some first and second generation members of

these ethnic groups constructed ethnic identities that allowed close ties to their ethnic backgrounds but also provided comfort within the realm of mainstream white society.

Studies have shown that experiences with racism have varying effects on the development of ethnic identity. Some studies (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Chong, 1998) have indicated that individuals may increase their strength of ethnic identity in response to racism faced in America and even develop transnational ties to their countries of ancestry. Other studies (Alba and Nee, 2003; Chow, 2000; Tuan, 1998) have argued that individuals decrease their ethnic ties and transnational connections in order to avoid racism and increase relationships with the mainstream. For neighborhood adoptees though, it was evident that prior experiences with discrimination increased their sense of ethnic identity and provided motivation to become actively involved in community happenings.

Likewise, Masuoka (2006) found that experience with racial discrimination encouraged pan-Asian American ethnic consciousness. Contending that most of the research on political group consciousness focused on African Americans, Masuoka focused on Asian Americans and Latino Americans. She discovered that direct experiences with racial discrimination were more likely to foster a pan-Asian American ethnic consciousness because it promoted the belief that all Asians in America are treated the same, regardless of ethnic origin.

In summary, research on racism and discrimination experienced by Asian Americans suggests that such incidences result in stronger levels of ethnic

identity. In the Puget Sound area, prominent acts of racism inflicted upon those of Asian ancestry have included anti-Chinese riots in Seattle in the 1880s, the forced removal of Chinese residents and the burning of the Chinese district in Tacoma in 1885, Alien Land Laws in the 1900s prohibiting those of Asian ancestry from owning land, and the Japanese American internment in the 1940s (Nomura, 2001). Interview subjects could readily discuss personal, contemporary experiences with racism and discrimination and describe how their Asian American identity was strengthened as a result of these experiences.

4.3 Importance of Cultural Collectivism

Oyserman and Sakamoto (1997) also explored Asian American identity. They utilized an Asian American Identity Scale based on research with African American identity (Oyserman, D., Gant, L. and J. Ager, 1995) to measure respondents' views on individualist and collectivist outlooks, ethnic identity, and beliefs regarding stereotypes. One of their main findings was that collectivism heightened an awareness of racial barriers. Moreover, those with a collectivist attitude felt more positive about their racial/ethnic group and had a stronger sense of ethnic identity. Jang (2002) stated that Asian American parents tend to promote collectivism in their children rather than the individualism that permeates through mainstream America. Thus, Asian Americans tend to exhibit strong levels of ethnic identity.

Similarly, Yeh and Huang (1996) also examined the link between collectivism and ethnic identity development of Asian Americans. One of the

major findings of the study was that Asian American identity was heavily influenced by a collectivistic viewpoint rather than an individualistic outlook. This was consistent with previous research by Markus and Kitayama (1991), who argued that Asian cultures are more collectivist in contrast to the individualistic focuses of Western cultures. The researchers also stated that traditional theories of ethnic identity may not be applicable to those of Asian ancestry. Since those of Asian backgrounds tend to place more emphasis on relationships and familial commitments that those from Western cultures, Asian Americans may be influenced more by external factors rather than internal forces.

4.4 Parental/ Family Influence and Avoiding Shame from the Ethnic Community

Yeh and Huang's study (1996) confirmed the importance of external factors on ethnic identity development of Asian Americans. Subjects indicated that external forces influenced their ethnic identity more than internal forces did. There was a strong emphasis on relationships, including friendships, relationships with parents, romantic relationships, and other family and group relationships. In particular, avoiding behavior that might bring shame on the family from the ethnic community was a major factor.

Roger discussed the importance of not bringing shame on oneself and in extension, to the family:

I remember growing up that my parents were really, really strict with me. In 5th grade, we had the spelling bee competition at our school. I hated spelling and I sucked at it but my parents made me study for it. They kept

saying that since the spelling bee was held in front of the school, it would bring shame to the family if I did poorly. They didn't expect me to win because they knew I wasn't great at spelling, but they didn't want me to be like the first kid out of the competition. They said I would embarrass and shame the family if I did bad.—Roger

Can you think of other incidences where your parents brought up the idea of shaming the family? —AC

Yeah, a lot. It was a big deal. My dad was always like “Don't make us look bad in front of the Chinese community.” And then my mom was like “Don't make us look bad in front of the Indonesian community.” I don't know if that actually had much influence on what I did anyways. It's not like I would have gone out and robbed a liquor store or something. But, their words were always in the back of mind. It prompted me to start studying Mandarin at least because I didn't want to look like a total loser at Chinese functions and not know any of the language. —Roger

Not bringing shame to the family and the community was also important for Anh, as she explained the importance of shame in her Vietnamese upbringing:

It seems like everybody in the Vietnamese community knows each other somehow. Even though there a lot of Vietnamese in this area, the community is pretty tight-knit. My parents would be saying to me and my sister, don't do anything to embarrass the family. “Don't get pregnant or you'll bring shame from the Vietnamese community.” “Don't do drugs and bring shame on our family.” Stuff like that... To me it seemed like it was a Vietnamese thing more than anything personal for the family. I speak Vietnamese fluently. My parents only speak to me in Vietnamese even though they can speak English. At first, I didn't understand why they wouldn't speak to me in English more. I felt that I was American and was embarrassed when they spoke Vietnamese to me in front of my friends. But they said I'd be an embarrassment to the community if I couldn't speak Vietnamese. Looking back now, I'm so, so glad I can speak Vietnamese fluently. It's a big part of my Vietnamese identity. — Anh

Another recent study explored ethnic identity development for adolescents of various Asian ethnicities including Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, and Vietnamese (Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, and Shin, 2006). Their study focused on the

significant role of family influence in the development of ethnic identity. The researchers concluded that family positively influences ethnic identity achievement.

Respondents in this study also discussed how family influenced their ethnic identity. Rocky discussed how his parents continually stressed Vietnamese traditions and customs:

I was born in California and grew up there. And when I was young, we lived in this neighborhood that was pretty much all white people. I came home from school one day and my parents told me we were moving to "Little Saigon." I asked, "What's that?" They said it was in a city called "Garden Grove, where all the Vietnamese people lived." I told them I was American and didn't want to live with a bunch of Vietnamese people. I remember how shocked they looked and then they said, "But you are Vietnamese. You and your sisters are Vietnamese, even though you were born here. You'll always be Vietnamese." After that, they made sure to only talk to us in Vietnamese and bring us to all the Vietnamese community functions there. I didn't really like it as a kid, but now that I'm older, I can appreciate it. Look at me now, I'm here in Little Saigon in the I.D.! (laughs)-- Rocky

Jade recalled the influence of her family in shaping her Filipino ethnic identity:

My parents always called me their "little Filipino princess." Plus, I was named after a famous Filipino politician, so my parents really shaped me, I guess to be Filipino rather than American. They always cooked Filipino food, not American food, and were always wearing traditional Filipino clothes, even here in the U.S. Even though I have a lot of Filipino American friends, not all of them can speak *Tagalog* or *Ilocano*, but I can. My parents made sure that I learned. I was also on the Filipino Drill Team and went to Filipino concerts and everything. So, ever since I was young, I guess I always considered myself more Filipino than American. --Jade

4.5 Ethnic Studies Courses/ Cultural Exploration/ Visiting the Country of Ancestry

Tse (1999) described the substage of “ethnic exploration” in which Asian Americans reveal a desire to take courses and read books about their ethnic culture. This often occurs in college and results in embracing their ethnic culture. This substage may include rejecting mainstream American culture and seeking out others of the same ethnicity. Also, some of Tse’s narrators expressed a desire to visit the ancestral homeland. Upon visit the ancestral homeland, some of the narrators felt “at home” there.

Likewise, neighborhood adoptees also displayed similar traits of the “ethnic exploration” substage. Some respondents in this study even mentioned that during this process, they decided to become more involved in the International District. Tana discussed how taking ethnic studies courses at the University of Washington propelled her interest in ethnic identity and becoming involved in the Asian American community:

AC: What is the reason you stay involved in the International District versus going away and never coming back?

Tana: For me personally, it is the passion in the Asian American community. As I mentioned before, I took Professor Connie So’s Asian American 206 course. It changed my life. Wow! Why didn’t I figure all this out? I knew what was going on, but I couldn’t find the right terms to explain the different social phenomenon that was happening. I thought it was just unique to me.

AC: Is there anything specific that you remembered?

Tana: Yeah, I think most about the children who are a part of the immigrant families. You have to choose between two cultures, and that's not true. It's just like we have to deal with two different worlds. It's not entirely separate along the line, clothing and mentality and things like that. And you know the parents are too strict and stuff like that because they want their kids to do well in education. Because the opportunities are abundant here in America, and they don't want you to waste it. She's definitely a mentor to me, and she's the one who have opened doors for me to apply my knowledge to the community in terms of service learning. Actually, when I go and see her I kind of broke down. Yeah, because my mom has been super strict on me. In high school, I wasn't able to go out at all because she didn't want me to join gangs or to date boys to be pregnant or all that stuff. So I was at a point of my life when I was like "I don't understand what is the point of living." She's not letting me engage in the social aspect of my life. And when you're a kid you have to grow up, you can't have home school and a monotone life. And I just had it. After I took Connie's class spring quarter, I took her Southeast Asian American studies class. I was able to learn more about my Khmer roots and my ethnic background, Cambodian. It's more empowering. And I was like, "oh, ok." I was still trying to get out of my dark hole. For some reason I broke down. I don't know why I did it. Connie was very sympathetic. And she was saying, "Oh you should do something within the community. You seemed to be the type to do that." It instilled in me passion to make changes in the community, no matter how small it is. I think it's cool.

A third-generation respondent discussed his first trip to his country of ancestry, China. Mac described how his visiting China affected his identity as a Chinese American:

AC: So, your parents are from China. Were you born there also?

Mac: No, I was actually born in Seattle. But, I went to China just a few years ago.

AC: What part of China did you go to and how was it? How did it feel for you to go to China for the first time?

Mac: Well, I was mostly in Beijing, where my parents are from. I thought it was great. It was a little weird at first because you're seeing all these faces who look like yours. Being in Seattle, you see mostly white people if you go downtown. In Beijing, everywhere you go, it's tons of Chinese

people who you feel you have a connection to. In a sense, it was really empowering for me. Of course, they paid no attention to me and probably didn't feel that same connection. To them, I was just another one of the billions of Chinese people there.

AC: So, you got the sense that they looked at you and viewed you as Chinese rather than American?

Mac: Good question. And I guess my answer is "Not exactly." Here's the thing, when we're in America, people look at us and think there's a Chinese guy or there's a Filipino guy... You're Filipino, right?

AC: No, I'm actually Burmese, not Filipino. But, I can relate. Keep going though. Tell me how they viewed you in China.

Mac: Well, in China, they obviously don't say "There's the Chinese guy" because everybody else is Chinese. Also, I can't speak Chinese. I can't speak Mandarin. I can understand some but can't speak it well. On the other hand, they don't really say "There's the American guy."

AC: Why not, if you're American?

Mac: Because to them, American means "white," you see. An American is John Wayne, or Brad Pitt, or Tom Cruise. So, over there, I'm not the Chinese guy or the American guy. Well, to my cousins and family, I'm the American guy. They think I'm the rich, American guy. (laughs)

When some of the narrators in her study (Tse,1999) concluded that they belonged to neither mainstream American nor the ethnic culture, they discovered the realization of a third alternative, the Asian American group. They felt that they could easily relate to and identify with the experiences of other Asian Americans. In turn, a development of Asian American pride was formed. A stronger sense of self-identity and greater acceptance as an Asian American resulted. For instance, after Mac believed that he was neither viewed as

exclusively American nor Chinese, he found comfort in an Asian American

identity:

I see myself as Asian American. I guess being third generation makes a difference. I wasn't born in China and can't speak the language. I grew up here in Seattle with Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, you know, others who are of Asian descent but were born and grew up here. I think I have a lot more in common with them. We're all American, but we're all Asian too. --Mac

Likewise, Becky also had incorporated a strong Asian American identity

based upon her experiences in America and in Korea:

It's hard for me to just say that "I'm American." I mean, I was born here and am an American, but I'm Korean also. When I think of American, I think of "whiteys". You know, white people. I can't say I'm just Korean either because I can't speak Korean, I don't really eat Korean foods, or follow any Korean customs or traditions. Korean people would look at me and say, "You're not Korean." I have some friends who are kind of in the same situation. We all consider ourselves to be Asian American. --Becky

4.6 Neighborhood Adoptees and the International District

Thus far, I have illustrated the importance of and manner in which various factors increase ethnic identity for Asian Americans. I have also explained how some research (Waters, 1996; Waters, 1990) indicates that ethnic identity has different social implications and salience for people of color than for whites. Next, I will describe how Asian American ethnic identity and the neighborhood identity of the International District intersect with each to foster the creation of neighborhood adoptees.

In addition to discussing the importance of their Asian American ethnic identity, interview subjects also mentioned that the International District was

where they could “be Asian.” Some also described how the International District neighborhood was actually an important component of their own ethnic identity. Others referred to the neighborhood as the “homebase” for Asian Americans in the area. The International District allowed them to define and live their identity. Thus, for many subjects, ethnic identity and the neighborhood identity of the International District became intertwined, leading to their community involvement as neighborhood adoptees and to a majority of subjects claiming the neighborhood as their own, despite not actually living there.

4.7 Geographical Setting—Seattle and the International District

In Seattle overall, a little over 13 percent of the population is Asian American, making it the largest racial or ethnic minority in the city. However, in the International District, over 58 percent of the population is Asian Americans (Census 2000).

Yip (2005) found that in settings in which Asian Americans were in the majority, there were elevated levels of ethnic salience. Moreover, research along the same lines suggests positive correlations between ethnic identity and well-being (Martinez and Dukes, 1997; Phinney, 1996) and ethnic identity and self-esteem (Gray-Little and Hafdahl, 2000; Martinez and Dukes, 1997). In addition, Yip’s study (2005) contends that ethnic salience may also be triggered and elevated through cultural cues and symbols.

Yip’s (2005) contentions are especially relevant for neighborhood adoptees. For neighborhood adoptees in this study, ethnic salience may indeed be

triggered and raised by an especially important cultural symbol in the Greater Seattle Area: the International District. *If positive correlations exist between ethnic identity and well-being and ethnic identity and self-esteem, then the impulse and desire for neighborhood adoptees to seek out the International District is understood.* Suburban residents living in a neighborhood with few members of Asian ancestry may view International District as a cultural symbol of their ethnicity, resulting in a desire to seek out the neighborhood in order to affirm their ethnic identity.

4.8 “Doing Ethnicity” in the International District

The International District provides the opportunity for local Asian Americans to make their ethnic identity more meaningful and “be Asian.” Shaun, who lives in a predominantly white neighborhood in Seattle, offers an interesting viewpoint about how he can “do ethnicity” when in the International District:

I live in West Seattle but I come to the I.D. all the time.—Shaun

Why? What can you get in the I.D. that you can’t get in West Seattle?—AC

Well of course the good food! But, I don’t come here just for the food, you know. I can be Asian in the I.D. --Shaun

What do you mean? You can’t be Asian in West Seattle? What makes the I.D. unique in that you can be Asian there but not where you live?—AC

It’s hard to explain but in the I.D., I can do Asian things like eating with chopsticks, buy live fish from aquariums. I can double park there. If I double park somewhere else in Seattle, what do you think is going to happen to my car? I can do that in Chinatown and it’s no big deal. Being in the neighborhood, you just feel welcome. You feel that since you’re

also Asian, you're part of the neighborhood. I feel confident that nobody is going to mess with me there. In West Seattle, I don't necessarily feel like that. –Shaun

Similar to Shaun, Stephanie also expressed how the International District is different from the suburbs and how the neighborhood has affected her self-identity and fostered a sense of belonging:

AC: So why would you care about the International District?

Stephanie: It means more personally to me. I spent more time down there. I spent time working to promote the area and promote certain things about the place. I just invested so much time and personal energy. I also feel like I gotten a lot from that place, more than I have given. But really oh, I received, so much.

AC: Like what?

Stephanie: I just never really felt connected to who I was. It wasn't till I was exposed to this particular community to really feel welcomed. And not just welcomed, but a part of something without even somebody saying, "You're a part of this or welcome to my club." I just was. I didn't feel that I had to prove myself. I am who I am and just the way I look. I guess I just blended in or something where people treated me like a normal person. People questioned me because they're curious and interested in you as a person rather than like scrutinizing as if you're some foreign object. Unless, you get to know them at a working environment or volunteer environment or something and they only ask you those things if you actually have a personal relationship with them or starting a relationship with them or your connected through your friends or people you worked with, but not like strange person. When I was working at the mall and a random person would be doing her make up. She might ask me, "What are you?"

AC: Yeah.

Stephanie: "I'm human!" you know. It's just like "Are you a Martian?" And so it's kind of like...

AC: In the ID people don't ask you...

Stephanie: No one really asks you. They see you're Asian of some sort and they don't really care. They know in some way they are connected with you and about you. Seeing a face that resembles yours -- that is a particular connection in some way. If you're Asian, you can't get that anywhere else. You can be Asian there and you're not questioned like you might be somewhere else in the city. That's why Asian Americans in the area, even if they live in the suburbs, feel a connection to the I.D. You can't compare that with anywhere else.

4.9 “It’s Part of Your Identity”

Blumer (1958) argued that racial identity is a collective process and described the influence of the group on individual racial identity. In this case, the larger group identity of the International District neighborhood influences individual neighborhood adoptees. Interview subjects often mentioned that simply being Asian American provided them with a sense of belonging to International District. For others, ethnic self-identity and the neighborhood identity went hand in hand. Just being Asian American was enough to trigger and facilitate a connection and sense of belonging to the neighborhood:

For me I didn't grow up here, I grew up in Beacon Hill. And I'm 4th generation American so my roots aren't in China. It's so distant. I don't speak Chinese so my connecting points are so far apart... I think if people don't have a direct connection to the neighborhood, they are connected by their background because you have the same story of immigrants coming here and started a new community. Maybe they started a small restaurant or they lived in a small apartment or they came here to work; they have a labor background. So that type of thing. If you're Asian American, more than not, if you have early immigrant roots or more recent immigrant roots, and that's the same story, you can feel connected to this place because physically it embodies that. If you're Asian American, you are drawn to this neighborhood whether you live here or not. It's part of your identity. So you can still see those types of buildings or the signs that might have, remember those cultural qualities. People feel comfortable here because they know that the typical place embodies your roots.

– Cathy

Other respondents mentioned the “welcoming” feeling of being in the I.D. They drew comfort from seeing mirroring faces and familiar foods and not being looked upon as a stranger:

The I.D. is where I feel at home. There’s just a welcoming feeling going into that neighborhood... a feeling of comfort that you’re at home. You see people that look like you, see familiar foods, and you just think to yourself, “You know, I belong here.” --Nobu

No one really asks ‘What are you? Where are you from?’. They see you’re Asian of some sort and they don’t really care. They know in some way they are connected with you and about you. Seeing a face that resembles yours—that is a particular connection in some way. If you’re Asian, you can’t get that anywhere else. That’s why Asian Americans in the area, even if they live in the suburbs, feel a connection to the I.D. You can’t compare that with anywhere else. --Stephanie

One of my friends told me how he felt when he went to Africa. My friend is black and grew up in Seattle. And this was the first time he went to Africa. He talked about how powerful it was to see all these black faces, all these people he had some sort of ancestral roots to. For me, I can just go here to Chinatown and feel the same way. It’s empowering and uplifting at the same time. You feel welcomed in a way that you don’t any other place in Seattle. --Ray

4.10 The International District as “homebase” or the “flagship”

In addition, the International District was often viewed as the “homebase” or “flagship” for local Asian Americans. Many respondents viewed the International District as the heart of the local Asian American community, even stating that their ethnic identity lies within the neighborhood:

Hopefully, it gets people to start thinking about giving back somehow, somewhere. Whether you just want to donate to an agency down here, or the Spring Clean, or neighborhood watch, or whatever. And even if there's other things that happen here, and people come back because... this is the flag ship. I.D. is the flag ship and the home base... I think there are Asian Americans who are baby boomers, our identity is here. This is where the movement started... -- Melanie

Another neighborhood adoptee also claimed the neighborhood as her home because of the sense of community that the International District has fostered for her ever since she was a young woman:

Being Japanese- American, I feel connected to the neighborhood, despite never living there. Even though the Japanese community isn't very prominent in that area now, they were very prominent during the war. And they took up half of Jackson Street up the hill. There is a history there that you are aware of. And even more than that there's a feeling of comfort. There's a feeling of home. As a single female, you know we used to have a hang out in the ID on Fridays after work. It was okay to just to be there. A lot of creative discussions happened there. A lot of ideas happened there that went on to fruition. It was that sense of community that was very, very strong in kind of like, what is that TV show... Cheers?! It was kind of like Cheers! That was like the whole neighborhood. Everybody knew everybody... It was a very, very strong sense of community and trust. And the beauty of it, it wasn't one ethnicity which makes our ID extremely unique in the whole country. It's not just Chinatown, Japantown, or Vietnamese, you know. I think because we're so small, we get grouped up together for any kind of power. So those were some golden years. And that's really for me, that was why the district was home-- Betty

Along the same lines, another subject discussed how some people leave the neighborhood but then come back again:

I know a lot of people who used to work here when they just graduated from college and work somewhere else for awhile. Ten years, fifteen years, and they come back. There's a lot of that situation as well. They enjoy it here the most out of their whole career. They want to end the career here and continue to support something that they believe in. And I

think that's very inspiring to see folks that could be working elsewhere and making a lot of money elsewhere but they decide to come back here.
--Raines

The idea of workers as neighborhood adoptees is also intriguing. Initially, I was unsure as to whether or not workers in the I.D. could/should also be considered as neighborhood adoptees. It is now evident that they should definitely belong to the adoptee category because many of the workers choose to work in the neighborhood *because* it is the International District. Most reported that they would not work in similar jobs in other neighborhoods and they accepted their positions because they wanted to help out the International District community specifically.

One neighborhood adoptee turned down other job opportunities and even chose to remain unemployed until a job in the I.D. opened up:

Even though I was struggling, I told myself 'I can hold up a little bit more' and this job opened up in October in 2004...And when you're not working and you start questioning yourself while still waiting and that conversation was the key to waiting. Because it asked me, 'Where do I really want to work?' And are you really just working or are you contributing to people and to a neighborhood that you cared about? --Pernell

Another subject responded similarly:

No, no I definitely wouldn't (take a comparable job in another neighborhood)...I think the same can be said for a lot of other people, too. I believe they work for a non-profit here because it's affiliated with the I.D. --Raines

4.11 Ethnic Identity, Shared Fates, and Community Involvement in the International District

Lien, Conway, and Wong (2004) also discussed the relationship between ethnic identity and political and civic participation. They stated that being active in civic institutions related to ethnic communities may increase the strength of one's ethnic identity. Many respondents in their study believed that what happened to members of other Asian ethnic groups in America will also affect what happens in their own lives as well.

In addition, this belief of "shared fates" was also found in Inkelas's study (2006) of Asian American college students. In her study, Inkelas found that sixty-five percent of respondents believed that they shared a common fate with other Asian Americans. Espiritu (1992, p. 132) also argued that "In the Asian American case, group members can suffer sanctions for no behavior of their own, but for the activities of others who resemble them."

This was tragically evidenced by the 1982 slaying of Vincent Chin, a 1.5 generation Chinese American who was called a "Jap" and beaten to death by two men wielding baseball bats. The two men did not spend a day in prison for this murder and only received probation and a \$3,000 fine. This incident certainly gave credence to the belief that the fates of all Asian ethnic groups in America could be tied together (Zia, 2003). Since Asian Americans of all ethnic backgrounds could be potential victims of racially motivated hate crimes, this

could increase ethnic salience for individuals whether or not they have personally been victimized themselves (Gordon, 1964).

Shinagawa and Pang (1996) stated that the Vincent Chin murder had a “phenomenal impact” on the Asian American community. Fundraising and consciousness-raising campaigns occurred for the first time on a national level and included participation and ethnic collaborations from groups such as the Japanese American Citizens League, the Organization of Chinese Americans, the Filipinos for Affirmative Action, and the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium.

Likewise, neighborhood adoptees expressed a willingness to become involved in International District happenings because they also shared the belief that occurrences to those of Asian ancestry in the neighborhood would also affect their own well-being. Melanie was passionate about the role Asian American stereotypes play and how stereotypes could affect the International District community:

Stereotypes are really intertwined with how society has deemed people of color. It is not something that had happened five years, ten years ago. I think it happened several hundred years ago. And the notion of whom and what we are have continued from the time when we came to working on the railroad, to the Chinese Exclusion Act in the 1880s. And it continued to the internment camps. All of those white people said “These are the folks that we don’t understand. They look different to us. They speak a different language. They don’t eat with a fork. They must be eating rats.” All of those carry over and in WWII we got a reprieve because the Japanese are the bad ones and you guys as Chinese are okay because you see pictures of Chinese with signs “I’m not Japanese.” Why the fuck do we have to do that? And so that has carried on. So the I.D. has always been seen as the dark dingy alley, the mysterious place, as an odd cave.

And white folks mention that it's the opium den or there's no rats because they ate them all in the past. And they wear funny clothing that look like pajamas, and they're odd. And it still persists. And there isn't recognition that Asian Pacific Americans are human beings. Slowly I see it happening but it's not all there...And 9/11 didn't help either, you know those people of color, the funny looking people! I've been watching 9/11 in the morning, and my first thought was "We are so screwed as Asian Americans, Asian Pacific Americans." Anyone who they think is Muslim is nailed to the wall. And sure enough all those feet who aren't Muslim got chopped off, but they're not only Muslims that get attacked. All the temples—Buddhist or Sikh. So it persists. I knew what happened to Muslims would also affect us as Asian Pacific Americans. What happens to folks here in the I.D. also affects APAs in the whole state. –Melanie

Thao mentioned that she became involved in the International District after learning about the Vincent Chin murder in her ethnic studies course and then after a 2000 racial attack of Vietnamese Americans in Ocean Shores, Washington:

I got involved in the community after learning about what happened to Vincent Chin. Here was a guy who was Chinese American and then gets killed by these ignorant white guys who think he's Japanese and taking their jobs away. Do you know what happened to those white guys? Nothing! They didn't have to spend a day in jail. They only had to pay a stupid fine. After Vincent Chin got killed, a lot of Asian Americans realized that we're all in this together. What happens to one person, even if it's somebody of a different ethnicity, it doesn't matter. Americans just lump us all together anyways. They can't tell us apart. As a community, we need more people to get involved. We need more people to advocate. Look at what happened in Ocean Shores a few years ago. You had these Vietnamese kids minding their own business and then these racist white guys start threatening them and calling them "gook" and stuff. Saying "Gooks go home!" and "White power!" crap. Then, because the Vietnamese are so scared and defend themselves with a knife and one of these white racists gets killed, they have to try and prosecute the Vietnamese kids. Luckily, the case got dropped against the Vietnamese guy because the Asian American community, OCA, JACL, and others stepped up and said, "Hey, this kid was a victim of a hate crime! He shouldn't be on trial." That was bullshit. But there was some good that came of it. Look, I'm Vietnamese and this was a Vietnamese kid. But you had the OCA, Organization of Chinese Americans, and JACL,

Japanese American Citizens League, step up to bat for this Viet guy. As Asians, we all have to watch each other's backs. --Thao

Similarly, another way in which people of Asian ancestry share similar fates lies in the manner in which they are often viewed by the American mainstream as “perpetual foreigners” or non-Americans (Purkayastha, 2005; Cheryan and Monin, 2005; Pyke and Dang 2003; Wu, 2002; Tuan , 1998; Lee, 1998; Takaki, 1989). For some interview subjects, this led to them becoming more involved in the Asian American community and the International District neighborhood.

Many of the respondents in this study mentioned the tendency of mainstream America to view those of Asian ancestry as foreigners. Karen recalled an incident in the neighborhood that prompted her to become involved in the International District but at the same time led her to believe that Asians in America are still viewed as foreigners:

The biggest thing was probably the incident that happened in July of 2001 when we got stopped by a Seattle police officer across 4th and Main, the outskirts of the ID by Pioneer Square. I think that was a realization for me that I was seen as being Asian, being Asian American, being seen as a foreigner. My connection with the ID grew stronger because I felt this compassion for the people who have lived there and who worked there and who may have to face these things all the time. Whereas nothing like that have ever happened to me before so when I was a part of it, it shook my perception on how things were. And I think that was when I wanted to get involved in the Asian American community and especially the ID. – Karen

Likewise, respondents in this study could also claim a strong American and a strong ethnic identity at the same time. Tana recalled how the International

District helped replace early confusion regarding her ethnic identity with a strong Asian American identity:

AC: Earlier, you were talking about how you got involved in working for the ID because the ethnic study courses triggered that exploration of your ethnic identity in high school. How has volunteering in the neighborhood affected you?

Tana: The International District and its history makes me appreciate who I am. It makes it more clear a little bit. And I guess before-- not that I didn't like being Asian or I don't like being Khmer, I didn't know how to appreciate it. I didn't know how it fit it into my lifetime or my work or anything. Because I remember in high school, I was confused about it in terms of what Khmer is all about. And we had a project. I did something about Cambodia. And I was referring to it like, "Yeah, that's my country." And my friend who is Native American and a quarter Filipino was like, "YOUR country?" And it hits me-- I've never been over there. I think she's pointing out the fact that not only am I Asian, but I'm Asian American. It's interesting because growing up my mom asked me if I was Cambodian or American because I've become too rebellious or something. And another time, she would say, "Oh yeah in my country" as if Cambodia is her country but not mine. As I got older, and learned about the history of this country and of Cambodia, I see I am both. So it would be very confusing but in terms of being more involved in this community, I guess I'm more dedicated to not just helping myself in finding my identity but helping the broader scope of Asian Americans. We have similarities and we have differences.

In an intriguing study of the Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese American communities of Philadelphia, Lee (1998) argued that Asian Americans remain on the outskirts of mainstream society. They have not penetrated "the old boy network" into social clubs and cliques that could lead to networking relationships. As a result, Asian Americans have developed ethnic based associations and organizations. In some cases, these organizations foster ethnic salience.

Neighborhood adoptees also discussed how ethnic identity was shaped by community ethnic organizations. Jennifer mentioned the relationship between community-based organizations in the neighborhood and ethnic identity:

Jennifer: I don't live down here, but I had worked with a community organization back in 1975 when I first got out of college. So, I've worked down in the ID until 1984. Then I left and got involved in a whole bunch of other things, then came back to ID community in January of 2001.

AC: When you first started working, coming out of college, what drew you into working at INTER*IM?

Jennifer: Well, the whole environment of what was going on at the time was that there a lot of exciting organizing and the political issues that were going on around society that were quite dramatic with the whole post-Civil Right movements. The Asian movement was very strong in the student sector so most of us were active on campuses. The UW campus was the hot vent where we all got involved. And the ID was the focal point of a struggle to protect the community, to preserve the community against those who were really trying to over-throw, over-run the community. And the elderly house issue, we need to protect our elderly. And so the campus was the focus, that's where all the students were. And we were brought into the community to get involved, doing lots of organizing. So there were lots and lots of people involved at the time. It wasn't onesie or twosies; it was big groups of students at a time getting involved in the community... So the 60's and 70's was when the activists really banded together, and what was unique in Seattle was that these were multi-racial. It wasn't just Filipinos. It wasn't just Asians. They were all multi-ethnic Asians and races that came together and supported each other. And so we had a true multi-ethnic coalition of lots of different people that were working on all of these projects to get services. So we did quite a bit of the services that we needed established: The ID Health Clinic, Asian Counseling Referral Service, the Denise Louie Center, the Garden, the after-school programs. These were organizations to serve the Asian community, which before that was often ignored. The Asian Movement and the community organizations we helped to start go hand-in-hand.

Cathy discussed how some organizations are fostering a new generation of younger Asian Americans who want to become involved in the community happenings:

Cathy: I see some newer, younger, emerging organizations, in the Family Safety Center. They are operating out of Weller. There are smaller organizations-- their program is smaller...their age is a little younger. In their late 20s-- they are working with high school students to bring them down here and train them to do programs. So I see that happening. I'm kind of older than the other people, but I know they get together on a monthly basis. They're in college or some just graduated or a lot of those just young, just emerging career people. A lot of them work with high school students and young college students. So they are operating in a teen program or youth program. So they get them together once a month to have a coalition to talk about what their programs are. So I think it's kind of exciting. It's a new level of organization.

AC: You mentioned the Safety Center...what other organizations do these younger activists...

Cathy: ICHS has a youth program like a teen outreach so they have students go observe a substance abuse group. I'm not sure ACRS has it, teen groups, they might. It's an organic group, but they're trying to communicate and share their program. And when it comes to the broader community, the Wing Luke museum serves to bridge the community. There's no other museums as you know is like that in the nation. Wing Luke is the only Pan Asian Pacific American museum in the nation so it's really a resource to help educate the broader community about our community.

Kevin described the unsuccessful efforts that Asian Americans in nearby Tacoma had in supporting and maintaining their Asian Pacific Cultural Center. He compared the struggles of the Asian Pacific Cultural Center to organizations in the International District :

Kevin: You have community groups in Tacoma that bought a piece of property.

AC: The ones that started the cultural center?

Kevin: Yeah, the one with the cultural center. And they got in a little trouble because they don't have a movement. Good idea, but the place they had acquired was an old building on Pacific Avenue; it wasn't in an Asian neighborhood. And people who want services, usually they go where they can be served...you have the Korean Women's Association--there's parking and tons of people that work on staff that can help them out. At the cultural center, it wasn't a center place. It was a gathering place. So it's hard to get something like that off the ground. But in the ID, instantly, you have people there. You have the Wing Luke that has events, exhibits all the time. You have INTER*IM that has...if we're not building housing, we have fundraisers or we have the Pig Roast, or work parties and stuff like that. And people are comfortable coming to work and doing things in the community. How many agencies are there in the ID? There are a ton! There's something going on every week, sometimes twice a week or more.

AC: Do you think these agencies draw people from other neighborhoods?

Kevin: Oh yeah! They have to do that. I go to a Denise Louie event; it's a fundraiser. I look out there, and there are 5 familiar faces and the rest are 200 I've never seen before. So you see more of that, and it's wonderful. Wing Luke is getting new members all the time. You look at INTER*IM. We have a small base but it's very mixed, very diverse with people who come from neighborhood all over the city. Our board is very diverse.

Kevin's comparison between Tacoma and Seattle signified a major difference between the two cities and their efforts to establish Asian American organizations. In Tacoma, there is no neighborhood that residents of that city view as the center or heart of the Asian American community. In contrast, organizations that develop in Seattle's International District have distinct advantages. First, they have often been started and established by a strong coalition of influential neighborhood adoptees who have listened to the concerns of residents. Second, there is a long history of neighborhood adoptees working

within these organizations. Third, the International District neighborhood itself is viewed as a community center that is inclusive and open for all Asian Americans.

4.12 Claiming Ownership of the Neighborhood

Unlike predominantly white neighborhoods, ethnic identity is a driving force behind the International District and serves as the primary impetus for developing and cultivating neighborhood adoptee involvement. In fact, the majority of interview subjects who were non-residents of the International District claimed ownership of the neighborhood, despite not living there.

Respondents were asked what they felt their neighborhood was. Many answered that they felt the International District was their neighborhood rather than where they actually lived. Others responded that they would definitely be more concerned or more likely to become involved in issues in the I.D. as opposed to issues in the neighborhood where they lived. One respondent who resided in the University District neighborhood discussed her reasons behind claiming the International District as her neighborhood:

I would not consider the University District as my neighborhood. Although that's where I live, I don't want to claim the U-District. Even though the International District has its problems and everything, I can identify and understand the history. I think that history is so important. I think that if you don't know your own history then you don't know who you are. I appreciate the history of the I.D. so I would consider that my neighborhood. – Karen

Although Raines lives in a predominantly white area in North Seattle, he proudly claimed the International District as his neighborhood even though he did not reside there:

AC: So where do you live? If you don't live in the ID? Where do you live?

Raines: I live in North Seattle but I am looking to live possibly in a neighborhood that's very close by here in the ID.

AC: Between here and where you live in North Seattle, what would you consider to be your neighborhood now?

Raines: I consider this my community because I spend so much time here... After going out, coming down here for a late night eat or something like that. So I spend a lot of time here. I have a genuine interest to help out the community. But in addition to that, I would say also that people have a tie to this neighborhood whether it's their cultural background or they know or are motivated or influenced by notable community activists like Uncle Bob. Some of our leaders for a long time in this community, they inspire people just wanting to help out. They may not be residents, they might not even work in this neighborhood. Let's say they work in the city and they work in human services but they have a connection because of a leadership course that they took through Uncle Bob and they just want to come back here and help. I always want to do my part to this neighborhood, my neighborhood.

4.13 The Defended Neighborhood—Ethnic Identity, Neighborhood Identity, and the International District

Neighborhood adoptees were more likely to claim the International District as their own neighborhood rather the neighborhood that they actually resided in. As a result in having a vested interest in their “own neighborhood,” they were more likely to become heavily involved and defend possible threats to community disorder.

In his analysis of defended neighborhoods, Suttles (1972, p. 27) wrote that “the most persistent characteristic of these defended neighborhoods is their boundaries and the necessity of anyone who lives within these boundaries to assume a common residential identity.” Although the construction of Interstate 5 and the expansion of Little Saigon have slightly shifted historical neighborhood boundaries, the area defining the International District is still easily identifiable, particularly within the heart of the District. More importantly, the “common residential identity” of the International District as a vibrant Asian American neighborhood is evident.

Other research (Green, Strolovitch, and Wong, 1998) on defended neighborhoods focuses on racially motivated crime. Their study described how racially motivated crime was more likely to occur in predominantly white neighborhoods in which nonwhites move into white strongholds. Suttles (1972) also argued that in defended neighborhoods, residents of the dominant race focus on the exclusion of those of other racial or ethnic groups. Interview subjects mentioned that they are accepting and welcoming of other racial groups living in the neighborhood and have neighbors that are white, black, and Latino. In fact, only 58.4 percent of residents in the neighborhood are Asian. In comparison, over 83 percent of residents in Tract 107 in the heart of San Francisco’s Chinatown are Asian (www.census.gov).

Unlike the defended neighborhoods that Suttles described, the International District is not patrolled by delinquent gangs intimidating non-Asians

or restricted covenants. In the International District, defending the neighborhood has less to do with racially motivated crime or not allowing non-Asian residents to live there and more to do with defending the neighborhood from city planners and politicians and business enterprises that may threaten the neighborhood's ethnic identity. Here, the International District is defended by neighborhood adoptees who collaborate with residents and community institutions on social issues.

To summarize, several elements are influential in the process of non-residents becoming neighborhood adoptees of a neighborhood that they do not live in. First, a strong sense of ethnic identity fosters respondents' connection to the International District. Likewise, the neighborhood identity of the International District as a place to "be Asian" reinforced and further cultivated the ethnic identity of neighborhood adoptees. Many of the Asian American respondents, whether they were recent first-generation immigrants or held fifth generation status, still claimed an affiliation to the neighborhood. Moreover, respondents of various ethnic ancestries—Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Vietnamese—felt this shared connection to the neighborhood. In addition, subjects staked ownership in the neighborhood even though they were not residents. Many boldly chose the International District as "their neighborhood" rather than their actual place of residence.

As a result of feeling that the International District was their own neighborhood, neighborhood adoptees exhibit a strong desire to positively affect

community happenings and circumstances. The following chapter will demonstrate how neighborhood adoptees have become involved in issues concerning crime and public safety. It will also describe how neighborhood adoptees are involved as patrons of mom-and-pop stores and volunteers in various agencies, and also as employees in community-based organizations. Moreover, neighborhood adoptees routinely volunteer time and energy to clean up the neighborhood, something that they normally would not do in the neighborhood that they actually lived in. They also often participate in fundraisers or charity auctions that directly benefit International District residents.

Furthermore, neighborhood adoptees have become involved due to the notion of the International District being treated as a “dumping ground” by city planners and politicians for the rest of Seattle. The idea of neighborhood adoptees defending the International District to preserve the ethnic identity of the neighborhood is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5

“Not In My ‘Hood”: Neighborhood Adoptees, Collective Efficacy, and Crime

Neighborhood adoptees have a positive influence on social control in the International District. Concentrated disadvantage, a high percentage of immigrants, and low levels of residential stability among residents in the International District would predict low levels of collective efficacy in this neighborhood. In fact, the Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey (Matsueda et al., 2003) reveals that the International District has the second lowest collective efficacy score in the city.

Table 5.1 below reveals how collective efficacy levels in the International District’s Tract 91 compare to the rest of the city and also to neighboring census tracts. By categorizing neighboring census tracts together and forming a “Greater I.D.,” we can compare the International District itself to the surrounding areas. Although neighboring tracts also have low levels of collective efficacy, the collective efficacy level of International District respondents is significantly below neighboring tracts.

Figure 5.1 reveals a map of all Seattle census tracts for geographical comparisons.

Table 5.1—Collective Efficacy of Seattle, the International District, and the Greater International District

	Collective Efficacy Score	City Rank (123 tracts)
Seattle	Min. 2.36 Max. 3.45 Mean 3.01 St Dev .23	
Tract 91 (International District)	2.49	122/123
Avg. of Neighboring Tracts (Greater I.D.) : Census Tracts 85-90, 92, 93, 94	2.76	(Would rank 104/123)

Source: Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey (Matsueda et. al, 2003)

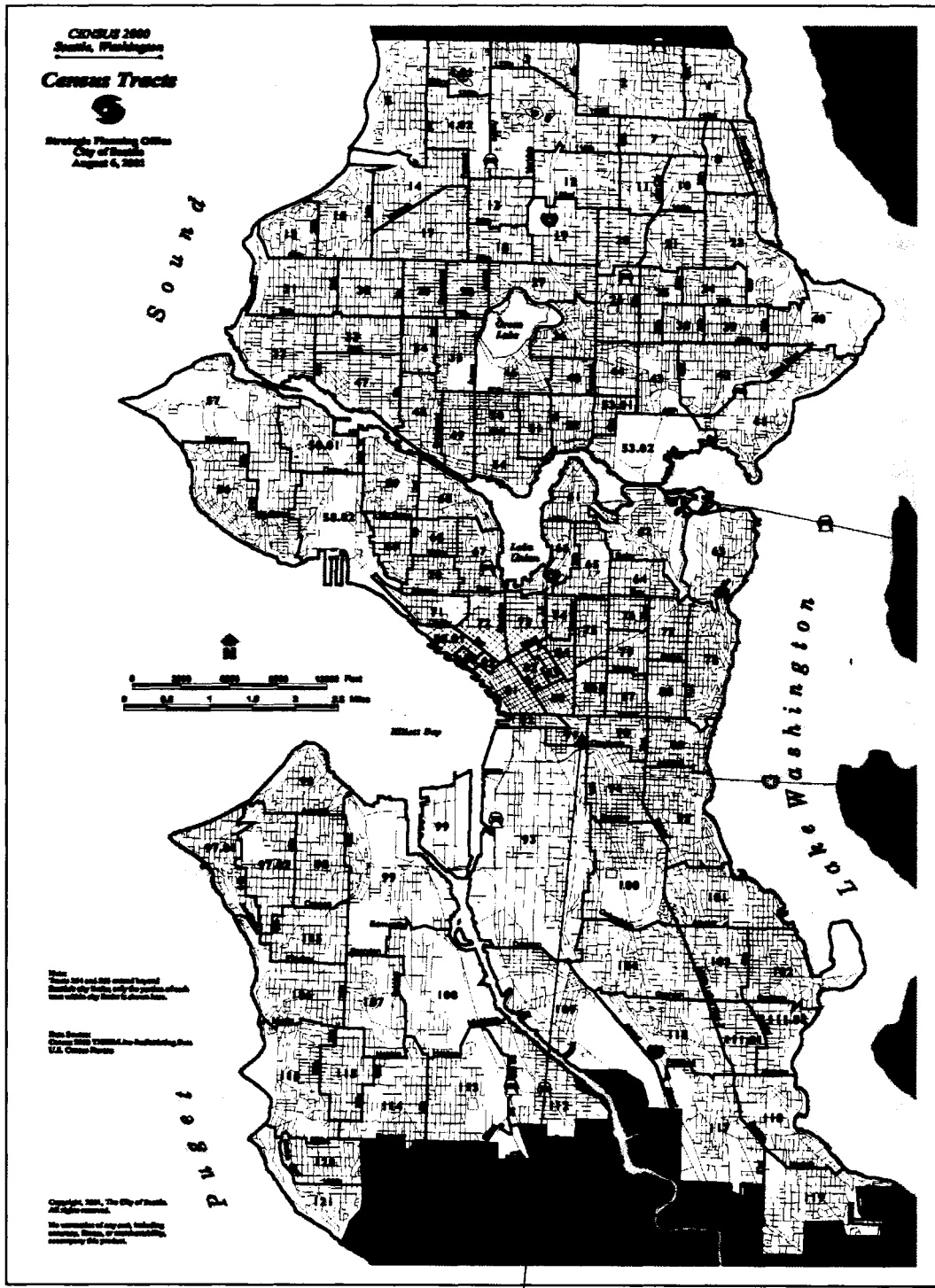


Figure 5.1: Seattle Census Tracts: Tract 91 is I.D

Some researchers (Massey and Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987) have argued that the difficulties and stress related to concentrated poverty may lead to distrust among neighbors and lower levels of socialization between neighbors and collective participation in social groups or community organizations. Wilson (1996) also contends that community organizations may also suffer in neighborhoods that do not have a sizeable proportion of middle-class residents. Due to the concentrated poverty in the International District and lack of middle-class residents, low levels of collective efficacy among residents should be expected. Likewise, Geis and Ross (1998) found that residents in impoverished neighborhoods had fewer interactions with their neighbors.

However, for the International District, the influential presence of “neighborhood adoptees,” augments the predicted low levels of collective efficacy. Despite the fact that Asian Americans are scattered throughout neighborhoods in Seattle, the collective nature of many Asian cultures and the importance of ethnic identity facilitates local Asian Americans to identify and claim membership in the International District community. In turn, having a vested interest in “their own neighborhood,” these Asian American neighborhood adoptees have a major influence on social control in the International District, thus increasing levels of collective efficacy and producing a deterrent effect on crime.

Consider the following exchange:

Just the other day, I was in the International District and these two white guys, these rednecks or something, were threatening me. Then, they started calling me racist names. I was shocked. How could they come to my neighborhood and do that?--Neely

Has this happened to you before? How long have you lived here?--AC

I don't live here. I live in West Seattle. But, this is still my neighborhood. This is the neighborhood of all Asians in Seattle. If something happens here, I'm concerned, cause it's my neighborhood. Who cares if I actually live here or not? I'm not going to let shit like that happen here. --Neely

As displayed previously in Table 1.1, the International District has less actual crime than predicted. In this study, I ran a simple model predicting violent crime as a linear function of poverty, public assistance, unemployment, female-headed households, percent black, percent Hispanic, percent Asian, percent immigrant, residential stability, home ownership, and collective efficacy. These are the same variables that Sampson (1997) used in his study on collective efficacy, although his model was more complex. In my basic model to guide my qualitative research, there would be 48.2 violent crimes per thousand residents predicted between 2002-2004 per year. However, within census tract 91, the average yearly violent crime rate was only 40.5, about *19 percent less* than the model would predict.

Comparing the neighborhood once again to surrounding areas and with the city of Seattle as a whole in this regard provides the following table:

Table 5.2: Comparisons of Actual Crime and Predicted Crime in the I.D. and “Greater I.D.”

	Actual Violent Crime 2002-04 per 1000 residents	Predicted Violent Crime per 1000 residents	Percent difference
Seattle	7.0	7.3	4% less actual crime
Tract 91 (International District)	40.5	48.2	19% less actual crime
Avg. of Neighboring Tracts (Greater I.D.) : Census Tracts 85-90, 92, 93, 94	22.1	22.74	.03% less actual crime

Source: www.census.gov; Matsueda et. al, 2003; Matsueda and Drakulich, 2007

Thus, Table 5.2 reveals that Seattle as a whole has 4% less actual crime than predicted. The International District has over 19% less actual crime than predicted. For the nine surrounding tracts, the results are minuscule, with the actual violent crime being only .03% less than predicted crime. Clearly, the situation in the International District deserves special attention.

The uniqueness of the International District cannot be overstated. Even though there are other census tracts in Seattle that are predominantly Asian, the characteristics of the International District are unparalleled. For instance, census tracts 104, 110 and 117 also exceed fifty percent Asian. However, these neighborhoods are significantly less impoverished and have much more residential stability as evidenced by home ownership.

Table 5.3: Poverty and Home Ownership in the International District and Other Predominantly Asian Census Tracts

	Percent Asian (City rank in parentheses) Mean = 12.1	Percent in Poverty Mean = 11.8	Percent own Home Mean = 50.4
Census Tract 91 (International District)	58.4 (1)	49.6 (1)	2.8 (121)
Tract 104 (N. Beacon Hill)	57.4 (2)	9.7 (58)	76.3 (16)
Tract 110 (S. Beacon Hill)	51.3 (3)	18.5 (18)	50.4 (68)
Tract 117 (S. Seattle/Rainier Valley)	50.0 (4)	14.3 (36)	75.9 (17)

Source: www.census.gov

Furthermore, Wilson (2001, p. 656) writes that “A weak institutional resource base is what distinguishes high jobless inner-city neighborhoods from stable middle-class and working class-areas.” Although the International District cannot directly compare to the extreme poverty found in inner-city ghettos described by Wilson, its relatively high rate of impoverished and unemployed residents certainly do not merit designation as a stable middle-class and working-class neighborhood. In addition, in the International District, there are many institutional resources in the form of jobs and multiple social service and community organizations. Wilson quotes one Chicago resident as saying that, “Our children, you know, seems to be at risk than any other children there is, because there’s no library for them to go to. There’s not a center they can go to, there’s no field house that they can go into” (Wilson, 2001, p. 656). For many

years, the International District was also without a library and community center. However, aided tremendously by the persistent work of neighborhood adoptees, a new community center opened in 2004 and a branch of the Seattle Public Library opened next door in 2005.

5.1 “Giving Back”

Neighborhood adoptees frequently mentioned the concept of “giving back” to the community. This was often manifested by a desire to work for a community based organization there or volunteer in the neighborhood in some capacity. This desire was ignited by feelings that the International District provided numerous benefits for Asian Americans in the area.

In the following exchange, another neighborhood adoptee explained why she volunteers as board member of several agencies in the neighborhood:

AC: Are there many people like yourself who don't live in the International District or work down there but are still involved in the community somehow?

Betty: Oh yeah. Yeah, Yeah! Every single board member that I know.

AC: Really? Why do they get involved on these boards or in neighborhood happenings?

Betty: I think it's because they want to give back. And they want to stay connected.

AC: What is this idea of giving back? What does the neighborhood provide for them that they feel compelled to give back to the ID?

Betty: What the ID gives back to them is a sense of community. And being part of that community as an Asian American is understanding the discrimination, understanding the oppression, and wanting to do something about it. We have to go through some personal self-evaluation about where we are as Asians in America. And the bottom line is that we could never have made it without community.

Another neighborhood adoptee connected her desire to become involved in the community with the fact that the International District offered a sense of familiarity for local Asian Americans:

I mean like in high school, I don't think I went down there as often. But after I started college, I started really starting building connections and doing my practicum and doing other kinds of community service work that I was brought down there all the time on a regular basis. I've spent longer periods of time down there. So, I don't know. It just draws me there cause, people you know, it just feels like a familiar place and space. You see people that look like you! Foods are familiar. The place is comfortable and feeling an attachment cause you work there and you work with the people and you work on the issues. So those are the kinds of things that kind of bring me down there. I mean I could go and volunteer at a community organization over by where I live in South Seattle. I suppose I could do that pretty easily. But why should I? The ID is where I feel more comfortable. I want give back to this neighborhood.--Esther

The idea of community and sense of ownership by neighborhood adoptees in the International District was demonstrated when neighborhood adoptees became heavily involved in the recent International District Spring Clean. The city of Seattle encourages and in some cases sponsors cleanups in different neighborhoods. According to the city coordinator, in terms of numbers of participants, the International District Spring Clean is by far the largest in the city.

Some neighborhood cleanups actually have as few as two participants. Only two others in the city have more than 100 volunteers.

Held on April 22, 2006, the International District Spring Clean drew over 415 volunteer participants. According to the neighborhood event organizer, the overwhelming majority of these volunteers were indeed non-resident neighborhood adoptees. From his perspective, "In no other neighborhood in the city, would people who do not even live there volunteer to clean up the place!"

Jeff felt that connections to the neighborhood based on ethnic identity was the main reason why the International District Spring Clean continues to draw such a huge turnout from neighborhood adoptees, who may see it as another opportunity to "give back":

AC: Why do you think, people are apt to get involved in this neighborhood who don't live here? Like the Spring Clean you mentioned earlier...

Jeff: I think it links back to back with what I said earlier about how people feel about this linkage to the neighborhood because of their ethnicity. Because you get Asian fraternities that come to this neighborhood to do their duty, right. But they pick this neighborhood because it's known as the Chinatown-International District, so they are compelled to do some service for this neighborhood. They feel connected to the neighborhood because of their ethnic identity.

AC: Are there specific groups or people who come to mind?

Jeff: I guess there's a group, a Filipino group, a fraternity group. They have to do things beyond the norms of fraternity. I never really, when I went to college...I was not familiar with the system. But they are responding in various ways beyond, at least from what I could see from

most of the Chinese in the social services. And that's one example. Other people because of their association with other organizations they hear about this and see an opportunity to help and give back to the neighborhood. The same thing for the Korean American group... they see this opportunity to give back. And you have people who hear about this--- they recognize that this isn't the first place they eat at a restaurant and utilize their services. Or they might have a linkage; they will come here for that. So you have people with various reasons, but it all comes down to being about the struggle. Either you're Asian or Asian descent. Because your family came through here or because you still find an identification with being Asian. Usually because there's Asian characteristics and heritage. –Jeff

Along the same lines, in their study of Northern Heights, Georgia, Brown and Brooks (2006) also argued that neighborhood collective efficacy was developed through organized “neighborhood trash pickups, construction of a safe play area for children, seasonal family parties, painting over gang graffiti, and quarterly health fairs sponsored by a local hospital. Future plans to increase neighborhood pride and solidarity and decrease social distancing include a neighborhood watch program, community gardens, and adult sports teams” (Brown and Brooks, 2006, p. 272) Interestingly enough, nearly all of these efforts in Northern Heights to develop collective efficacy have already been instituted in the International District.

As mentioned earlier, in addition to the Spring Clean, neighborhood adoptees were also influential in the construction of the community center as a safe place for children to play. The Danny Woo Community Garden was built in 1975 by community volunteers and also has recently been serviced by volunteers from the University of Washington. An annual pig roast (see Appendix D5 for

flier) also occurs there for residents and other community members to participate in the sharing of food and festivities.

There is also an annual “Paint Out” to rid the neighborhood of graffiti. For the past six years, community members, including many neighborhood adoptees have volunteered to paint over the graffiti on the outside walls of apartments, buildings, businesses, and other spaces in the neighborhood (see Appendix D3 for flier).

There are also adult sports teams that play basketball in the new community center and the Asian Resource Center. However, very few of these players are actually residents. One neighborhood adoptee, Jeff, mentioned:

Jeff: Sometimes, I play basketball at the Asian Resource Center or the community center.

AC: And the guys that you play basketball, do they live in the neighborhood?

Jeff: I would say 98% of them don’t live in the neighborhood, and they’re older usually. They’re usually 2nd-4th generation Asian American, so they haven’t traces of immigration pattern that you see of people who are residents or business owners. So they mostly live outside the community.

Although efforts to develop collective efficacy exist in both Northern Heights and the International District, there is a significant difference between the two neighborhoods. In Northern Heights, these programs are being instituted primarily by residents. In the International District, many of these programs have been fueled or assisted by the efforts of neighborhood adoptees.

5.2 Youth and Young Adults

Mario Small's (2002) field research on a predominantly Puerto Rican housing project in Boston revealed that community participation was driven by changes in cohorts rather than by structural characteristics of the neighborhood. In particular, low community participation was a result of the present cohort youth and young adults framing the neighborhood as a ghetto and an undesirable place to live rather than as a beautiful neighborhood, as previous cohorts framed it. Moreover, the importance of Puerto Rican ethnic identity was minimal to residents. In the International District, community participation has remained steady through different cohorts as today's Asian American youth and young adults still view the neighborhood with pride and a sanctuary where ethnicity is salient.

An example that illustrates the involvement of the current cohort of youth and young adults being involved as neighborhood adoptees occurred on August 1, 2006, August 4, 2007, and August 18, 2007 when a collaborative group primarily composed of youth adoptees as well as a few neighborhood youth organized a community night market as part of the neighborhood's *National Night Out* activities to combat crime. The purpose of the night market was to attract more street traffic in the neighborhood and turn the locations in which criminal activity was rampant into spots where bustling night market activity would replace drug dealing and prostitution. Rena, who facilitates the group discussed the desire of

young, teen-age neighborhood adoptees to become involved in the neighborhood. I interviewed her a few years ago while the night market idea was still in its infancy. She mentioned why the youth become involved in the neighborhood and how the idea of the night market developed:

AC: These “community stakeholders” that you’re talking about, are these non-residents who might come from Beacon Hill?

Rena: Right.

AC: Why do you think they have such an interest in this neighborhood? I mean why would they even volunteer? You don’t really see other people going to other neighborhoods that aren’t their own and helping out.

Rena: Well, I think that what makes the International District unique is that a lot of the community stakeholders are people who don’t live here and I think it’s because it has such a strong cultural pull for so many people... I think it’s very similar with our youth, most of the youth. There aren’t very many youth who live in the ID. And most of the youth in our program live on Beacon Hill, Rainier Valley, some in West Seattle but they come here because this is where they feel like it is culturally significant for them.

AC: So they identify with the International District?

Rena: Right. They think this is their neighborhood. And many of the youth have said to me if there was more family housing “I wish we could live in the ID.” So when Village Square One opened up, there were quite a few youth who were very excited to be able to move to the neighborhood and now with *Nihonmachi Terrace* opening up, I had quite a few youth asking me as well like “How can we get into that housing because it would be so much better for our family to be able to live in a neighborhood like this?”

AC: So, what have the youth done to get involved in the International District?

Rena: Well I can tell you our youth actually this year have... we let them select for their campaign for the year. We said “What would you like to

work on?" and they said "Well, if the residents' concern is public safety, that's what we should be working on." So the youth have been trying to develop ways that they can address public safety concerns that are reasonable and within their power. We talked about all different levels of how we can address some of the public safety concerns. For me, I think building more affordable housing would be great and bringing in more economic opportunities for people would also be great, because I think that part of the reason why we see so many public safety concerns is mostly around the economic situations of the neighborhood. Maybe there a lot of the residents who may say "Oh, well there's too many homeless people." Well they're homeless cause they don't have places to live right? So on my end I would like to see more money put into looking at affordable housing or supporting more affordable housing in general. And being able to promote the economics of the neighborhood. But in terms of what else we've been looking at is how can we... we need to understand that public safety isn't necessarily about putting more police on the street but also about supporting the people in the neighborhood to be able to own the neighborhood. So the youth have been talking about well, "Let's promote some community building activities that get people out, that get people to feel like 'this is my neighborhood'." So we've talked about a neighborhood block watch and just quite frankly we don't think that's going to work.

AC: Why not?

Rena: I think that the, residents would be pretty... people are nervous to take on the liability. We talked about it with CAP and we talked about it with IDEC and the big question came up, who's going to take on the liability? We know IDHA can't, we know CAP can't, we know that IDEC can't. So the other piece of it is even if you do a block watch, then we have to make sure that the people who are reporting are able to speak with 911 if they make a phone call, because one of the big issues around here is that people just won't call 911. The neighborhood block watch is something that the residents have proposed but we sort of put that on the back burner because we just feel like...

AC: So the residents themselves have proposed it?

Rena: They recommended it but then when we asked who would participate in it? It was like...

AC: Nobody wanted to do it.

Rena: Nobody, right. So that's a huge piece of it. We have talked about what are some more positive things that we can encourage, so we've talked about doing more sort of neighborhood beautification projects that get people out, more community building activities that get people out. So an example I just talked to CAP about is like maybe doing a night market. We've talked to people from the Chamber; we've talked to CAP; we've talked to other people; and when we brought it up with the youth they were like "Yeah, we should totally do a night market because people are so concerned about safety at night. Why not create a situation where people are out at night and you have more eyes on the street?"

Besides planning and operating the night market, this group of Asian American youth, sponsored by the International District Housing Alliance, has also collaborated with elderly residents to increase public safety for senior citizens walking home at night (Vu, C., August 2006). Their program has been extremely successful and has also served to bridge the generational gap between Asian American youth and seniors.

Other interview subjects mentioned various community groups and organizations composed of younger neighborhood adoptees. Thanh discussed various youth and young adult programs in the International District that were comprised primarily of neighborhood adoptees:

There are always youth and younger people at the Spring Clean. Do you know about that? And there's also like the Chinatown Chamber of Commerce has their own like-- they call them ambassadors and a lot of them are high school students and I think it's the college students too, who, I think they do leadership development with them. Their office is just up the street on King and... but I'm not sure what they do. But they're Chinatown focused. But I don't know what that means really. And the Northwest Asian Weekly Foundation. We try to get the foundation youth involved in this area. – Thanh

Stephanie was involved in a relatively new program called the Asian Pacific Islander Community Leadership Foundation (ACLF). She described what the program focused on and why she became involved:

Stephanie: There are a lot of young Asian Americans who don't live in the neighborhood but get involved. They are in political groups like leadership organizations like ACLF. That group promotes leadership within the community and they actually take on particular needs of organization. So for example, when I got involved with that, it was a seven month program and you meet twice a month...

AC: What does it stand for?

Stephanie: Asian American Community Leadership Foundation or Asian Pacific Islanders Leadership Foundation. It was co-founded by Kip Tokuda.

AC: Where is it located at?

Stephanie: It's located in the Bush Hotel.

AC: Right. So, how many other people did that program with you?

Stephanie: About 20 people were in it.

AC: What percentage of those people lived in the International District?

Stephanie: I don't think none of them lived there.

AC: None of them did, huh?

Stephanie: Right, and then we had the community projects to work on. JACL-- that was the one we worked on. Um... all sorts of different organizations that helped the community. You do something for this organization to make it better.

AC: What prompted you guys to get involved?

Stephanie: Well, I can't speak for them but for me personally, I wanted to be involved in the Asian American community. I felt that there was a lot

more that I could be doing. And so we started the *kosei* group, which is a young adult organization within the Seattle Chapter JAACL. Other chapters around the United States have taken our model, so they found that's its really good. I found that ACLF is real great. It helped me a lot. You meet lot of great, amazing people that care about the community and some of those people have never been a part of the community. Now they are.

The strong involvement of younger neighborhood adoptees was a source of optimism and excitement for the International District community. For other communities, there may be the sense that today's generation of youth is politically apathetic and do not become involved in the community or that the activism from the Civil Rights Movement has disappeared. However, for the International District, neighborhood adoptee involvement from youth and young adults permeates throughout the community.

5.3 The International District as the “Dumping Ground” for Seattle

Neighborhood adoptees were actively involved in combating the idea of Seattle using the neighborhood as a “dumping ground” for the social ills of the city. Several respondents were quite upset because they perceived that the city continually takes advantage of the predominantly poor, immigrant population in the International District. One respondent discussed the fact that a lot of hotels in the I.D. primarily house sex offenders or others who have recently been released from jail or prison:

Stephanie: It's interesting that these areas are chosen down in that area. You know why they are sent down there? What are they trying to promote, you know? Crime? People with criminal backgrounds in the Chinatown/ International District are to me... that's fishy. I don't know.

A.C.: Why do you think that is? Why do you think it is Chinatown rather than Magnolia, or up North?

Stephanie: Because it's just Chinatown/ International District and it's not respected like any other community.

Another subject had a similar viewpoint:

I think the city treats this neighborhood different because it's kind of grandfathered over policy that have worked in the past. It's hard to break that status quo; this neighborhood has been treated as the 'dumping ground' for so many years. It's really hard to get out of that mold. I think there has been some progress, definitely over the years. We have a lot of community activists who helped to pave the way, trailblazers in the last thirty years to kind of help make some improvements. But there is still a long way to go. I still think we are treated much differently than say the U-district or Queen Anne, Ballard, Fremont. I can go on and on. --Raines

This same point was again reflected by yet another neighborhood adoptee:

I've heard of some changes in Pioneer Square, the alcohol sale and cleaning out the neighborhood. Then it was pushed here so being able to get some kind of coordination, I don't know what that would be. But why is our neighborhood storing junk? If another neighborhood is being cleaned out, they're going to end up here. Like when the Jungle gets cleaned out, everybody from the Jungle ends up here. -- Cathy

Rick had similar thoughts and then discussed his frustration at attempting to deal with local government:

AC: What kinds of things have happened here for you to claim that the neighborhood is treated poorly?

Rick: They were thinking of putting a jail facility there, so that's another thing. So the community rose up and objected. We don't want to be seen as a dumping ground of all your little projects here, your sport arena and your jails and everything like that because especially jail has a negative impact on the community, bringing in jobs and as well as jailers. But our community isn't largely jailers and it'll bring an element that would only detract from our business community base.

AC: Do you think the police treat this neighborhood differently because it's predominately Asian neighborhood?

Rick: My sense is, and this is my sense, they, when you ask if they treat the neighborhood differently, they certainly don't put too much emphasis on this neighborhood. There were some strong signals from the mayor's office that because the minority community has no power, voting power, or any kind of power, that our concerns aren't important to his office.

AC: Really?

Rick: Well, that's the message that I got. Those aren't the exact words that he would say but in our discussions with our office and his staff people. I guess in particular, his staff people, well even in our task forces which were composed of community leaders, they were like "Yeah, your community doesn't vote, so what do you want from us then? What do you expect for us to do?" And that's the mayor's office that runs the police department. The police department also has their own independent sphere. If that's the message you're getting from the mayor's office to the police chief, I don't expect more from the police chief or the politically correct latitude that he's going to tell you on how's he's treating everything. No, it was made pretty clear to us by his staff that that we weren't a priority of his.

The perception of the International District as a dumping ground was also conveyed in meetings that I attended. At one meeting, a community leader mentioned that a "group of people were dropped off at Hing Hay Park. Six of the people were inmates who had just been released from the King County jail." In another meeting, attendees complained that sex offenders were disproportionately placed in the International District and residents are not informed that these offenders are now residing there. Others complained that the International District is the most transient neighborhood in the city and homeless come to the neighborhood because it is ignored by the police and public officials. Business

owners were upset that transients aggressively panhandle in front of their stores or restaurants and scare customers away.

Most respondents agreed that the neighborhood was treated differently because of its high composition of those of Asian ancestry. As described earlier, studies have suggested that experiences with discrimination and being treated differently due to racism or prejudice results in stronger levels of ethnic identity for Asian Americans. Even if differential treatment is not a reality for the neighborhood, the mere *perception* that the International District was treated worse off due to its predominantly Asian American make-up was enough to trigger involvement from neighborhood adoptees.

5.4 Ethnic Antagonisms and Other Barriers to Collective Efficacy

Espiritu (1992) argued that one of the major barriers to Asian American pan-ethnic collaboration were existing ethnic antagonisms. In the International District, ethnic antagonisms also exist, perhaps contributing to lower levels of collective efficacy among residents. There have been several prominent instances in which ethnic tensions have resulted in controversy and bitterness between various groups in the neighborhood.

In 1998, Uwajimaya, the huge Japanese Supermarket and gift shop announced plans to expand. The major expansion plan entailed relocating the existing supermarket, gift store, and book store, and also housing new retail stores and restaurants on the ground floor. In addition, this new “Uwajimaya

Village” would also house 177 new apartment units and a ground-level and underground parking facility. As part of the new development, a block of Lane Street, which had been largely unused and abandoned for decades would have to vacated. However, the ethnic Chinese in the community protested against the possibility of closing this section of South Lane Street to accommodate the expansion. Protesters organized a campaign called “Save Lane Street.” Members of the Chong Wa Association and the Chinatown Chamber of Commerce organized mass demonstrations around Uwajimaya, submitted a petition with hundreds of signatures to the City Council, and even filed lawsuits and appeals to block the vacation of Lane Street. Their main contention was that project would cause traffic and parking problems and adversely affect existing business. Also, closing Lane Street would limit access for emergency vehicles and that vacating a street should not be allowed for a private business or individual (Chin, 2001).

Supporters of the project countered that most people in the community were strongly in favor of the development because it would create more jobs, businesses, and housing for the neighborhood. They also contended that it was only ethnic Chinese who were protesting and the Chinese protesters did not care at all about preserving the lightly-used Lane Street; they cared more about stopping Japanese American business development (Chin, 2001).

Strong ethnic antagonisms have also manifested around the name of the neighborhood. Controversy surrounding the name of the neighborhood has existed now for over half a century. The area was called Chinatown until 1951.

In order to capture the strong African American, Japanese, and Filipino presence in the neighborhood, Seattle Mayor William Devin proclaimed the neighborhood to be called the “International Centre.” Even though the Chinese community protested this, the name evolved into the “International District.” In 1998, the Seattle City Council passed an ordinance to call the area “Chinatown/International District” as part of adopting a growth plan. Chinese community leaders in Seattle argued that Chinese immigrants were the first to establish and develop the neighborhood and many Chinese Americans in the area can trace their roots back to Chinatown. Other community leaders, particularly those from other ethnic groups, stated that the name International District better reflects today’s diversity in the neighborhood (Vinh, 20005).

In 2004, some Chinese community leaders lobbied the King County Council to rename the Seattle Transit Tunnel “International District Station” as the “Chinatown Station.” The council members upset many of the Chinese merchants and community leaders by compromising with “International District/Chinatown Station.” Also, the Seattle Chinese Chamber of Commerce attempted to stop the city from designating the new community center as the “International District/ Chinatown Community Center.” In 2005, Chinese community leaders were upset that the new branch of the Seattle Public Library was called the “International District/ Chinatown Branch Library.”

On the other hand, ethnic antagonisms have failed to completely undermine social cohesion and collective efficacy in the neighborhood. For

instance, most community members could not understand why the name of the neighborhood would be so divisive when there were public safety issues and dilapidated buildings to take care of. One executive director of a prominent community organization stated, “If we find ourselves battling over the name, we are not going to get to the real issues” (Van, 2005). Another leader in the community wrote that, “Within the Asian community, people not only don’t get along, but there is much distrust and so many power struggles. When people fight over petty issues, they waste time and talent. A lot of good things can happen if people think about what they can do for the community...” (Ng, 2007).

Espiritu (1992) also contends that pan-Asian American collaboration is much more possible in contemporary society because second generation and later Asian Americans do not share the strong ethnic antagonisms of their first-generation parents. Likewise, many of the neighborhood adoptees embraced the opportunity for ethnic collaboration and also believed the divisiveness to be incomprehensible. Rick discussed his views:

Rick: They think they’re trying to...the next project they’re building for is a gate for Chinatown, like some other Chinatowns in other cities. A gate or an entrance somewhere.

AC: Are there any controversies in that?

Rick: I don’t think there are much controversies over the gate itself. There seemed to be some controversies over calling it the International District versus calling it Chinatown. There seem to be conflicts.

AC: Well can you explain that conflict?

Rick: Well I guess it appears that this is traditionally, historically the Chinatown area where all the Chinese related shops have been. Over the years, there were other areas that were set off as the Japanesetown, or Japanese area. It's further up the street. And with an influx of newer immigrants, it has become a little more international, in a sense, that there isn't a strong---well there's still a strong Chinese influence in the area, but it's not exclusively Chinese as it was one time in the past. And a lot of the older businesses don't want to lose the identity of Chinatown by calling it the ID. And so... We have the same thing with the library. Yeah, big controversy. It shouldn't be such a big deal; there were people who wanted to name it as Chinatown Library versus the ID library or the ID center. I don't know if it's a huge controversy, but it remains on the stove as a point of tension. It doesn't make sense to me. Look, we have crime problems here. We have housing issues here. We have racial profiling here. We have gentrification here. And what are we doing? Arguing over what to name this place? I mean, come on.

Rick's point seemed to be well-received by most other community members.

Although ethnic tensions still exist in the neighborhood, most community members do in fact recognize the larger issues and social needs of the neighborhood and will shelve their differences for the betterment of the community. This is evidenced by the collaboration and participation of multiple ethnic groups at community festivals, public safety meetings, and events such as the Paint Out and Spring Clean. Moreover, the community has put aside ethnic differences to battle perceived political threats such as the I-5 expansion and the Kingdome.

Another point of contention that possibly hinders the development of collective efficacy in the neighborhood includes the involved business owners versus the non-involved. In their study of four different neighborhoods in metropolitan Pittsburgh, Ohmer and Beck (2006) also found that involved

residents viewed themselves as part of the solution and looked down on non-involved residents as part of the problem. At various meetings that I attended, business owners often had this outlook as well. One restaurant owner lamented:

I work hard to keep the front of my business looking nice. I keep the litter away. No garbage is out in front. But what good is that if the two businesses on the side of me don't care? You tell me that keeping the neighborhood clean will help reduce crime. So, o.k. I do that. Now you need to make sure everybody does that or what I do does not matter.-- S.G.

Another business owner was disappointed and frustrated that there were not more business owners among the participants at the monthly CAP meetings:

I see the e-mail that is sent out to all these people in the neighborhood to come to this meeting. How come nobody comes? We are in this room (about 18 participants) because we care about this community and care about the crime here. Do these other people not care? I know they are busy but I am busy too. Tell me what is more important, making a few dollars now or trying to think longer-term to reduce crime in the neighborhood? How can I convince other business owners to come? --J.J.

5.5 Residents' Fear of Victimization

Some researchers have asserted that fear of victimization can compel residents to withdraw from community participation (Furstenburg, 1993; Skogan, 1990). In this study, some residents, particularly females, shared that they were quite fearful of victimization. Even though she had never been personally victimized, Yoshie discussed how scared she was to go out sometimes because of incidents she had heard about:

I heard about lot of victims. And I had a friend whose father got knocked down during that time. And he didn't realize at that time that there was a problem until he reported it. And somebody mentioned that there were a

number of them happening. When we first came down here during a short time, one of the fathers in the car was shot to death. They came to attend some kind of Tai-Chi. He just happened to be in the wrong place. Not too long after that, somebody came and there were a car in front with all the glass broken. Some of the bullets ricocheted and hit Uwajimaya (a local Japanese American store) at the corner of the bookstore. Anyways, when I was about 15, I think there were a lot of prostitutes in the area. I remember them walking by, watching. So we know who they were and what they were doing. Now it's more drugs I think. More drugs and thefts. When I come out at night, it's really sleazy down here. I kind of rush when I come out of the garage in case there's someone in the alley. I hope that nothing ever happen to me even when I'm in my car, but I think about it all the time. The alley doesn't feel safe. –Yoshie

Others mentioned the lingering effects of the horrific Wah Mee Massacre of 1983, in which 13 individuals were executed in Seattle's worst mass murder in history. A 14th individual who was also shot, survived and identified the killers. Some respondents discussed how the Wah Mee Massacre still affected the community. June remarked that perceptions of crime in the neighborhood and reality were sometimes blurred. Due to the Wah Mee Massacre, June felt that perceptions of violent crime in the neighborhood were higher than what reality suggested. However, she could also recount multiple incidences of criminalization and felt somewhat unsafe in the neighborhood:

June: We don't have a good reputation in terms of being safe here. We have the impression that this area is not safe, I think, because of the Wah Mee Massacre in 1983. It gave the impression that we have gang related activity in the area but I think the incident in 1983 is not gang related but it's very hard to convince people that it's not related even though we know it isn't. And I think because at night a lot of drug addicts hiding in all the allies...

AC: You see them?

June: Yeah we see them because we talk inside. We came through the back of the alley into our garage of the building. So we always see them hiding around, doing something that is awful and suspicious: selling drugs. Although people say there are prostitute activity I don't see. The drugs are a more prominent problem here. And then there's the panhandlers, I got used to them but I think outside the restaurants, customers very bothered by the panhandlers. And then the car prowler-- they broke into my car twice... we don't have a whole lot of desirable people-- there's a lot of people--weirdoes they sat in the parks at night. They don't go away even though it's very late and you can see them like at midnight. They're still hanging around in the park.

AC: The Wah Mee Massacre happened over 20 years ago. Why would people still be afraid to come down here because of that incident?

June: I think people perpetuate that. People like to believe the negative, so they don't. They like to believe in rumors; they don't actually go out themselves and check it out and see if this is the true or any validity to what you believe. I think a lot of people are like that. 23 years after the Wah Mee Massacre, there's people who grab my hand at 4 pm in the afternoon asking, is this area safe? And I say "Why you are here now? Do you feel not safe?" But on the other hand, we have all these drug addicts. But I'm saying that if you don't bother them, they don't bother you. They don't really go and do bad things. But then older seniors always have incidents of muggings have hurt them. But then younger people too have gold chains taken away. We do have friends that somebody took away their jewelry or grabbed their purse. Yeah, I heard that.

Another resident, Jade, stated that even though she was a child when the Wah Mee Massacre occurred, she could sense the long lasting ramifications of the incident. She then discussed her fear of being victimized in the neighborhood that she has lived in for the past four years:

I remember watching about the Wah Mee Massacre on tv when I was young. I think I was maybe about 9 or 10 years old, so I don't remember it too well. I just remember them saying how bad it was and blood being everywhere. So, for a long time, I know people had a perception of Chinatown being a scary place to go. I moved here four years ago and didn't really think about. To me, it was an ancient memory. But you know, people here still talk about it. When there was a shooting at Ga Ga

Loc or on South Weller Street, you hear some people talk about Wah Mee. So, there is still some crime and shootings and stuff down here. Does it concern me? Of course it does. I don't want to be walking on the street and getting shot one day or getting robbed down going to my apartment. I have to watch my back whenever I am walking and check out who is around me. --Jade

Thuy mentioned that she was the victim of an attempted mugging and now will only walk in groups:

Yes, I am scare of crime here. One guy take my purse and necklace before. He say if I scream, he will kill me. So, I give to him and not make noise. I don't want that guy to hurt me. Now I don't go by myself. I go shopping, I go with somebody else. --Thuy

Unlike Thuy, most subjects in the study had not been personally victimized. However, virtually all respondents could recall incidents of crime that they were aware of. Even male respondents who felt safe in the neighborhood had little trouble recounting criminal incidents in the neighborhood. Subjects' views on which groups were effective at dealing with crime were interesting.

5.6 Perceptions of Effectiveness at Combating Crime

Although fear of being victimized was evident among many of the female respondents, few had confidence in the police department's effectiveness in combating crime in the neighborhood. Cathy bemoaned the lack of a police presence in the neighborhood:

AC: From a scale from 1 to 10 with 10 being most effective and 1 being least effective, how would you rate the following in terms of their effectiveness at combating crime here in the neighborhood or increasing public safety? First, it's residents, themselves.

Cathy: How would I rate them as effective?

AC: Yeah, in dealing with and combating crime.

Cathy: I say 3.

AC: How about the police?

Cathy: Um, 3.

AC: How about the ID Emergency Center?

Cathy: 8

AC: How about CAP, the Community Action Partnership?

Cathy: Probably a 6.

AC: How about non-residents, people outside the neighborhood that get involved?

Cathy: 6 or 7

AC: And why would you give the police and residents the lowest score, even lower than people outside the ID that don't even live here?

Cathy: For the police it's for the lack of presence and familiarity. And Donnie and the people at CAP are here everyday, working here or living here. So for that, I think for the residents, they have barriers to respond to. Not to fault them at all. It's just the system is not set up for them to be able to respond.

AC: What do these other people bring-- the nonresidents or people outside from the ID?

Cathy: I think it's that same, well, you know you have the activists but their presence... they have passion for the neighborhood and use their positions to bring resources that they can.

Another respondent, Thomas, gave the police a low rating not because he felt there was a lack of police presence in the neighborhood but rather because he felt that they were also a source of problems:

AC: Tell me how these people or groups are in regards in their effectiveness dealing with crime and public safety? So, 1 would be least effective and 10 would be most effective. So the first group is residents themselves.

Thomas: Oh. Um... I think probably 5.

AC: How about the police?

Thomas: Oh, causing more problems. Um... I think a 4 or 3.

AC: Ok, the ID Emergency Center?

Thomas: I say like an 8

AC: How about CAP the Community Action Partnership?

Thomas: Um... I think probably about a 6.

AC: How about people who don't live in the ID or people from the outside that get involved in the welfare of neighborhood?

Thomas: I think like a 7.

AC: Ok. Can you explain some of your ratings? Tell me why you gave the police such a low score and alluded to them causing more problems.

Thomas: Some people down here view the police as causing more harm than good. One time, I saw a person being brutally beaten up by six police officers down there in the ally.

AC: Oh really? What happened with that? Did you hear anything else about that incident?

Thomas: I was down there for karaoke with some friends and we were in the lobby. I hear this pop, pop, pop sound and I thought "Oh, fireworks."

Fire crackers! (laughs) And my friend who is a gun owner was like “No, that is a gun.” I know what guns sound like but because we were in Chinatown I guess I thought fireworks first. But suddenly this guy runs by the front window. Ran by real fast and right behind him were the cops with guns drawn and toward around the corner was an alley and we walked out to look and these cops were like “Get back inside.” Back in the alley they were just beating him-- kicking and he was just on the ground and were just beating him up and there was like eight cars all blocking the streets and it was down by the old Uwajimaya. Another time, I was at a night club down there and what happened was that um... this guy was kicked out of the club. He came back with a big machete and he tried to start a fight with some of the guys. What do you call them? Bouncers. And Michael Park came out and his brother was out there and they drew their guns. Because this guy was drunk, he slashed one of the guy’s shirts and luckily he just got the shirt and not the skin. And somebody had called the cops, but I think actually Mike or two people, they called the cops. The cops saw the two club owner guys or promoters with their drawn guns and they made them go down on the ground and cuffed them. And you know held them down and everything. Eventually they held the other guy, but they were incredibly rough with the club promoters.

Overall, respondents viewed residents as being ineffective at combating crime due to their lack of resources. Police were viewed as ineffective primarily for the lack of presence in the neighborhood or slow response times. A few respondents viewed the police as causing problems and doing more harm than good.

In contrast to the police, the International District Emergency Center (IDEC) overwhelmingly received positive ratings, mostly for their quick response and effectiveness at working with the Asian population. Some respondents mentioned that they have more confidence in the IDEC than the police because of visibility:

The police don't really get involved down here. People work with the Emergency Center more than they work with the actual police um... They don't. I never see them coming into the stores and businesses. I never see one cop. I always see Donnie (founder and director of the IDEC) running around. I see him everywhere. He's like, he's like a quadruplet. He's everywhere at once and I never see the cops down there. Maybe at the fair or festivals down here, but other than that, I don't see them.—Jade

The visibility of the IDEC staff and the trust and confidence that community members had in them was evident. IDEC also stressed for victims to also report the crimes by calling 9-1-1. International District residents, many who are aware of this procedure from the various public safety workshops sponsored by different community groups and organizations, mentioned frustration with the police for the slow response times.

Law enforcement representatives seemed equally frustrated. At one meeting, a sergeant who was clearly growing tired of community members' complaints about the police department pleaded wearily, "It's a team effort. The Seattle Police Department needs community support. We can't do it all by ourselves." Police officers also responded that their lack of visibility in the neighborhood could be related to the fact that they were actually arresting people. They stated that felony arrests take the officers off the street for at least two hours, mostly to complete paperwork. Police officers complained that sentencing in Washington is much lower than in other states and there is a "revolving door," which allows a dealer to "sell dope to an officer but be back on the street the next day doing the same thing." Community members seemed confused and wondered

why police officers stress the importance of calling 9-1-1 to have offenders arrested only to complain that arresting the offenders has no impact.

The disconnect between the community and the police should not be entirely surprising. One of the major observations from policing scholars is that the police have become estranged from the communities that they serve (Pattavina, Byrne, and Garcia, 2006). In response, community policing programs in which police partner with the community to identify crime-related problems and increase public safety were established. Residents participate in crime management through indirect involvement in group-based or organization-sponsored activities that work in conjunction with the police. The Community Action Partnership (CAP) is an example of such a program. Yet, these programs are not designed to mobilize the community but rather oriented to surveillance and designed “to offer police an extra set of ears and eyes in the community” (Pattavina et al., 2006, p. 205). Symbolizing this ideology, two closed-circuit surveillance cameras were set up in the neighborhood recently and are monitored by the CAP office. Furthermore, Nolan, III. et al. (2004) asserted that community-policing strategies may work against the development of collective efficacy.

But, in contrast to the police department alone, the Community Action Partnership (CAP) was generally viewed in a favorable manner. However, it must be noted that although the Seattle Police Department is also a strong participant in

the Community Action Partnership and patrol officers and community officers attend meetings and offer suggestions on public safety, CAP was perceived to be primarily the product of an investment by business owners. Moreover, it was seen as run on a day-to-day basis by a single CAP manager, whose salary is funded by the Business Improvement Association (BIA) to which local business owners contribute. Some subjects remarked that the CAP had good intentions but lacked the manpower and resources to make more a difference in the community. Others commended CAP for trying to be a presence in the neighborhood.

After the IDEC, subjects perceived that neighborhood adoptees were most effective at combating crime and increasing public safety. I directly asked interview subjects to gauge the effectiveness of the primary actors at combating crime and increasing public safety. On a scale of 1-10, with 1 being least effective and 10 being most effective, Chart 1 illustrates the mean scores of how respondents viewed these different entities:

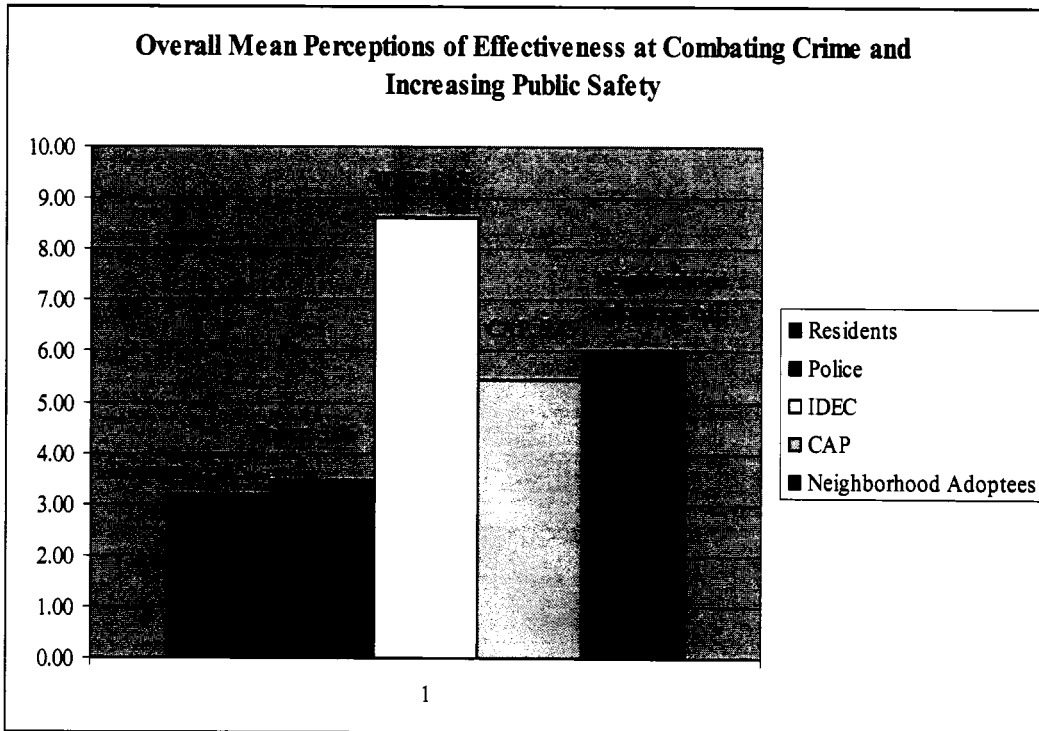


Figure 5.2-- Chart 1: Overall Perceptions of Effectiveness at Combating Crime and Increasing Public Safety (N=40)

The main reason that neighborhood adoptees received such high ratings was not because of a quick response time to criminal events but because neighborhood adoptees were perceived to have access to resources and political connections that residents lacked. Furthermore, neighborhood adoptees were viewed to care greatly about the neighborhood and have an interest in making a positive impact on the International District.

Interestingly, when comparing perceptions of just residents versus perceptions of just neighborhood adoptees, we find some intriguing distinctions. Although both groups have the same hierarchical rankings of the various groups, it is interesting to note that residents give neighborhood adoptees a higher ranking

than neighborhood adoptees give themselves. To illustrate, Chart 2 below shows that residents rate neighborhood adoptees with a score of 6.71 while neighborhood adoptees self-rated themselves at only 5.52. Likewise, neighborhood adoptees rated the resident higher than residents self-rated themselves, with a score of 3.30 compared to 2.94.

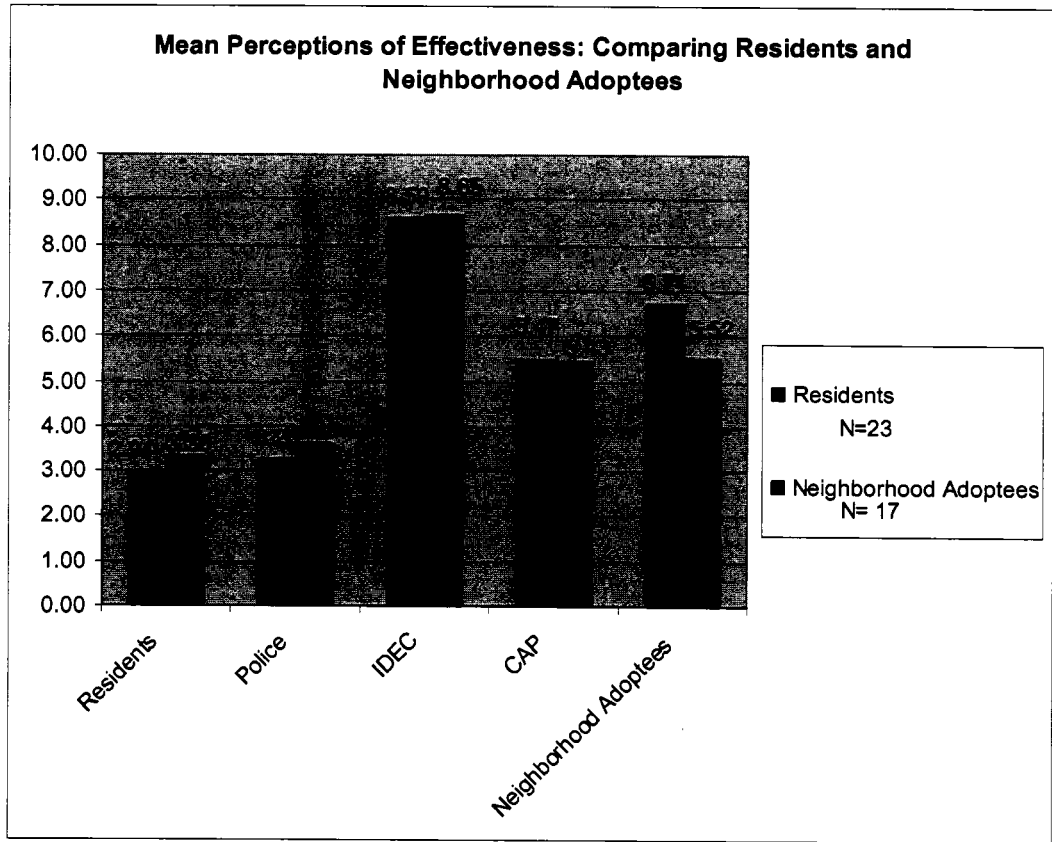


Figure 5.3— Chart 2: Perceptions of Effectiveness: Comparing Residents and Neighborhood Adoptees

This may indicate the high regard and mutual respect that residents and neighborhood adoptees have for each other. Residents believe that neighborhood

adoptees look out for their best interests and are an asset to the community. In fact, when asked to respond to the questions “Who belongs to the International District neighborhood or community?” and “How would you define the neighborhood?”, residents often used an inclusive definition that captured those who lived outside the geographical boundaries of the neighborhood. For instance, Thomas stated that his definition of the International District would go beyond the geographical borders of the neighborhood:

I don't think we can limit the definition to just the local residents who live here. We have our business owners, property owners, employees and workers, and I guess in a way that can define what a community is. Just everyone and anyone that kind of wants to be associated to this neighborhood in some shape of form. I don't think it's necessary to define it by geographic boundary because lots of people will say “This is Chinatown”, or “No, it's the ID”. No, our neighborhood extends up to the freeway to 12th avenue, no... It's so hard to be able to define that geographically anyways. I would probably define it by the people that come to this area. There are all these people who come here, volunteer here, get involved here, because they feel connected to this neighborhood. We cannot say they are not part of the neighborhood since in many cases, they have done so much for us. --Thomas

Likewise, neighborhood adoptees often remarked about how the residents were the backbone of the community and the heart of the International District.

Lam described how impressed she was at the efforts of the residents:

I have a lot of respect for the residents. They might be elderly, they might be poor, they may not understand the American bureaucratic system and how things run and shit. But they show up. Almost every meeting that I go to, you could see a lot of residents there. They may not say very much when they are there, but their presence means a lot. To see a large group of residents show up at a meeting, that's powerful, particularly when you don't really see them that much on a daily basis. It inspires me to help them. --Lam

Neighborhood adoptees spoke highly of the residents but admitted that due to a lack of resources and political power, residents may exert the effort and expend the energy and willingness, but may not be as effective. Indeed, at virtually every meeting I attended, residents were easily the majority of the attendees. They were extremely interested in participating and are definitely actively engaged in community happenings.

At one particular meeting that I attended, the room was packed with about forty elderly residents to discuss the possible new fire station and emergency center and homeless shelter to be located near the International District. A representative from the city came to the International District Housing Alliance (IDHA) community meeting room to defend and answer questions regarding the city's plan to build the new facility and potential public safety ramifications. Including staff members of IDHA, the city of Seattle representative stood out, given that he was the only white person that I noticed in the room. He started by encouraging the attendees to voice their concerns, which the Asian seniors seemed to appreciate. However, a middle-aged white attendee who I had earlier overlooked suddenly stood up and asked multiple questions regarding the budget. The city of Seattle representative, and the only other white gentlemen in the room after I double checked, seemed to engage in a personal conversation for the next twenty minutes.

The elderly residents seemed disgusted by this occurrence. In fact, some of the elderly Filipino residents began to leave, one of them angrily saying “This is not what I came to the meeting for!” Surprisingly, the city of Seattle representative did not seem to be concerned about the exodus of residents, and continued his conversation with the white attendee. The white attendee, who I later learned was also a resident, was asking questions and making odd statements such as:

The city should put a lot of beds underground in the subways like in Amsterdam and Europe. What if somebody shoots at the emergency center with a mortar? What about terrorists? We should replace any glass with brick and have a tank of our own in the back to protect us from any attack.

The remaining residents sighed in frustration until one of the IDHA staff told the white attendee that his contributions were appreciated but other voices should also be heard. The white attendee apologized for talking too much but thirty seconds later, went on another diatribe. Finally, after he stopped, other residents were provided the opportunity to speak. One resident stated that the residents preferred affordable housing to be built there instead of the fire station and service center. She said with frustration, “but we were not heard.” The city of Seattle representative replied, “I don’t think you weren’t heard. The mayor and city council just felt this was the best solution.”

This meeting epitomized the dynamics between the city, residents, and neighborhood adoptees. First, it seemed as if the voices of the Asian residents were either not heard or ignored. Residents were concerned that the new facility,

with its homeless shelter, would bring in even more transients to the neighborhood and increase crime. Second, it appeared as if the city had already decided to build the facility in the International District. Third, residents participated in meetings but felt as if they lacked power. One resident said, “We did a lot of voicing of opinions, but nothing happened.” Fourth, residents and neighborhood adoptees worked collaboratively in order to have the voices of residents heard and their concerns addressed. Neighborhood adoptees facilitated this by providing the vehicle to access and political power for the residents. As it turned out, the intervention of neighborhood adoptees had an affect, as political pressure applied from these more influential Asian Americans raised the decibels of the concerned residents’ voices and the new facility was located elsewhere (Vu, 2005).

Combined with a lack of confidence in local police, the low levels of collective efficacy among residents result in a need to seek support elsewhere: neighborhood adoptees. Rose and Clear (1998) argued that weak local controls generally increase the need for public controls such as law enforcement, since local resources of the residents are lacking. Wells et. al (2006) contended that residents may not become more involved if they feel that the neighborhoods problems were beyond the means of their control and beyond the means of local police to solve. Without strong local support due to lack of resources or strong police support, the International District seeks assistance from an effective source in the form of neighborhood adoptees.

5.7 Access to Resources and Political Power

Matsueda (2006) examined informal social control and collective efficacy by identifying mechanisms that assist individuals with the mobilization of others into collective action. He contended that “moral, rational, and pragmatic persuasion through conversation is a key element of collective efficacy...” and that those capable of promoting neighborhood collective efficacy would be “proficient in elaborated speech” (Matsueda, 2006, p. 24). Matsueda argued that such individuals would be natural leaders who might assist the disorganized collective. Furthermore, it is critical that such socially efficacious leaders be the central, well-connected hub with social ties to the rest of the community. If so, the socially efficacious hub has the ability to mobilize residents into collective action and improve the neighborhood. On the other hand, if socially efficacious individuals lack the social ties and hover on the outskirts of the neighborhood’s social network, their ability to mobilize the neighborhood is severely limited (Matsueda, 2006).

For a disadvantaged, minority neighborhood such as the International District, compounded with high poverty and unemployment rates, residents there are generally the less-efficacious. There may be efficacious residents who wish to rally others into neighborhood collective action, but lack the resources and ability to do so. Not being the central hub within the neighborhood network and lacking the social ties those of influence, efficacious residents may have the energy and desire, but not the access to social resources that neighborhood

adoptees provide. Figure 5.4 below illustrates how socially efficacious leaders in the International District tend to be neighborhood adoptees, acting as central hubs with access to resources.

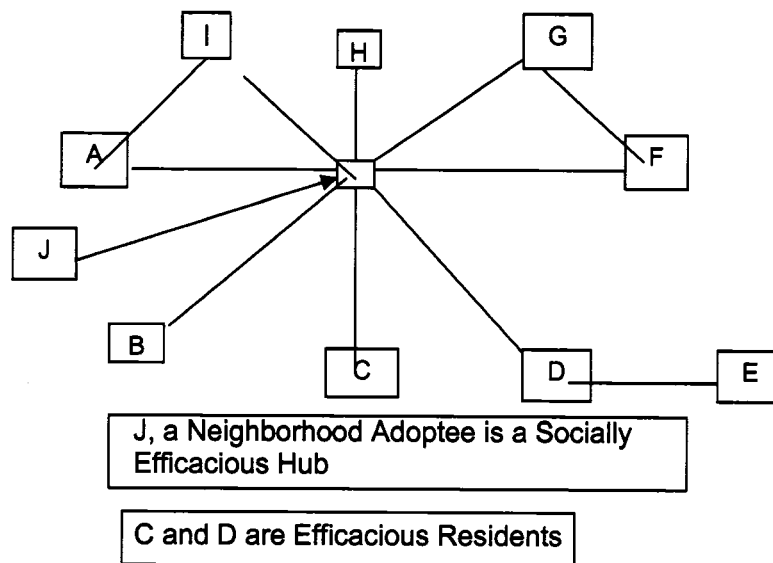


Figure 5.4 The International District Depicted in Matsueda's (2006) Description of Socially Efficacious Leaders

There were many neighborhood meetings that I attended in which residents showed up in sizeable and impressive numbers to convey their support for collective action against crime. However, almost all of these meetings were organized or facilitated by neighborhood adoptees. Many residents supported and appreciated the assistance of the neighborhood adoptees and were thankful of the collaboration. They attended many of the meetings herself but discussed that residents themselves had liabilities:

Thuy: I am tired of all the crime in my neighborhood. That's why I go to all of the meetings. We are all tired of it. Sometimes, us seniors, we scared. We scared to walk at night. Especially us, the women. We cannot do anything by ourselves. We need those other guy, you know the politics guys, to help us. They can do it but we cannot.

AC: But what exactly can they do that you can't do?

Thuy: They know the people. The people who can do something. They know the other politic people. They can talk to police. We cannot do those things.

AC: So if you feel that you can't really do anything, why do you feel it is so important for you to come to these meetings?

Thuy: You see, those guys will talk to us. And we tell them what is the problem. Those guys listen to us. We cannot go to police and tell them to help us. We cannot go to mayor. Those guys can go. But if we do not tell them at these meetings, they do not know.

Another resident, June, also described neighborhood adoptees as being effective in mobilizing the neighborhood and organizing meetings for collective action:

June: I think they (neighborhood adoptees) are very helpful. It's nice of them to be interested in the area. Yeah, so I think it is more effective than just relying on us inside. Maybe not getting too much response, but when you're outside you have a lot more voices pointing at the police then you may have a lot more-- you may have a better response. I think Al Sugiyama is pretty good about helping out the community.

AC: What has he done?

June: Well he did organize meetings like you were talking about. He organized meeting like police brutality towards minorities and there were some interactions between the community and the police, not necessarily here but there was a police conference and there were some cops from outside the WA state come in and ask what we didn't like about the police. Then he would call a meeting and say "Oh you know the police... they always...when there's an accident between an Asian and a white... they

always say it's the Asian's fault." They can give very specific examples on that. So yeah. So he organized the meeting giving feedback to the police and that the police are not sensitive towards the Asian community. When they see that the Asian has an accent, they're more likely to give them a ticket. David Della is also helpful in organizing meetings. He has been very good to us in that way.

Likewise, Espiritu (1992) argued that many of the leaders of pan-ethnic consciousness and in pan-ethnic organizations tend to be middle and upper-class professionals. Since contemporary political and funding systems reward politically sophisticated, articulate, and well-educated persons, the International District's well-being relies on these types of individuals to fight and politic for neighborhood concerns. With International District residents predominantly being non-professional, low-income earners, neighborhood adoptees were utilized to fulfill this need.

Along the same lines, Masuoka (2006) found that the strongest predictor of Asian American panethnic consciousness was socioeconomic status. Asian Americans most likely to possess the strongest levels of pan-Asian American ethnic identity and become politically involved were those with high incomes and high levels of education. Accordingly, these individuals also have the resources, skills, and connections to advocate more effectively on behalf of the community should issues arise.

Due to their ability to increase collective action through organizing meetings and providing access to resources and political influence, neighborhood adoptees were recognized as reducing crime and increasing public safety in the

neighborhood. Residents, business owners, and adoptees themselves all felt that neighborhood adoptees were more effective than the police at dealing with crime and increasing public safety. This may not be too surprising given the fact that many communities of color express dissatisfaction with the local law enforcement. However, respondents also mentioned that neighborhood adoptees were even more effective than residents at combating crime and augmenting public safety. Most often, interview subjects stated that adoptees cared for the neighborhood in ways that the police did not. Moreover, adoptees provided access to resources that residents would not be able to acquire on their own. This sentiment was often echoed by many respondents. When asked why neighborhood adoptees ranked higher than police officers and residents, subjects were likely to state political access:

(Neighborhood adoptees) have connections, some political connections, that are useful in getting attention. And particularly if they join forces to bring concerns to a political entity, that's always more effective when it's a stronger group than just isolated individuals or isolated individual groups. These people care about the neighborhood and at least will be listened to when residents may not be. --Rick

Thanh shared a similar viewpoint in comparing the effectiveness of residents versus neighborhood adoptees:

AC: Okay, so you mentioned that residents themselves are probably the least effective why would that be? Shouldn't they...

Thanh: Because of the demographics of our residents. They tend to be seniors who don't speak English well. That's not true of everybody but it's true of a lot of our residents. And they also come from a culture that doesn't go to the police for help and that doesn't like working with

authorities for whatever reason. So I think that's why our residents are least capable...

AC: Okay, so these non-residents that get involved, the ones you mentioned that you have in mind... when you think of some of these people, how are they effective at dealing with crime?

Thanh: I think of Uncle Bob and Sue Taoka-- people who have the political clout to do something. Who have connections within the city to talk to the right people like the mayor and city council members to try to make this place safer. They have access to the police chief and to people who can make decisions and who can funnel money our way.

AC: How do they have access? I know more about Uncle Bob than I know about Sue.

Thanh: Just political ties that they've created over the years, developed over the years. They've worked on different projects, not just public safety, over the years for the ID, and so they kind of run the same circles sometimes and knowing and having a friend in the mayor helps I think.

AC: And residents don't have those connections?

Thanh: No, definitely not. I honestly think if we didn't have people like Bob Santos and Stella Chao, I think we would have less police presence and even less attention paid to this area. I mean right now it's just barely good enough, but it could be better and I think it's just sort of stayed stable maybe because of those people rather than decrease. We haven't seen a decrease in police presence. That's good, that's better than what it could...

Finally, Kevin conveyed the idea of neighborhood adoptees being efficacious hubs by having a network of other adoptees readily available who could be counted on if there were protests or community demonstrations for neighborhood concerns:

Kevin: Say folks who are involved in INTER*IM (Community Development Association) or PDA (Preservation and Development Authority) or Wing Luke in the past, they come down and know that there

is going to be a reception or an issue. Or they all come to a fundraiser. If they go to a fundraiser, they end up in the Bush Garden or Four Seas after the fundraiser is over. There is a recycling of people that come in all the time. I don't mean every day like I do. A couple times a month. And when you need them, most of the requests come for people to attend the fundraisers. If there is a street action or protest, we know who to call. There's a network of people who want to come to those kinds of things. No matter what they're doing, they'll come to a rally or a demonstration.

AC: Why do they come to those or why are they so concerned?

Kevin: Because as activists or former activists, they know the politics on voicing your concerns. They know how effective it is. We don't call them every day or every week. Not even every year. But when it happens, there is a good collection of people who are good sources to getting people down there because they know the politics in the district. I use to be a former activist. Let me explain on what we're trying to do. It's the Goodwill project; you'll get businesses in Little Saigon. Boom! You get instantly 20 people--100 people.

AC: And would that be unique with the ID in that way versus Ballard or Shoreline or some other neighborhood in Seattle?

Kevin: I can't speak for them, those other neighborhoods. Since there has been a history of organizational element in the seafood industry. When we first started organizing against the Kingdome stadium in those early days, late 60's or early 70's, the Filipino cannery workers, the Alaskeros, who used to go to the cannery, they're organized under the union so they're used to coming to the meetings. They know what the meetings are all about. They know about crisis and what issues are all about. So they were the greatest people for networking with right away when we started this action against the Kingdome. The Chinese at the family association, not quite as militant as the Filipinos. And the Japanese, of course, a lot of them organized during the Internment, so they know what voicing your opinion means to a movement. So all of these people are not foreign to demonstrations and rallies and things like that. I say it's pretty easy to organize in this community.

The connection between neighborhood adoptees, access to resources and politics, and bringing people together was exemplified by comments from Jo Jo:

We know that if there's a problem with crime or whatever, there are going to be a lot of residents that will shrug it off. I've lived here for a long time and I guess after awhile, you get used to it. Other residents might think that there's nothing they can do. The surprising thing is that it's mostly these people from outside the neighborhood who are constantly fighting to improve the conditions here for us residents. We help out by identifying the problems, the concerns, but they can take it to the next level. They have the money or at the means to get at money, to have the political clout to make things happen. We have a lot of Asian American politicians, in fact... They may not live in the neighborhood, but they have a long history of being involved when we need them. And when they come out, it seems like everybody comes out. Look how many people, residents and non-residents, that came to the meeting that David Della organized. That's what this community is about. – Jo Jo

5.8 Neighborhood Adoptees and Personal Intervention

In addition to access and political resources, neighborhood adoptees also displayed a willingness to personally intervene in scenarios involving crime or social disorder. However, although neighborhood adoptees take ownership in the International District and consider it as their own, it is important to note that as non-residents, they do not face the same circumstances the residents do in regards to dealing with street crime. Most residents often admitted they might turn a blind eye to criminal activity for fear of retribution from the perpetrators. One focus group respondent voiced his views on criminals taking retribution on those who report them:

Other people teach them (residents) that they're (criminals) not going to come after them. They're lying! These people are gonna come back because they live down here. They could be their next-door neighbor living in the same building! They gonna come back in a month or two weeks. It's tough. --Devon

This fear of retaliation was also true for business owners in the community:

Fear of retaliation is more so for people doing business. They're opening the door for business. Someone doing some minor damage to them. They will come into the store and ask for money from every customer. That's not right. It's not even legal; they can't trespass. But, many times business people are afraid—"If I call the police on him, by the time I close the door, they will come back and break my window." -- Theodore

Conversely, neighborhood adoptees did not endure these same circumstances that residents and business owners face. That is, not having a home or business in the neighborhood made them, at least in their own perceptions, less likely to be targeted for future retaliation. Therefore, adoptees were much more likely than residents or business owners to become involved when witnessing criminal or deviant activity. When asked questions such as "Suppose you were walking home and saw somebody selling drugs. What would you do?" or "Suppose you saw kids spray painting graffiti or fighting in the streets, what would you do?," adoptees indicated a greater willingness to become involved. Residents and business owners indicated a hesitancy and unlikelihood to do such for fear of retribution on their homes, businesses, or persons. The willingness of neighborhood adoptees to become involved, since this fear of retribution was substantially lowered by the fact that they did not own property in the neighborhood, allowed adoptees to serve as somewhat of an informal block watch for the community.

In other words, for the International District, traditional collective efficacy measurements of residents' willingness to intervene when groups of children or youth are fighting or vandalizing would indicate low scores. Fear of retaliation

was a major factor preventing neighborhood residents from intervening. However, not being residents but also perceiving the International District to be their own neighborhood, neighborhood adoptees were much more willing to intervene since that fear of retaliation is absent. In essence, neighborhood adoptees are increasing levels collective efficacy; traditional measure of collective efficacy that only survey residents fail to effectively capture this phenomenon.

Ray indicated that he would not hesitate to get involved:

Ray: If I saw some kids tagging up a building? Hell yeah, I'd go over there and tell them to stop.

AC: But why? It's not your building. It's not your neighborhood. You don't live here...

Ray: Yeah, but just because I don't live here doesn't mean I'm not part of the community. I live in Bellevue. You think I care what happens in Bellevue? If I saw some kids tagging up a building in Bellevue, I'd probably just laugh. I wouldn't care. But if I saw some idiots spray painting some stupid graffiti here in the I.D., I'm going to be upset. Don't they know the history of this neighborhood? This isn't just a regular neighborhood. This is where it all started for us people of Asian descent.

AC: So, you would actually intervene and not just ignore it. Wouldn't you be afraid or scared that they might assault you or retaliate against you some way?

Ray: I don't know. Not really. I guess the good thing about not living here is that they couldn't wait until I'm gone and tag up my house or car or whatever. I know these guys aren't coming to Bellevue after me!

Other respondents specifically mentioned that the presence and impact of neighborhood adoptees has directly made the neighborhood safer. Sarah

describes how her feelings of safety have increased during her years of living in the International District:

Sarah: When I first moved into the neighborhood about five years ago, I would never go out at night because I was scared.

AC: Wait, could you tell me why you decided to move into the neighborhood in the first place, if you were scared?

Sarah: Well, I think in any urban neighborhood, a single female like myself is going to be scared, or at least aware and cautious of being out at night. I moved here not necessarily because it's an Asian neighborhood, more so because it's cheaper to live here, well comparably cheaper to live here, than other neighborhoods that are close to downtown. I'm not as nervous though anymore like when I first moved here. I know a lot of people here now.

AC: So you know a lot of your neighbors now?

Sarah: No, not really. Actually, I hardly know any of my neighbors. But I've met a lot of people who come down here all the time. I met a lot of people over at Bush Garden, singing karaoke. A lot of the regulars there come from outside of the neighborhood but they're just great people. They'll walk me home and make sure I get back safely. Some of them are the same people I see at the public safety meetings, so I know they're good people who are concerned about the neighborhood. One time, after we got done singing, one of the girls was going back to her car and this guy was just about to break into it, car prowler, you know? She started yelling and the other guys from karaoke bar chased him away. I think they might have even caught him and beat him up a little to scare him so he won't do it again. They have to do that since you never see the police around doing anything about it.

Thus, this study finds that traditional measurements of collective efficacy are inadequate for predominantly Asian American neighborhoods since they fail to capture the influence of neighborhood adoptees. The basic model of collective efficacy contends that concentrated disadvantage, immigration, and residential

instability have negative effects on collective efficacy as noted in Figure 5.5.

Low levels of collective efficacy are associated with higher crime.

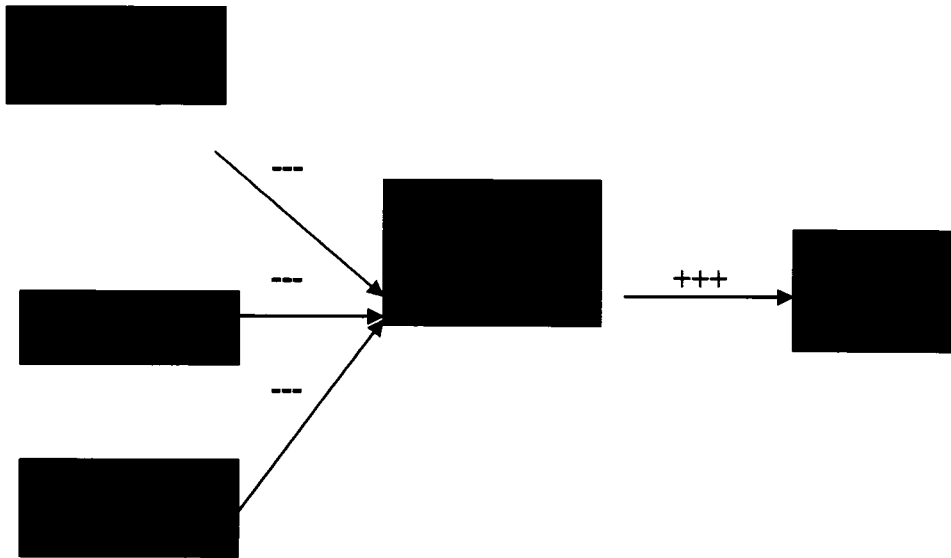


Figure 5.5— Traditional Model of Collective Efficacy and Crime

As Figure 5.6 below demonstrates, this study asserts that the influence of neighborhood adoptees dampens the negative impact of concentrated disadvantage, immigration, and residential instability by augmenting normally low levels of collective efficacy. As a result, increased collective efficacy will serve to lower crime. Traditional survey data fails to capture the positive effect that neighborhood adoptees has on increasing collective efficacy.

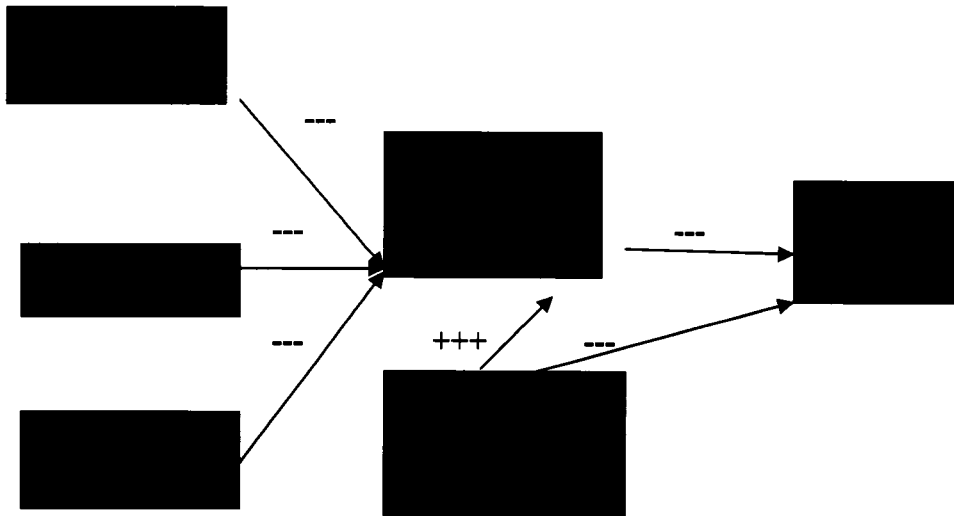


Figure 5.6—Proposed Model of Collective Efficacy, Crime, and Neighborhood Adoptees

For instance, although the International District has high concentrated disadvantage, having the highest percentage of residents in poverty and unemployed and the second highest on public assistance, the focused efforts of neighborhood adoptees lessens its negative impact. One of the main worries of those in poverty is having enough food to eat. However, programs such as the “Walk for Rice,” provides free food for the low-income families in the International District. The “Walk for Rice” is a one day event sponsored by the Asian Counseling and Referral Services (ACRS), a community organization located in the International District, that raises money to supply the food bank ACRS food bank and hot meal program. In 2004, the “Walk for Rice” had an astounding 1,300 participants (www.acrs.org/wfr/WalkforRice.htm). From speaking with a member of the event’s advisory board, the majority of the

participants were indeed Asian American neighborhood adoptees, who raised an astonishing \$117,000. According to the city of Seattle's website (www.seattle.gov/humanservices/csd/survivalservices/emergencyfood/foodbanks.htm), the ACRS food bank is the only food bank in the city that targets a specific racial group.

Thus, in the above example, the impact of neighborhood adoptees on collective efficacy in the International District is exhibited in two ways. First, the negative impact on collective efficacy of concentrated disadvantage is somewhat offset. In other neighborhoods in which the unemployed and impoverished residents are struggling with the acquisition of food, residents in the International District can easily get a hot meal and emergency food. Second, the mutual trust and cohesion characterizing collective efficacy would certainly increase among residents and neighborhood adoptees, given that the food needs of many residents are assisted by the neighborhood adoptees' efforts. Overall, with access to resources and political power and a more personal willingness to become involved when witnessing criminal or deviant activity, neighborhood adoptees as community members, greatly assist in facilitating social control in the neighborhood.

5.9 Refutation of Counterarguments

In order to strengthen the assertion that it is indeed the impact of neighborhood adoptees that is resulting in higher levels of collective efficacy and

lower levels of crime, it is necessary to examine and account for other possibilities. There are three main counterarguments that must be addressed. First, one might contend that traditional measurements of collective efficacy only include actual residents and exclude others because the impact of non-residents is minimal. Second, another counterargument may be that the reason for less predicted violent crime in the International District is because it is merely unreported, as Asians are less likely than other groups to call the police. A third counterargument may be that the neighborhood is well-policed, which results in less crime committed in the area. Finally, one may argue that there is less crime than predicted in the International District because of its elderly population and predominantly Asian American population, who may be less likely to commit crimes.

Counterargument #1: Traditional measurements of collective efficacy only include actual residents and exclude others because the impact of non-residents is minimal.

For most neighborhoods, this argument may well be true. Those who truly become involved in and immersed within neighborhood activities are going to be the residents themselves in most cases. Yet, for a predominantly Asian American neighborhood such as the International District, collective action is often promoted by neighborhood adoptees as well as residents themselves. For the International District especially, the ethnic identity of the neighborhood is more

important than the spatial identity of the neighborhood. In a city in which the largest racial minority is comprised of Asian Americans, the International District becomes more salient to the city's Asian Americans who do not live there but want to identify with the area. Asian American pan-ethnicity is being embraced by native-born, American-educated Asians. These second and third-generation Asian Americans have begun to institutionalize a pan-Asian consciousness and have a vested interest in pan-Asian causes and defenders of Asian American interests (Espiritu, 1992).

This intersection of a pan-Asian ethnic identity consciousness, generation status, and neighborhood involvement was touched upon by Neely, a second-generation Vietnamese American:

AC: How about people who don't live in the I.D.? Like you don't live there but do you ever get involved in issues or do you ever see other people...?

Neely: Yeah! Yeah. It depends on generation too. Like if you're talking about my mom, she doesn't do anything besides sending money back to Vietnam and worrying about what's happening in Vietnam. But, she doesn't really pay attention to politics or housing situations or anything here. But, a younger generation like myself, my friends, we're involved in a lot of fundraising events. We try to raise money for a lot of other projects that are going, like the development projects here in Chinatown and a lot of other projects for the immigrants and refugees that are coming in.

AC: But why? Why would you get involved in a neighborhood that you don't live in?

Neely: Well, it's part of an identity, right? I mean, you identify with your community. You're more likely to contribute to the Vietnamese

community because you're Vietnamese. Ummm, I identify as an Asian person. So, I want to help the community and get involved, regardless of whether or not I live there.

In the interview, the neighborhood adoptee stresses the important linkage between her personal pan-Asian ethnic identity and a desire to assist in the social problems plaguing the International District. The spatial boundaries of the International District are ignored as the power of the ethnic identity of the area draws her in.

As described earlier, activities to benefit the neighborhood such as the Walk For Rice, the Spring Cleanup, and the International District Paint Out have more neighborhood adoptees among volunteers than actual residents. Moreover, the Community Night Market designed to increase foot traffic at night to increase public safety was conceived by a group of Asian American youth and young adults, the majority of whom do not live in the neighborhood. To further illustrate, the second annual "Fun at the Races to Support the Chinatown International District" had around 350 attendees and raised \$76, 500 for the neighborhood also consisted primarily of neighborhood adoptees.

Furthermore, some studies have shown that even the presence of social institutions that may bring potential neighborhood adoptees or other interested actors to the neighborhood may have little effect. For instance, in McRoberts's (2003) study on the black churches in the Four Corners neighborhood of Boston, it was discovered that although these churches were located within the Four

Corners neighborhood, most of the churchgoers were drawn from other neighborhoods. None of the churches actively attempted to recruit members from Four Corners residents. As a result, churches and other such voluntary institutions are often “partially or nonattached to the neighborhood” (McRoberts, 2003, p. 123), thus having little effect on neighborhood collective action.

However, this is not meant to trivialize the valuable contributions and efforts of the many social service and community based organizations located in the International District. Certainly these organizations are vital for the neighborhood’s well-being and are valuable advocates for the residents. Yet, it must be noted that neighborhood adoptees greatly assisted in grassroots efforts for the establishment of many of the social service and community organizations in the International District such as Inter*Im, the Asian Counseling and Referral Services, the International District Housing Alliance, the International Drop-in Center, and the International District Community Health Center. Without the efforts of neighborhood adoptees, these organizations may not exist. In the 1970s, there was even a group called “Concerned Asians for the International District,” primarily composed of neighborhood adoptees who advocated not only for International District residents but also for Asian Americans in the Seattle area (Santos, 2002).

In addition, many of the subjects in this study who were employees of community organizations in the neighborhood specifically stated that they chose

to work in their jobs because it is in the International District and would not be interested in comparable job in other neighborhoods. Likewise, neighborhood adoptees who volunteered at community organizations in the International District mentioned that this was the only neighborhood that they would be likely to volunteer their services for.

In sum, the presence of neighborhood adoptees is difficult to deny. Fundraising events such as the Walk for Rice or Fun at the Races, or many of the other numerous charity auctions that benefit the neighborhood have heavy participation from neighborhood adoptees. Functions such as the Spring Clean Up and Paint Out also attract the involvement of neighborhood adoptees. Neighborhood adoptees at these functions that I spoke to who were eager to help out the International District community adamantly informed me that they would not participate in similar programs in the actual neighborhoods that they lived in. Also, the activities of the WILD youth participants with the Night Market and collaborative safety walk with elderly residents is yet another example of non-residents attempting to improve the quality of life of residents in the neighborhood.

Counterargument #2: The reason for less predicted violent crime in the International District is because it is merely unreported, as Asians are less likely than other groups to call the police.

Some may argue the reason for less predicted violent crime in the International District is because it is merely unreported, as Asians are less likely than other groups to call the police. A recent study sponsored by the city of Seattle indicated that that Asian Americans are the least likely racial group to make 9-1-1 calls (Davis et al., 2004). Some scholars have argued that this stems from experiences in their native countries with corrupt police and a general mistrust of government authorities and that immigrants are more reluctant to report crimes to the police (Davis and Henderson, 2003).

Whereas this may be the case in most immigrant communities, there seems to be an outcry for more of a police presence in the International District. A recent headline on the front page of the *Northwest Asian Weekly* (December, 2004) read “Community Urges Police Chief for More Help.” Community members pleaded with the Chief for more of a police presence in the neighborhood and argued that from their perceptions, crime in the International District, particularly gang activity, drug dealing, robberies, and vandalism has increased, not decreased (Tabafunda, 2004). A week after the meeting, a drive-by shooting in the neighborhood left one victim dead and another with a bullet in his leg. Believing that adequate help would not be provided by the police, the Chinatown International District Business Improvement Association (CIDBIA), ignored their own struggling economic situation and reached into their reserve funds to hire off-duty police for the neighborhood.

Also, there is evidence that those in ethnic communities would in fact be willing to report crime. Davis and Henderson's study (2003) investigated the willingness of six ethnic communities in New York City to report crime. They discovered that in contrast to the assertions of the existing literature, large numbers of respondents would indeed report crimes such as break-ins, muggings, family violence, and drug selling. Moreover, Goudriaan et al. (2006) found that neighborhood confidence in police effectiveness does not have an effect on whether or not victims report criminal activity. Furthermore, whether or not 9-1-1 is called to report a violent crime may not be the most important issue, as one of the officers from the West Precinct mentioned at a community meeting that "looking at crime just based on 9-1-1 calls will underestimate crime anywhere in the city."

In fact, interview subjects have also informed me that the willingness to call 9-1-1 has increased dramatically. Thanh exclaimed that,

Police use this excuse that residents here hardly ever call 9-1-1. That's bogus. Now that they have the translation services and have been educated, most people I know call 9-1-1 whenever they have something to report. –Thanh

June stated that she has called 911, even though the response may be slow or ineffective, because she has been informed that reporting the incident may help with statistics to increase police presence in the future:

June: I did have a friend living here at 11pm. She was carrying her apron was full of tips and somebody just grabbed her apron with all the tips.

AC: So after some of the incidents that you mentioned, what happened in response to them? Were the police called? Did the police do anything?

June: I don't know. I think yeah, there are a lot of cases they have report to the police. Like the two times my car was broken into, I did report to the police. I don't think very much happened and I reported because we know that it will go into the statistic. When you have a higher number they will send more patrol and respond to your report. So any incident happens to us, we call the police, they always come down and record it. But I don't know if it's too much help, cause like the drug addicts, when the police are there they don't do anything, but when the police are gone then they sneak around and sell drugs. I don't know how much the police can do.

Another subject called the IDEC first and then called 9-1-1 as directed by the IDEC to ensure that the crime was recorded into police statistics:

If you try to call the cops or anything, I just hear they take the longest time to respond and so the Emergency Center is the very first people. Actually it's interesting; my car was broken into in one of the parking lots. I came to my car one night. It was probably 5:30 at night. It was fall or winter and it was dark early. Where it got darker early and it was raining and I went to my car and the windows had been smashed in and someone went through my whole car and I'm -- I was just like "oh great." Well, it was bound to happen because in my mind it was just not a safe-looking parking lot and it's very sheltered-looking so people could get away with murder out there and no one would know. But I didn't call the cops. I called the Emergency Center. Yeah, I called the Emergency Center and they were the ones that responded and they were "You need to call the cops because you need to fill out a report." I called them first because they're the first people to respond. The cops won't get there until a long time and I called the Emergency Center number because I was there by myself and I didn't want to be waiting around for two hours for the cops to show up for a break-in where there is not a risk situation at the time and so that's why... -Stephanie

Counterargument #3: The International District is well-policed, which results in less crime committed in the area.

There was obvious disconnect between the police department and the neighborhood, mostly over levels of staffing. Attempting to acquire actual police patrolling levels proved difficult since patrol statistics are distributed by precinct and not neighborhood or census tract. Thus, I can only convey perceptions regarding police staffing levels. However, in this neighborhood, even the patrol officers themselves who patrol the neighborhood admitted that the area is severely understaffed. They often blamed budget cuts or blamed the residents themselves for not calling 9-1-1. Other community members argued that they do in fact often call 9-1-1 but received unsatisfactory responses. At one of the Community Action Partnership (CAP) meetings, this disconnect was manifested through a tense interaction between a restaurant owner and a police sergeant. The initial statement of the sergeant was surprising since even his own patrol officers admitted that the neighborhood should have more police officers:

Sergeant states, "I've been around the city for 18 years. Nobody gets more attention than Pioneer Square and the International District. Other groups in the city do not get that attention."

Nelson, a restaurant owner, replies with evident frustration, "I don't see that at all. When we make a complaint, a 9-1-1 complaint, nothing happens. What can we do? We point out the bad guys. How come you don't see them? Do we have to call you 20 times before you actually do something?"

Sergeant responds with equal angst in his voice, "We arrest people all the time. Don't you see that?"

Yamaguchi, from the Wing Luke Asian Museum says, "I've never seen anyone ever arrested in the I.D. in six years."

In addition, most business owners in the International District belong and pay dues to the Chinatown International District Business Improvement Association (CIDBIA). Hawdorn and Ryan (2003) found that the visible presence of police in a neighborhood resulted in more positive opinions of the police from residents and increased their willingness to participate in crime prevention behavior. So, recently the CIDBIA decided that the lack of police presence combined with the increasing prevalence of crime was enough to warrant tapping into their reserve funds to unearth money to hire off-duty police officers to patrol the neighborhood. The vast differences between police perceptions and that of business owners were obvious. So, the decision of the CIDBIA to hire off-duty police officers with their reserve funds was a financially difficult but necessary step in the eyes of the business owners. This was a major decision to spend reserve funds to hire the off-duty officers. A strong belief that the current police presence in the neighborhood was inadequate must have been prevalent in order for the CIDBIA to arrive at this crucial decision

Furthermore, several police officers recommended that the neighborhood attempt to mobilize politically in order to persuade the Chief of Police to send more officers on patrol in the International District. On November 23, 2004, a

meeting was organized by an influential leader in the community who is recognized by many as the “unofficial mayor of the International District.” At this meeting, community members including an Asian American politician pleaded for more police help from the Seattle Chief of Police. For those attending the meeting, whether the exertion of political power results in the desired results remained to be seen. “It’s pretty hard to say,” said one community leader. “We won’t know until we see a reduction crime.”(Tabafunda, 2004)

Some individuals and organizations in the International District feel that the area is ignored by the police because they lack political power. They state that in comparison to other areas in the city, the neighborhood is severely understaffed by police, largely due to the fact that the Asian American community has little political power to demand more officers. Some Asian Americans claim they are the “invisible minority” or are still viewed as “forever foreigners” (Tuan, 1998). Thus, some believe that their racial background has a direct correlation with the lack of a police presence. Their Asian ancestry results in their neighborhood being ignored and marginalized by law enforcement. To them, the key to not being invisible is the acquisition of a political voice.

Community members and patrol officers (but not the sergeant) themselves admit that the neighborhood is under policed. In fact, during my observation in the neighborhood I saw the police perhaps once every twenty hours of being there. I recalled that I used to see two bicycle officers much more often about ten

years ago. I asked some subjects about the disappearance of the bicycle police and received different answers. Some residents believed that budget cuts were the reason for the disappearance of the bicycle police, one whom they held in high regard because of his ability to speak Chinese and connect with the residents. One police representative merely informed me that the bicycle officers transferred to different units where they were needed more. In any case, I did not see any evidence of intense policing in the area during my observation of the neighborhood. Perhaps the sergeant's contention that officers were tied up with paperwork after arresting subjects was valid. But there were several times where I witnessed community members pointing out drug sales or related criminal activity to police officers before a CAP or public safety meeting (police presence was quite visible at meetings) only to be given the response, "Well, if I arrest them, they will just be on the street again tomorrow." Therefore, any argument that intense policing in the area is the reasoning behind lower predicted levels of crime is questionable.

Counterargument #4: There is less crime than predicted in the International District because of its elderly population and predominantly Asian American population, who may be less likely to commit crimes.

Some Seattleites believe that the International District has the oldest population in the city. Even respondents that I interviewed often mentioned the "elderly residents" in the neighborhood. Thus, one might assert that the reason

for less actual violent crime than predicted could be the senior population in the area, who are less likely to commit such crimes.

However, it is a misperception that the International District is the most elderly neighborhood in the city. In fact, there are 34 census tracts with older populations than the International District. As revealed in Table 5.4 below, The I.D. has a somewhat older population, but has an age score within one standard deviation of the mean. It is the 89th oldest tract out of 123.

Table 5.4: Age in the International District

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Dev.
Age Score	3.52 (U-District)	6.29 (Tract 16)	4.96	.52528
	Age Score	City Rank		
International District: Tract 91	5.26	89		

Source: www.census.gov; Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey (Matsueda et. al, 2003)

Furthermore, the top two census tracts with the highest violent crime both had a population that is older than the International District. Table 5.5 below demonstrates that Tract 81 and Tract 92, predominantly the Pioneer Square area, had age scores and violent crime that exceeded the International District. However, in both these census tracts with an older population than the International District, the actual violent crime *exceeded* the predicted violent crime. This suggests that a neighborhood with older residents does not

automatically lead to lower rates of actual crime and that age is not an adequate explanation for lower actual crime in the International District.

Table 5.5: Age, Violent Crime, and Predicted Violent Crime: International District, North Pioneer Square, and South Pioneer Square

Tract	Violent Crime : 2002-2004 Avg. Yearly crime rate per 1000 residents	Predicted Violent Crime	Age Score
South Pioneer Square: Tract 92	80.13	43.04	5.54 (110 th oldest of 123 tracts)
North Pioneer Square: Tract 81	66.26	57.74	5.36 (98 out of 123)
International District: Tract 91	40.47	48.2	5.26 (89 out of 123)

Source: www.census.gov; Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey (Matsueda et. al, 2003)

Also, in this neighborhood, age may be more likely a factor that increases crime. Although the elderly residents are not committing crimes, there is some indication that they may be more likely to be victimized. For instance, one of the main crimes in the neighborhood has been strong-armed robberies against elderly, Asian women (Tabafunda, 2004). I asked the Seattle Police Department West Precinct Crime Prevention Coordinator if there were any official crime statistics to back this assertion but she informed me that the victimization data was unavailable.

Moreover, some scholars have asserted that Asian Americans commit less crime and deviance than other racial and ethnic groups (Jung, 2002). With a

predominantly Asian population, one might contend that the racial demographics of International District residents explain the rates of lower actual violent crime than predicted. However, if we analyze the two tracts in Seattle that contain an almost equal percentage of Asian residents as the International District, we can see that a neighborhood with a large Asian population does not necessarily result in lower actual crime. For example, Table 5.6 reveals that Tract 105, North Beacon Hill, and Tract 110, South Beacon Hill had actual violent crime rates that *exceeded* predicted violent crime despite nearly equaling the International District in proportion of Asian residents.

Table 5.6: Percent Asian, Actual Violent Crime, and Predicted Violent Crime

Census Tract	Percent Asian (City rank in parentheses) Mean = 12.1	Violent Crime : 2002-2004 Avg. Yearly crime rate per 1000 residents	Predicted Violent Crime
Census Tract 91 (International District)	58.4 (1)	40.47	48.2
Tract 104 (N. Beacon Hill)	57.4 (2)	6.07	-.95
Tract 110 (S. Beacon Hill)	51.3 (3)	43.34	12.65

Source: www.census.gov; Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey (Matsueda et. al, 2003)

Thus, the argument that merely having predominantly Asian residents explains lower rates of actual crime than predicted does not have merit.

Ironically, quite a few of the neighborhood adoptees who volunteered and participated in International District community functions came to the International District to help out the “heart of the Asian community,” despite the fact that their own neighborhoods had high Asian populations as well.

Chapter 6

“Save the International District” -- “Neighborhood Infiltration” and Preserving Ethnicity

Since ethnic identity and being Asian American were primary reasons for the neighborhood adoptees to feel connected and take ownership in the International District, the idea of preserving the “ethnic flair” or ethnic identity of the neighborhood was a recurring theme.

As described in more detail earlier, the International District has a long history of social activism. Protests were organized and launched against projects that might encroach upon the ethnic flair of the neighborhood. Groundbreaking ceremonies for the Kingdome were interrupted by protestors who felt that this sports stadium would be detrimental to the neighborhood by displacing residents but also lead to “Western infiltration” upon the neighborhood’s Asian ethnic flair. Protests against McDonald’s opening a restaurant in the neighborhood took place in 2000, with the same belief that Westernization of the neighborhood might occur and negatively alter the ethnic identity of the neighborhood. Presently, a coalition of community organizations, residents, and neighborhood adoptees are fighting the possible development at the former Goodwill building on Dearborn Street and Rainier Avenue, which is at the southeastern border of the neighborhood and also encroaches upon the Little Saigon area of the International District.

Virtually every subject in this study agreed that preserving the Asian ethnic identity of the International District was important. Some respondents had been involved in prior protests and rallies; others mentioned that though they had not been involved previously, they would be willing to participate in the future. In every case, preserving the ethnic identity of the neighborhood or defending the ethnic flair against Westernization were the main reasons for becoming involved. Steve recalled his experiences being involved in International District protests:

Steve: In the 60's, I got involved with Bob Santos and Fred Cordova, Antonio and the people in terms of the Civil Rights Movement. And most of the meetings were down here. INTER*IM started down here. So I had a commitment to the neighborhood, to the district. I still think the ID and for the rest of my lifetime and probably for the rest of yours, the ID will still be the cultural center of the Asian community in the greater Seattle area. As long as it is, we should do our best to make it a livable, attractive, and safe place.

AC: How did you feel about that McDonald's situation? Was that something you were concerned about?

Steve: I think almost all of the community organizations down here were concerned about that. Well, I'm like everybody else, I don't want that McDonald's to be like the McDonald's on 3rd and Pine where you have all the fools hanging around outside. And I just came back from Hong Kong, and I've been to Hong Kong and other foreign countries where they have McDonald's...and they're real nice. And they blend in with the neighborhood. Their golden arches go with everything else. And I think if McDonald's made that kind of effort here, I might not have a problem with that. But I don't trust McDonald's and America enough.

Younger activists such as Karen were also adamant that the neighborhood retain its ethnic identity:

I think it's more important for me as an Asian American and for me as a community activist to fight for the ID more. I would fight against McDonald's or the Gap or any other mainstream, Western type store. I don't want it. I mean I shop there. I shop at GAP, and I sometimes eat at McDonald's. I just ate there the other day, but I don't think that it fits well into the ID. I don't think that it's appropriate to put something like that there. I think it ruins the integrity of the ID. –Karen

Neighborhood adoptees' access to resources and political influence also made a difference in this case as well. Many individuals and community organizations voiced their opposition to McDonald's opening in the neighborhood. Mayor Paul Schell sent a letter to McDonald's urging them to abandon their plans to open a restaurant in the International District. Mayor Schell echoed the sentiment of neighborhood adoptees that "A McDonald's just doesn't fit in that neighborhood." Other politicians, including neighborhood adoptees such as King County Councilmember Larry Gossett, and State Representatives Velma Veloria, Sharon Tomiko Santos, and Kip Tokuda also urged McDonald's to stay away from the neighborhood. About 100 protesters demonstrated in front of the downtown McDonald's to cease their efforts of entering the International District. The McDonald's Regional Real Estate Manager was apparently influenced by the amount of opposition against the restaurant and decided to abandon plans to open a restaurant in the neighborhood. Once again symbolizing the access to political resources that neighborhood adoptees possess, Seattle City Council members wrote to McDonald's thanking them for that decision:

We believe that this decision will benefit this neighborhood in a number of ways, most significantly by helping to retain the International District's unique historical character and allowing for continued support of its residents, small business owners, and non-profit agencies. (Chin, 2001)

Neighborhood adoptees wrote that:

McDonald's decision not to locate in the International District was a major victory for all of us who want to preserve the historical pan-Asian character of the area and to make it a safe place to live, shop, visit, and work. It is a win for the International District community... (Chin, 2001)

Interestingly, similar community efforts to preserve the ethnic identity are now presently occurring in the International District. Jeff discussed his concerns with the new development proposed for Dearborn and Rainier, in the former

Goodwill building:

Jeff: I think an example of what is happening with the Goodwill building is an example of the community stepping up to preserve the ethnic identity of the neighborhood. This task is going to develop in the next couple of years. And a community like this didn't organize it until the last 6 months. What we did was to plan a few things. This is happening and they notice it and we talked to them for months. And they start to unwind, and it starts the wheel turning. And they start to organize their community. And the businesses start to recognize, "Like wait a minute, this might put pressure on our community for our rent to double and we have to leave."

AC: And what exactly are they going to do with the Goodwill building?

Jeff: So the Goodwill will be converted to what is a mall with international chains in there. And the problem right now is that there will be a lot...it serves as competition, not direct competition for existing businesses, but the competition is not in the form as the market's businesses versus existing businesses but just by taking up space, just by taking up traffic. There will be an increase in traffic in the community and so there is always a problem on weekends. The problem is double or triple. People will be less inclined to come down. And that's one of the interests but the

second interest is like even after there is this \$300+ million dollar profit that goes into the area of the community, what will that do to land values of that area? Most people recognize the profit and realize that, my land value will go up. And if I own property on Jackson, do I just let it sit and some guy comes in and offers me double of what I paid for a few years ago, I will take it. A lot of people will take that and let that party develop, and wait till that person comes in to develop this property and go “Well, I’m sorry but you have to leave but we’re taking up this property.” You can see that possibly happening all down Jackson Street. What was Little Saigon, what could happen to Little Saigon, it’ll slowly be eradicated by future development. So that’s one of the concerns that we have. That’s an example of how the community knows the threat of what’s going to happen and can. It has come to a point where we have to act. Otherwise, we’ll be dismissed one day.

AC: So, not just Little Saigon is acting, but who else?

Jeff: Well, in this case it’s different groups—businesses, residents, concerned others. I think it can happen for residents. Let’s say the Imperial House, which is a Section 8 building. Section 8 is a federal program. If the building were not to renew its Section 8 voucher anymore, which creates subsidies for these businesses. If they don’t, it’ll be converted to condominiums. All those residents might not be knowledgeable of how it’s organized but if you organize or get a structure to organize. They might follow that structure and protest and act against... That might be the only leverage they got.

AC: Who are the “concerned others” you mentioned?

Jeff: There are a lot of them. Some of them were employees, some were non-residents, a lot of them from the community. Say they use services in the community. In a sense, it depends how you define community. But since they were there, they were part of the community in some way... But the main point of concern is the potential impact on the character of the community is much bigger. Many people feel that it’s important to preserve the ethnic identity of the neighborhood. See how this neighborhood has always been? I’m concerned with the changing of the community. This neighborhood is the center of the history of the Asian community. It centers around the growth and expansion of the Asian community. I think that’s an important characteristic. I don’t want to see corporate America here in the neighborhood pushing out mom-and-pop stores and residents. The first physical sign when you come to this neighborhood is Chinatown. Then up this way are the Japanese

businesses, *nihonmachi*. And then we also have Little Saigon. You recognize it as a distinct Asian neighborhood. So, one of my main concerns is keeping the Asian character of this neighborhood and community. I think that's the main part of it.

The importance of rallying all possible and available community members for a protest was relayed by Pernell when asked who would participate in efforts to preserve the ethnic identity of the neighborhood. He also stressed that public safety and the neighborhood's identity were related:

Pernell: Oh man, you have to get everybody! You can get all the retired people who have worked in the community for so long to come out to that. People who worked here who deal with these issues, even though if they're not here in the neighborhood, I feel when you're here you're connected, they're connected. You ask why people would go back to protest it, the identity of the neighborhood. I think part of it is all that history was built to make this place of what it is right now. And if you take away that identity, the history might be there, here and there, but is it really living...no. There's a death of some sort, and people certainly don't want to see this neighborhood die. I believe that that's just the main part, it's so much that we owe to a neighborhood like this.

AC: How about your fraternity bothers, would they get involved?

Pernell: Yeah. We at school will be there, the people who volunteered will be there, if you get the right organizing, you'll get them there.

AC: You said everyone will come out for this issue of preserving the ethnic identity of the neighborhood. But, what if it were related to crime? What if the issue was about crime instead? Going back to people being victimized here, let's say we saw a lot more robberies and assaults on residents, APA women, and it was becoming a major issue that people generally wouldn't want to come down here because of their safety, will the same people get involved? Or would you think there will be a lack of involvement?

Pernell: When women are getting raped in this neighborhood, we can bring a lot of people who care about the identity of the neighborhood and

who also care about the safety. Safety is related to the identity of this neighborhood. It's a perception that people feel in the street. How can you be talking about the identity and avoid talking about safety? You can't. They're in the same paragraph. It's the same story. When people are getting raped left and right in the alleys of this neighborhood, everybody will come together for that. Now we're not just dealing about the identity and safety of the neighborhood, but we're dealing with people. You know-- brothers and sisters. That's a lot different. People will come.

Neighborhood adoptees strongly indicated that preserving the ethnic identity of the International District was of extreme importance. Most respondents conveyed a willingness not only to become involved personally if they felt that Westernization or gentrification would threaten the ethnic flair of the neighborhood, but they would also rally friends, family members and interested others to support the neighborhood. As discussed previously, since ethnic identity was a key impetus in the creation of many neighborhood adoptees by connecting them to a predominantly Asian American neighborhood and community, a threat to the International District's ethnic identity was also viewed as a personal, individualized attack. Lam describes this concept well:

Lam: Well, I heard there was supposed to be a Target or a Lowes or some other bullshit in the old Goodwill building. What the hell is that about? This is Chinatown. This isn't Shoreline or Bellevue or Mercer Island. Why can't those mainstream, westernized chain stores stay the fuck over there?

AC: Yeah, but you don't live here. Why do you care so much about if their stores are here or not?

Lam: It's simple. I don't live down here. I actually live in one of the suburbs I'm always making fun. And yeah, we have a Lowes there. We have a Target there. And I shop there. I shop at both of those stores. But, it's like this. When I'm over there, I'm part of mainstream America. I'm

just another blot on the radar. When I'm here in the International District, I become a Chinese American person. Not that I'm not Chinese all the time, but when I'm here in Chinatown, in the ID or whatever you want to call it, it means something different. It means my ethnicity-- who I am, who my parents are, who my family is, will be appreciated. I don't want these mainstream, corporate chain stores coming here because then I lose all that. See, I don't have a place anymore where I can go and really be Chinese. Then, this Western infiltration of the neighborhood becomes personal. They are taking something away from me. Something that means something for me and I'm guessing for a lot of other folks of Asian ancestry.

Social organization within the community to preserve the neighborhood's ethnic identity relies not only on residents' participation but also primarily on a committed network of neighborhood adoptees. Movements to defend the neighborhood from Westernization have been strong due to participants' solidarity stemming from their collective Asian American identity. Polletta and Jasper (2001, p. 291) state that "identity work is crucial to sustaining solidarity and commitment." Within the International District community, this solidarity and commitment has continually been exhibited when the ethnic identity of the neighborhood has been threatened. In addition, social cohesion and trust between residents and neighborhood adoptees further develops, as most residents view the participation of neighborhood adoptees in a positive manner.

Chapter 7

Conclusion and Future Research

This study contends that traditional measures of collective efficacy that are limited to residents of the neighborhood may not capture the totality of social organization that occurs in a predominantly Asian American neighborhood. This study asserts that the ubiquitous presence of neighborhood adoptees augments the predicted low levels of collective efficacy. For the International District, the concept of NINMB or “Not in My Neighborhood” extends to those that do not even live there. The influential presence and participation in neighborhood activities of neighborhood adoptees increases collective efficacy levels. Bolstered by a strong sense of ethnic identity, adoptees feel a passionate connection to the neighborhood. This definition of neighborhood adoptees is also inclusive of Asian American activists and others who may feel that their ethnic identity affords them ownership of the International District, leading them to become actively involved in community happenings and events.

The International District neighborhood of Seattle exemplifies the influence of neighborhood adoptees. Recognized as the heart of the local Asian American community, non-residents of Asian ancestry readily claim the International District as their own, often citing an intangible connection to the place and a welcoming, familiar feeling of the neighborhood. They often view

the International District as part of their identity and also as a unique neighborhood where they can “be Asian.” As a result, adoptees have become part of the neighborhood as volunteers, patrons, activists, and workers who would not choose to be there if the ethnic composition of the neighborhood was not predominantly Asian.

Neighborhood adoptees augment collective efficacy by providing informal social networks and access to resources that residents and business owners would otherwise lack. Furthermore, not being residents of the neighborhood propels adoptees to take action more readily against criminal activity, since fear of retribution against their home or business is eliminated from the equation. Whereas residents were more fearful to speak out or report criminal activity due to fear that perpetrators may later vandalize their business or show up later at their homes, adoptees did not face this circumstance. Neighborhood adoptees also contribute by donating money to various community organizations and volunteering time. Event coordinators and interview subjects have informed me that they participate in higher numbers than actual residents in activities targeted at reducing crime such as the Spring Clean, the Paint Out, the Day at the Races, and the Night Market.

This research offers an alternative perspective on collective efficacy. Traditional measures of collective efficacy that focus on merely surveying residents may be appropriate in most neighborhoods. However, these traditional measures of collective efficacy that are limited to residents of that neighborhood

may be lacking for a predominantly Asian American neighborhood such as Seattle's International District.

Moreover, conclusions from this study also suggest that the relationships between ethnic identity, neighborhood adoptees, collective efficacy, and crime might also exist in other cities with Asian American neighborhoods and among other racial and ethnic groups. For instance, Guan and Knottnerus's (2006) study on the social protest organized by Philadelphia's Asian American population against a new baseball stadium in that city's Chinatown to protect the community against gentrification closely mirrors the previously described collective efforts of the Seattle Asian American population against the Kingdome. Similarly, many of the demonstrators in Philadelphia were not exclusively residents. *AsianWeek* reported that "Many, neither Chinese American nor residents, demonstrated through downtown Philadelphia..." (Lin-Liu, 2003)

Furthermore, immigrant enclaves such as Little Italy or Greektown might also attract the participation of neighborhood adoptees who may not live there but due to their strong sense of ethnic identity, have strong social ties to the neighborhoods. Portes and Jensen (1987) have described Hialeah and the Little Havana area of Miami as ethnic enclaves that Cuban immigrants may initially settle in but eventually move out of into the suburbs. It is likely that these first generation Cuban immigrants may still participate in neighborhood activities as adoptees or perhaps a strong sense of ethnic identity for second and third

generation Cuban Americans who may be living in suburbs will be the impetus for their participation in Hialeah and Little Havana happenings.

Similarly, Logan, Zhang, and Alba (2002) state that highly educated and affluent African Americans are more likely to live in suburbs and in areas of high proportions of non-black residents. African Americans who move out of predominantly black neighborhoods into suburbs would not be captured by collective efficacy surveys conducted in the former neighborhoods. Yet, they may be actively participating in various social organizations such as churches, community centers, social service organizations, and neighborhood associations. They may also continue to patronize or socialize in neighborhood businesses such as restaurants or barbershops and strongly identify with the ethnic neighborhood.

For instance, Seattle's Central District, primarily in census tract 88, has long been known as the historically black neighborhood of Seattle. However, due to gentrification and other reasons, many blacks have moved out of the neighborhood. The African American population in the Central District was 2457 in 1990. In 2000, it had decreased to 1781 residents (www.census.gov). But, although some had moved out of the neighborhood, many were still involved in community happenings and attended service at Mt. Zion Baptist Church or community meetings at Garfield High School.

In a paper exploring symbolic communities, Guest and Lee (1984, p. 55) found that blacks "show a disproportionate tendency to define relatively large neighborhoods in terms of size and also provided social definitions relatively

often. This may reflect both identification with the total, spatially large black community and also recognition of the well-organized nature of the black population.” Guest and Lee’s research clearly illustrates that for other racial groups such as blacks, a spatial definition of a neighborhood is inadequate and in user-defined symbolic communities, ethnic or racial identity may propel non-residents to also affiliate with or claim ownership of that neighborhood. Once again, traditional residential surveys in black neighborhoods also would fail to capture the potential influence of these black non-residents who continue to identify with their socially-defined neighborhood.

Furthermore, the concept of neighborhood adoptees may extend beyond race and ethnicities. For example, Seattle’s Capitol Hill neighborhood, though not exclusively gay, has long been known as the center of the local gay community. The Seattle Pride Parade and Dyke March had called the Hill home for many years. It is plausible that many from the local gay community, although not actually living in Capitol Hill due to the high costs of housing, may also take ownership in the neighborhood and exhibit the behavior of neighborhood adoptees. In a unique intersection of ethnicity and sexual orientation, Ramírez (2003, p. 225) described how many gay Latinos and lesbian Latinos, even those who came from other areas, “had always considered the region and, in particular, San Francisco’s Latino Mission District as their home.”

This study suggests that the concept of neighborhood adoptees may be applicable to other minority groups besides those of Asian ancestry or ethnicity.

Future research should investigate whether or not the presence of neighborhood adoptees may also influence collective efficacy in other neighborhoods in which a unique ethnic, racial, or sexual orientation composition and flavor exists and draws the participation of non-residents. For immigrant populations, a closer examination of the generation status of neighborhood adoptees should occur, as my research provided some indication that American-born second generation and beyond were more likely to be adoptees.

In this ethnographic study, the interests and relationships of business owners, residents, and neighborhood adoptees were complex. Sometimes, business owners were at odds with each other. Relationships between business owners and neighborhood adoptees were contentious at times, particularly when the business owners felt that neighborhood adoptees had too much influence on the community, such as in the case of the McDonald's. Although I only observed amicable relationships between residents and neighborhood adoptees, the possibility exists that some residents also dislike the presence and influence of neighborhood adoptees. It is possible that some residents that do not participate in community happenings or are not concerned with public safety meetings or other activities do not participate because neighborhood adoptees are often present. Perhaps these residents would be more likely to participate if activities were limited to residents. It was difficult for this study to capture such residents since they were mostly on the outskirts of the social networks due to their lack of participation.

Moreover, since the impact of neighborhood adoptees is difficult to capture with traditional surveys of residents, qualitative research is needed. This is not to discount the value of quantitative analyses. However, since residential surveys would not reach neighborhood adoptees, I suggest that future research on collective efficacy, social cohesion, and social networking in which surveys of residents are administered also include questions regarding the residents' perceptions of the influence of non-residents.

I propose several questions to be considered for inclusion of future surveys that are administered to residents:

- 1.) Are you aware of people who do not actually live in this neighborhood that come to community or neighborhood functions? How do you feel about them?
- 2.) How often do you see people that are not residents at community events? a.) very often b.) somewhat often c.) rarely d.) never e.) I cannot distinguish between residents and non-residents
- 3.) If you do see some of these non-residents, who influential do you think they are at influencing this neighborhood's quality of life, such as helping residents to fight crime or improve public safety or fighting for affordable housing for residents, etc.?
- 4.) Suppose there was a recent crime epidemic in the neighborhood and there was a public safety meeting held. Who would most likely organize this public safety meeting? The police? Residents? Others? Who would most likely attend such a

meeting? Would there be anybody who does not live here but might show up for this meeting? Why might they attend?

5.) Many cities around the United States organize neighborhood cleanups during the spring. Are you aware of a neighborhood cleanup in this neighborhood? Who generally participates? Is it mostly residents or can you think of others that might also participate?

6.) [For some neighborhoods] This neighborhood is known for its (Asian, black, Italian, Greek, Cuban, gay, etc.) community. Suppose a city project that might threaten the neighborhood's identity was being proposed. How likely would it be that residents would become involved to protest this? How about non-residents who belong to this group but live in another neighborhood? How would you feel about these people becoming involved, even though they do not live here?

With the inclusion of some of these questions to traditional surveys, neighborhoods in which adoptees are present may be identified. Their influence or at least perceived influence may be measured to a better degree. Moreover, instead of limiting surveys to residents, perhaps questionnaires could also be distributed at various neighborhood institutions. For instance, many of the users of the community center in the International District did not reside there. With letters of cooperation, researchers could collaborate with staff and ask them to have community center participants complete a self-administered questionnaire before using services. In addition, qualitative field research could further focus on and identify the processes and described the level of influence that

neighborhood adoptees may have on collective efficacy in these particular neighborhoods.

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Appendix A: Interview Questionnaire

General questions for most subjects

- 1.) a.) What is your relationship with the International District? Do you live here? Work here? Volunteer here? Shop/eat here?

b.) For how long?

c.) How many hours a week do you spend in the I.D.?
- 2.) If you could tell me what you think is the biggest concern of the International District community, what would that be? Why?
- 3.) Tell me about any neighborhood organizations that you are involved in or activities that you participate in.
- 4.) Tell me about some of the major problems that have occurred in this neighborhood. How were these problems resolved? Who became involved to solve these problems? Did any non-residents ever become involved? Who?
- 5.) Can you tell me about any incidents of crime—theft, robbery, burglary, assaults, drug dealing in the I.D. that you know of?

--If yes: What were the neighborhood responses to these incidents? Were the police called? What did the police do?

--If no: Why do you think the police were not involved?

--How does the community respond to these events?

--Do people who are not part of the community ever get involved? If so, who?

6.) During the incident, do you or anyone you know become involved in the incident? What was your/their role? Did they intervene and try to prevent the crime from occurring or getting worse?

--After the incident, did you or anyone you know become involved? Was there a community meeting? If there was no collective response, why do you think there was none?

7.) What are some of the organizations in the community that help residents with issues regarding crime?

a.) In your opinion, are some of these organizations more effective than others? Which ones and why?

b.) What about the police? Tell me about any personal experiences you might have had with them. Are they effective in this neighborhood? In general, how do people in this neighborhood view the police? (asked to all except for police subjects)

c.) Do people in this neighborhood ever work together to fight crime?

Who specifically is involved? Is this effective?

8.) What types of activities have you been involved with in regards to fighting crime?

9.) Let's say that you are appointed as the mayor of the International District?

What suggestions would you have to fight crime here? What strategies would you implement?

10.) On a scale of 1-10, with 10 being most effective and 1 being least effective, tell me how would you rate the following in terms of their effectiveness at combating crime here in the neighborhood or increasing public safety?

a.) residents themselves

b.) the police

c.) the I.D. Emergency Center

d.) CAP, the Community Action Partnership

e.) people from outside the I.D. that get involved

Tell me why you believe _____ is most effective and _____ is least effective? Are there any other organizations, groups, or individuals that you can think of that do a good job at dealing with crime here?

11.) How would you describe your ethnic background?

12.) What year were you born? Where were you born?

13.) Where did you grow up and how was that like?

14.) Who belongs to the International District neighborhood or community?

How would you define the neighborhood?

15.) What three words would you use to describe the ID?

Questions specifically for residents

- Describe the people in your neighborhood. Can you easily tell if a person is a stranger or a resident on your block? How well do you know your neighbors? What percentage of your neighbors do you know on a first-name basis? Are they good neighbors? Bad neighbors? Why?
- What is your opinion of a good neighbor?
- Do you agree or disagree that people in this neighborhood are generally willing to help each other? Why?

- Do people in this neighborhood watch out for each other's safety? If so, how do they do that? If not, why don't they do that?
- Suppose one of your neighbors was involved in selling drugs and residents knew about it. What would happen? 1.) Nobody would do anything 2.) People would call the police 3.) Residents themselves would confront the neighbor and tell him/her to stop selling drugs 4.) Something else -- Why do you think this is what would most likely happen?
- Suppose you were walking home and saw somebody selling drugs. What would you do?
- What if you saw kids spraypainting graffiti?
- How safe do you feel living here?
- How would you describe the relationship between the residents and the police? Positive? Negative? Why?
- What do you think the police do well here? What do you think they do a poor job of?
- Do you think the police treat this neighborhood differently because most people here are Asian? Or do you think that they treat all races the same? Explain to me.
- Please tell me about any people other than the police or the residents that become involved in neighborhood issues.

Questions specifically for neighborhood adoptees

- Where do you live? Where do you work?
- Do you volunteer or get involved in other neighborhoods?
- If you don't live here or work here, why are you so concerned about issues in the I.D.? Why do you think other Asian Americans are so quick to identify with this neighborhood? Is it simply because of their race/ethnicity? But then how about the many that don't identify with the I.D. or don't really come down here?
- What do you consider to be your neighborhood?
- What is the difference between the International District and the neighborhood that you live in?
- What types of activities have you participated in or organizations do you belong to that are connected to the I.D.?
- What impact do you think that non-residents have on this neighborhood?
- Suppose you were in the neighborhood and saw somebody selling drugs. What would you do?
- What if you saw kids spraypainting graffiti?
- How do you know about issues going on in the neighborhood?

Questions specifically for business owners (Focus Group)

- Are you part of any business association or group? How about the CIDBIA (Chinatown International District Business and Industry Association)?
- What do you believe is the number one concern of business owners and workers in the community?
- How safe do you think your patrons feel coming to the I.D. during the day? How about during the evening?
- How safe do you feel working here?
- Do you also live here?
- If you just work here but don't live here, how involved are you in issues concerning I.D. residents?
- What would you identify as being your neighborhood? The place you actually live or here where you work? Why?
- How would you describe the relationship between the business owners/ community organizations and the police? Positive? Negative? Why?
- What do you think the police do well here? What do you think they do a poor job of?

- Do you think the police treat this neighborhood differently because most people here are Asian? Or do you think that they treat all races the same? Explain to me.
- What kind of efforts are going on among business owners or from your organization to address crime and safety issues here in the neighborhood?
- Suppose you were walking to work and saw somebody selling drugs. What would you do?

Questions specifically for police (meetings/ informal interviews/ focus group)

- Are you an officer, community liaison, community advocate? What is your role in the police force and here in the I.D.?
- Describe the relationship between the police and the community here in the I.D.
- Suppose somebody from the community came up to you and said, “The police don’t do a good job here. It’s because we’re Asian. They don’t care about what happens here.” How would you respond to him/her?
- What is the most difficult aspect of policing this neighborhood?
- Is there any difference between the policing approach in this neighborhood compared to a predominantly white or predominantly black neighborhood?

- What strategies do you believe would be most effective for reducing crime here in the I.D.? How can we make that happen?
- Can you compare and contrast crime and safety in the I.D. with first the Central District and then, maybe a predominantly white neighborhood in the north end? Then, how would you compare the community's involvement in crime and safety issues?

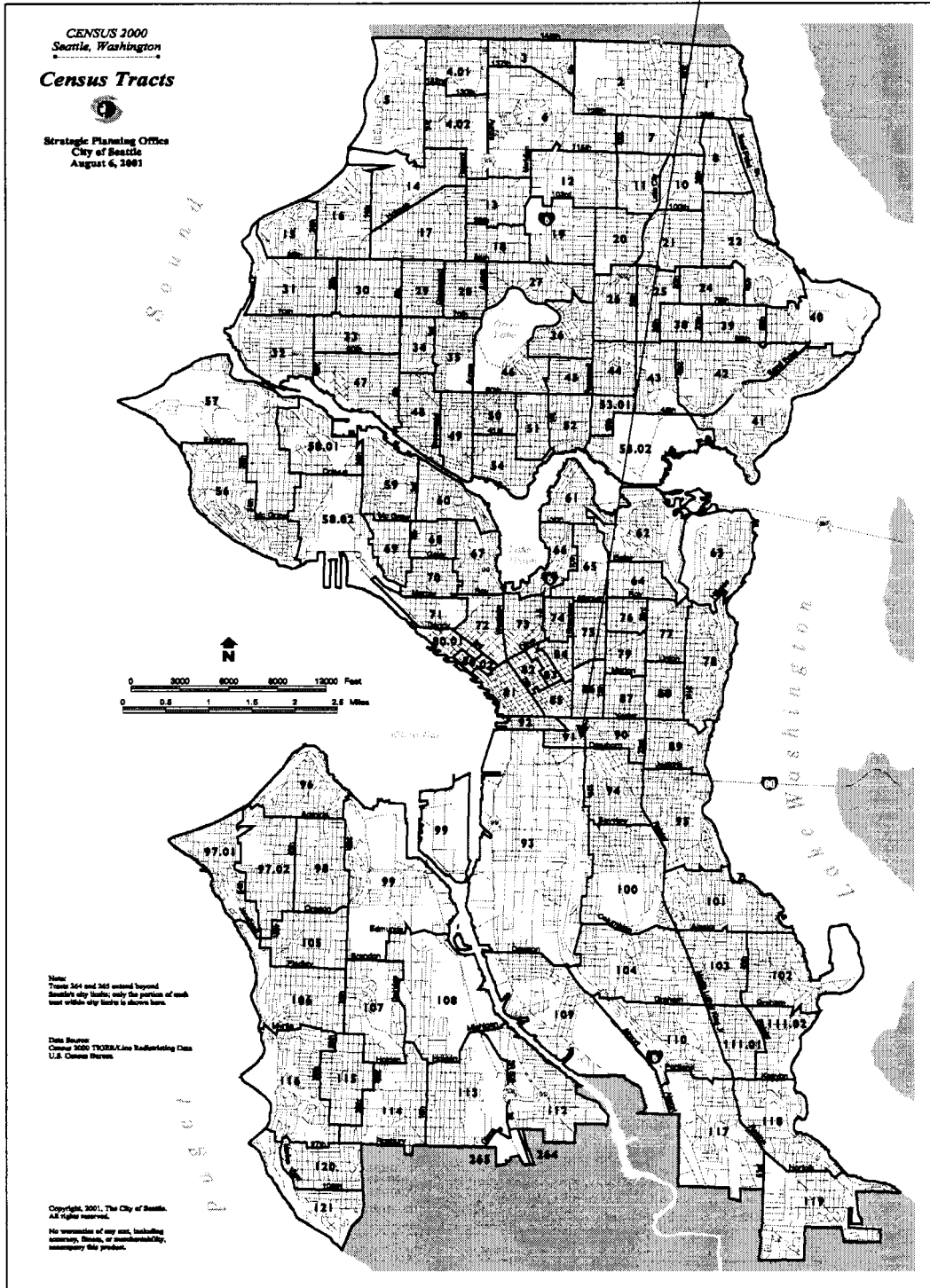
Appendix B: List of Participants

N=40, 23 Neighborhood Adoptees and 17 Residents

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age Category</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>Ethnic Background</u>	<u>Relation to</u>
#1 Neely	Late 20s	F	Vietnamese	Neighborhood Adoptee Resident
#2 June	55+	F	Chinese	Neighborhood Adoptee
#3 Thanh	Early 30s	F	Vietnamese	Neighborhood Adoptee
#4 Esther	40s	F	Filipino	Neighborhood Adoptee
#5 Thao	Late 20s	F	Vietnamese	Neighborhood Adoptee
#6 Rick	55+	M	Japanese	Neighborhood Adoptee
#7 Rena	Early 30s	F	Thai	Neighborhood Adoptee
#8 Cathy	Early 30s	F	Chinese	Neighborhood Adoptee
#9 Melanie	40s	F	Chinese	Neighborhood Adoptee
#10 Stephanie	20s	F	Korean	Neighborhood Adoptee
#11 Jeff	40s	M	Korean	Neighborhood Adoptee
#12 Kevin	55+	M	Filipino	Neighborhood Adoptee
#13 Max	Late 20s	M	Filipino	Neighborhood Adoptee
#14 Booker	50s	M	Filipino	Neighborhood Adoptee
#15 Raines	Early 30s	M	Chinese	Neighborhood Adoptee Resident
#16 Steve	55+	M	Chinese	Neighborhood Adoptee
#17 Nobu	55+	M	Japanese	Neighborhood Adoptee Resident
#18 Tomo	55+	F	Japanese	Neighborhood Adoptee
#19 Tana	Early 20s	F	Cambodian	Neighborhood Adoptee

#20 Lei	Early 50s	F	Chinese	Neighborhood Adoptee
#21 Betty	55+	F	Japanese	Neighborhood Adoptee
#22 Jennifer	50s	F	Chinese	Neighborhood Adoptee
#23 Karen	Early 20s	F	Korean	Neighborhood Adoptee
#24 Roger	Early 30s	M	Mixed race/ ethnicity	Resident
#25 Shaun	Mid 30s	M	Vietnamese	Neighborhood Adoptee Resident
#26 Anh	Early 20s	F	Vietnamese	Resident
#27 Rocky	Early 20s	M	Vietnamese	Resident
#28 Sarah	Mid 30s	F	Filipino	Resident
#29 Jade	Early 30s	F	Filipino	Resident
#30 Thomas	Early 40s	M	Mixed race/ ethnicity	Resident
#31 Thuy	55+	F	Vietnamese	Resident
#32 Yoshie	50s	F	Japanese	Resident
#33 Bert	55+	M	Chinese	Resident
#34 JoJo	40s	M	Chinese	Resident
#35 Ray	Mid 30s	M	Korean	Neighborhood Adoptee Resident
#36 Michael	55+	M	Chinese	Resident
#37 Emma	50s	F	White	Resident
#38 Becky	Mid 30s	F	Korean	Resident
#39 Mac	Early 30s	M	Chinese	Resident
#40 Lam	30s	F	Chinese	Neighborhood Adoptee

Appendix C: Seattle Census Tracts-- Tract 91 is I.D



Appendix D: Fliers and Pamphlets

D1: Flier of Chinatown-International District Night Market

A black and white promotional flier for the Seattle's Chinatown-International District Night Market. The background features a collage of images including a person in a traditional costume, a street scene with lanterns, and a building. The text is centered and reads: "Seattle's Chinatown-International District NIGHT MARKET HING HAY PARK Saturday, August 4 & 18, 2007 6 pm - 11 pm". To the right, it lists activities: "Featuring Food, Shopping, Entertainment, Arts, Outdoor Movie, and more!". The website "www.cidbia.org" is at the bottom left. A vertical credit line on the right edge reads "Poster creative by T.D. Wang Advertising Group, LLC".

Seattle's Chinatown-International District
NIGHT MARKET
HING HAY PARK
Saturday, August 4 & 18, 2007
6 pm - 11 pm

Featuring
Food,
Shopping,
Entertainment,
Arts,
Outdoor Movie,
and more!

www.cidbia.org

Poster creative by T.D. Wang Advertising Group, LLC



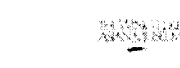
International Exchange



City of Seattle
Office of Economic Development



SEATTLE'S CHINATOWN-INTERNATIONAL DISTRICT



City of Seattle
Department of Neighborhoods

D2: Seattle Paint Out in International District



2007 SEATTLE PAINT OUT

INTERNATIONAL DISTRICT

When: Sunday 8/19
Time: 10:00 - 2:30
Where: Hing Hay Park

**BE A PART OF SIX YEARS OF COMMUNITY BUILDING
HELP 'PAINT OUT' GRAFFITI**

NEIGHBORS: Pioneer Square, Belltown/Denny Regrade, Capitol Hill, Fremont, Greenwood, Greenlake, Chinatown/International District - and more.

SPONSORS: Current & Prior Years - Starbucks, Comcast, Seattle Mariners, Vulcan, The City of Seattle, Outback Steakhouse, McCoy's Firehouse, Valspar, The Seahawks, Columbia Winery, Chateau Ste. Michelle Winery, Nextel, Goodbye Graffiti, Seattle Public Utilities, Pinnacle, Urban Visions, and many more!

MEALS: See your neighborhood lead - Bernie Kay

SUPPLIES: Red wagons with necessary cleaning supplies provided.

VOLUNTEERS: Many of you continue to volunteer year after year - **THANK YOU!**

Send your RSVP via this email reply or to the contact info below

NOW: Zone maps are being updated and will be ready to distribute the morning of the clean up.

WAGON LEADS: Those who were wagon leads from 2006 feel free to sign up again!

MORE INFO: Contact: Bernie Kay

www.paintout.org- OR dial: 800-525-5431 - ext: 540 (Leave a Message)

MANY THANKS TO ALL THE NEIGHBORHOOD VOLUNTEERS AND SPONSORS FOR 2007!

POST THIS FLYER IN THE COMMON AREAS OF YOUR WORK PLACE OR RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY. TO BE A PART OF THE PAINT OUT, PLEASE CALL OR EMAIL....

D3: Spring Clean-Up Press Release

CAP IS A PROGRAM OF THE
SEATTLE CHINATOWN INTERNATIONAL
DISTRICT PRESERVATION AND
DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (SCIDPDA).

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE - April 06, 2006

8th Annual Chinatown International District Spring Clean-Up To Be Largest Ever
SEATTLE, WA - The 2006 Chinatown International District Spring Clean-Up is anticipated to be the largest in its eight year history. Over 400 volunteers and 40 community organizations and local businesses from across the city are expected to participate in the event. The annual neighborhood clean-up covers over 30 city blocks in the Seattle Chinatown International District and Little Saigon and is consistently the largest neighborhood clean-up in Seattle.

What: 8th Annual Chinatown International District Spring
Clean-Up
When: 8:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.
Where: Meet at Hing Hay Park, address

The annual event is hosted by the Community Action Partnership (CAP), a public safety program of the Seattle Chinatown International District Preservation and Development Authority (SCIDPDA). This year the event will be expanded to include resource fair, interactive games, and a scavenger hunt for children.

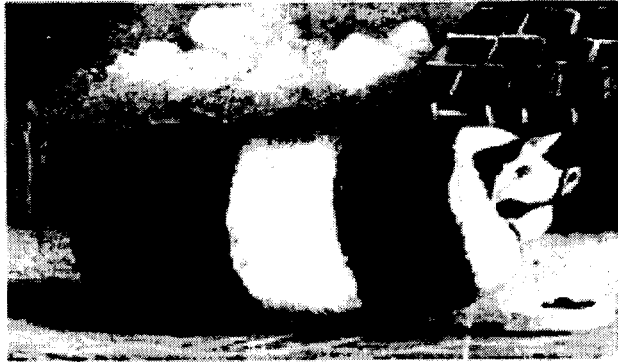
"Our annual clean-up is an opportunity for community members to take a pro-active role in making the neighborhood a safe, clean, and welcoming place for residents, workers, and visitors," said Virgil Domaoan, CAP Program Manager, "The event also increases citywide recognition of the Chinatown International District and Little Saigon as lively urban neighborhoods and are significant contributors to Seattle's economy."

Clean-up volunteers can choose from a variety of projects including graffiti removal, litter pick-up, painting, and landscaping. Volunteers will receive complimentary t-shirts designed by a neighborhood youth and complimentary breakfast and lunch.

Event sponsors include Vulcan, Chinatown International District Business Improvement Area, Fremont Public Association, First Hill Lion's Club, Interim Community Development Association, International District Housing Alliance, International District Emergency Center, Seattle International District Rotary Club, Seattle Mariners, Seattle Public Utilities, Starbucks and Earth Day Network. Applications are due by April 12, 2006.

The Community Action Partnership was founded 1995 as a partnership between the Seattle Chinatown International District Preservation and Development Authority (SCIDPDA), Local Initiative Support Corporation (LISC), and the Seattle Police Department (SPD) to serve the Chinatown-International District community. The mission of the CAP program is to collaborate in a respectful manner to develop and implement culturally sensitive, innovative, and creative long-term solutions to public safety issues.

D5: Community Pig Roast Flier



You're Invited to **Inter*Im's**
31ST Annual *Pig Roast* in the **DANNY WOO**
International District Community Garden

Friday & Saturday, July 14 & 15

Location: 6th Ave. S. and S. Main St. in the Danny Woo Garden

FRIDAY, JULY 14:

6:30pm-9pm - Pig Prepping

7pm-9:30pm - Family Activities provided by IDHA's WILD youth program

9pm-7am - BBQ, Festivities, Pig Roasting

SATURDAY, JULY 15:

7am-12noon - Roasted Pig Prepping and Carving

12noon-2pm - "Pigging Out", Lunchtime/Potluck

(Please bring your favorite dish to share to the potluck)

To RSVP or for more information, contact Inter*Im's Garden/Event Coordinator

Lenora Orner, loraw@interimnyc.org, 206-624-1502 x28

Sponsors: Davis Y. Le Consulting, International Community Health Services (I.C.H.S), International District Housing Alliance (IDHA) and their Wilderness Intercity Leadership Development (WILD) program, Maria Babayela/Jung Starr, Wang Luke Asian Museum

Curriculum Vitae
Andrew Cho

Education: University of Washington
Doctor of Philosophy: Sociology
Expected: December 2007

University of Washington
Master of Arts: Sociology
Graduation: June 2003

University of Washington
Bachelor of Arts: Business Administration -- Marketing and
International Business
Graduation: June 1994 with Cum Laude and Phi Beta Kappa
honors

Doctoral Dissertation:

“Not in My ‘Hood: Social Control, Ethnicity, and Crime in
Seattle’s International District” Department of Sociology,
University of Washington. Chair: Robert Crutchfield.

Positions Held:

Jan. 2004 – present
Tacoma Community College Tacoma, WA
Instructor: Teach SOC 110, “Survey of Sociology,” SOC 205,
“Sociology of African Americans, SOC 262, “Race and Ethnic
Relations,” SOC 265 “Sociology of Asian Americans,” and SOC
287, “Sex and Gender.”

Summer 2005, 2006, 2007
University of Washington Seattle, WA
Instructor: Taught SOC 362, “Race Relations.”

September 2000-present
University of Washington Seattle, WA
Research Assistant: Collaborate with criminologists and urban
sociologists in the Department of Sociology on the “Racial
Heterogeneity, Neighborhood Controls, and Violence” project,
which analyzes the effects of race, ethnicity, community

connectedness, and other factors on crime and victimization in Seattle neighborhoods.

June 2001-December 2003

Shoreline Community College Seattle, WA
 Instructor/Ethnographer: Taught IASTU 102 and SPCMU 102, “Multicultural Issues” courses. Taught IASTU 103 and SPCMU 103, “Multicultural Studies” courses. Conducted ethnographic interviews and field research for the “Faces of Our Community” project, which analyzed the community impact of immigrants and refugees in Shoreline and Lake Forest Park and assessed the educational needs of the diverse communities within the two cities.

Summer 2002-December 2003

Seattle Central Community College Seattle, WA
 Instructor: Taught SOC 102, “Introduction to American Culture.” Taught the correspondence course of SOC 110, “Survey of Sociology.”

April 2001-October 2001

Seattle Police Department Seattle, WA
 Researcher: Collaborated with the Seattle Police Department on the “Garfield Community Crime Control Committee” project; conducted qualitative interviews with students, teachers, parents, residents, community members, and police officers on strategies to reduce crime in the Central District and Garfield area

September 1994-September 2000

South Seattle Community College Seattle, WA
 Advisor/Instructor: Taught HIS 136, “Asian American History”; taught HDC 101, “Critical Thinking”; taught HDC 100, “Orientation to College”; provided supplemental instruction for Business, Math, and English utilizing methods and techniques that appropriately accommodate differences in students’ learning styles, cultural backgrounds, and competency levels; advised students transferring to four-year institutions

Professional Development and Conferences:

- 2004 American Sociological Association Annual Conference – Research Presenter
- 2003 American Sociological Association Annual Conference
- 2002 Washington State Association for Multicultural Education – Workshop presenter

2002 American Sociological Association Annual Conference
 2002 Pacific Sociological Association Conference
 2001 American Sociological Association Annual Conference
 2000 Peace and Unity in Beijing, China
 1999 Asian Pacific American Cultures and the Process of Learning
 1998 Annual Leadership Academy for Asian Pacific Americans in Community Colleges
 1998 National Association of Asian-American Professionals
 1998 Diversity in Mentoring Conference
 1997 People of Color in Predominantly White Institutions – Workshop presenter
 1997 Politics of Multiculturalism Conference – Workshop presenter
 1997 Seattle Coalition for Education Equity
 1997 Non-Traditional Jobs for Asian-Americans
 1997 The Diversity Time Bomb

Honors and Awards:

“Most Influential Faculty” Award presented by the Black Student Union of TCC
 American Sociological Association Graduate Fellowship
 Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society
 Beta Gamma Sigma Honor Society
 Golden Key National Honor Society
 Phi Eta Sigma National Honor Society
 University of Washington Business School Scholarship
 National Collegiate Dean’s List

Articles Published:

Cho, Andrew. “Slavery Reparations” in R. Schaefer’s *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society* forthcoming March, 2008. Sage Publications

Cho, Andrew and Amanda Koster. “Faces in the Mirror” *Colors*, August 2005.

Articles under Review:

Cho, Andrew. “Not in My ‘Hood! The Influence of ‘Neighborhood Adoptees’ on Collective Efficacy and Crime” under review at *City and Community*

Writing/Research in Progress:

Cho, Andrew. "Neither Asian nor American: The Ethnic Identity Dilemma of 1.5 Generation Asian Americans" to be submitted to *AmerAsia Journal*

Cho, Andrew. "Bangin' the Books: An Analysis of Ex-Gang Members on College Campuses" to be submitted to the *Journal of Gang Research*

Professional Service:

Tacoma Community College

Member, American Ethnic and Gender Studies Committee (2004-present)

Faculty Advisor, Black Student Union (2006-present)

Faculty Mentor, Minority Achievement Program (2004-2006)

Faculty Advisor, Martial Arts Club (2005)

Other Organizations

Member, American Sociological Association (2001-present)

Member, Pacific Sociological Association (2002-2003)

Member, Northwest Coalition for Free Burma (2007-present)

Volunteer, Community Action Partnership (2003-present)

Volunteer Lecturer, Northwest Asian Weekly Summer Youth Leadership Program (Summer 2005, 2006, 2007)

Member, Minority Executives Directors Council Racial Profiling Task Force (2004-2006)