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1 STATE OF ILLINOIS )  
2 COUNTY OF COOK ) SS

3 UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS  
4 ILLINOIS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

5 IN RE:  
6 CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES FACING  
7 ASIAN AMERICANS IN METROPOLITAN  
8 CHICAGO

9 REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS, taken in the  
10 above-entitled cause, taken before MS. FAYE LYON,  
11 Chairperson of the Illinois Advisory Committee to  
12 the United States Commission on Civil Rights,  
13 taken at The Westin Hotel, 909 North Michigan  
14 Avenue, Consort Room, Chicago, Illinois, taken on  
15 the 25th day of May, 1994, at the hour of 9:00  
16 o'clock, a.m..

17 APPEARANCES:

18	CHAIRPERSON:	MS. FAYE LYON
19	COMMITTEE MEMBERS:	MS. ROSE MARY BOMBELLA
		MR. JAMES SCALES
		MR. DORRIS ROBERTS
		MR. HUGH SCHWARTZBERG
		MR. PRESTON EWING
		MS. NANCY CHEN
		MR. MAN-SUN SONG
		MR. TOM PUGH
		MR. KENNETH SMITH
		MS. CONNIE PETERS
		MS. GLORIA PORTELA
20	Court Reporter:	HALSELL & HALSELL REPORTERS
21		BY: MS. VERNITA HALSELL-POWELL

FORM FED LASER PENGAD/INDY 1-800-631-6989

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FORM FED LASER PENGAD/INDY 1-800-631-6989

1 (The meeting was convened at 9:10 a.m.)

2 CHAIRMAN LYON: Good morning. This  
3 meeting of the Illinois Advisory Committee of the  
4 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights will come to  
5 order.

6 For the benefit of those in our  
7 audience, I'd like to introduce myself and my  
8 colleagues who are at the table. I'm Faye Lyon  
9 and I'm the Chairperson of the Advisory Committee.  
10 The members of the Committee who are here with me,  
11 starting at my right will be Nancy Chen, Preston  
12 Ewing, Hugh Schwartzberg, who usually comes a  
13 little late, he will be sitting next to Preston.  
14 I'm sure he will be here. Dorris Roberts, James  
15 Scales, and Rose Mary Bombela. To my left would  
16 be Man-Sung Son, Tom Pugh, and then we have Gloria  
17 Portela. The other members should be joining us  
18 shortly.

19 We also have today in our audience  
20 the Chairpersons for the other advisory  
21 committees. We have Lynwood Battle from Ohio, we  
22 have Janice Frazier from Michigan, we have Karen  
23 Rogers From Minnesota. I've seen her come in, but

1 she should be here momentarily and Emraida Kiram  
2 from Wisconsin and she's the acting chair for  
3 purposes of this meeting today.

4 We are here this morning to conduct  
5 a consultation for the purpose of gathering  
6 information on civil rights issues facing Asian  
7 Americans in metropolitan Chicago. The  
8 jurisdiction of the Commission include  
9 discrimination or denial of equal protection of  
10 laws because of race, color, religion, sex, age,  
11 disability, or national origin in the  
12 administration of justice. Information that  
13 relates to this topic will be especially helpful  
14 to those of us on the Advisory Committee, and  
15 hopefully to the community at large.

16 The proceedings of this meeting are  
17 being recorded by a public stenographer and will  
18 be sent to the Commission for its advice and  
19 consideration.

20 At the outset I want to remind  
21 everyone present of the ground rules. This is a  
22 public meeting and it's open to the media and to  
23 the general public, but we do have a very full

1 schedule of people who will be making  
2 presentations within the limited time that we have  
3 available. The time allotted for each  
4 presentation must be strictly adhered to. This  
5 will include a presentation by each participant,  
6 followed by questions from committee members.

7 The record of this meeting will  
8 close on June 25th, 1994.

9 Though some of the statements made  
10 here today may be controversial, we want to ensure  
11 that all invited guests do not defame or degrade  
12 any person or organization. In order to ensure  
13 that all aspects of the issues are represented,  
14 knowledgeable persons with a wide variety of  
15 experience and viewpoints have been invited to  
16 share information with us. Any person or  
17 organization that feels defamed or degraded by  
18 statements made in these proceedings should  
19 contact our staff during the meeting so that we  
20 can provide a chance for public response.  
21 Alternately, such persons or organizations can  
22 file written statements for inclusion in the  
23 proceeding.

1 I urge all persons making  
2 presentations to be judicious in their statements.  
3 The Advisory Committee appreciates the willingness  
4 of all participants to share their views and  
5 experiences with the Committee.

6 I would now like to introduce Nancy  
7 Chen who is a member of the Illinois Advisory  
8 Committee and who has the Keynote Address.

9 MS. CHEN: Thank you, Madam Chair.

10 NANCY CHEN

11 Good morning. I would like first to  
12 thank the members of the Illinois Advisory  
13 Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights  
14 for your authorizing this consultation project on  
15 Asian American issues in the greater Chicago area.

16 As a new kid on the block to the  
17 Advisory Committee, I'm very grateful that you  
18 took on this project that is very important to the  
19 Asian American community in Illinois and to me  
20 personally. As I understand this consultation on  
21 Asian American issues is a historic first for the  
22 Illinois Advisory Committee to undertake. From  
23 the inception of this consultation to the actual

1 conference it has been a gratifying experience  
2 working with the Commission's regional staff.  
3 Connie Davis, Peter Miniarek and Carolyn Whitfield  
4 whose professionalism and enthusiasm greatly  
5 contributed towards the success of this project.  
6 I thank you.

7                   It is projected that Asian American  
8 population will reach 208 million by the year  
9 2020. It is the fastest growing group in  
10 American. It is important that we do not under  
11 estimate the social, economic, and political  
12 impact of Asian Americans in the next 25 years,  
13 nor should we neglect the needs and concerns of  
14 this community today. Although Asian Americans  
15 have been in this country since the middle of the  
16 last century, we are often considered a new group  
17 in the civil rights community. The U.S.  
18 Commission on Civil Rights issued an extensive  
19 report in 1992 citing widespread discrimination  
20 and barriers against Asian Americans in many  
21 areas. At a time when our nation is going through  
22 another inward looking stage in which anti  
23 immigrant sentiment is not just expressed by a

1 few, but openly used by some politicians to win  
2 votes. This consultation project offers an  
3 important and timely opportunity for the public as  
4 well as Asian Americans themselves to take a  
5 closer look at a community that is still comprised  
6 largely of immigrants.

7 Asian Americans grew four times in  
8 population since 1965 from around 1 million to  
9 over 7 million in 1990. The Asian American  
10 community in the Chicago area almost doubled it's  
11 size from around 150,000 to almost 300,000 between  
12 1980 and 1990. The uniqueness of our community  
13 here is that it is a microcosm of the Asian  
14 community in the nation with every major ethnic  
15 group from Asia represented, but no particular  
16 group more dominant than others, as is often the  
17 case on the east or west coast or Hawaii where  
18 Chinese and Japanese American communities are  
19 well-established. Asian Americans here have been  
20 able to work together without the exclusion of  
21 others. The best example is the Asian Coalition  
22 Dinner hosted by a different community each year  
23 through a rotation system. The dinner started ten



1 years ago by the Chinese community has grown to  
2 become a major cultural and political event for  
3 the city, a must visit for local and statewide  
4 elected officials and candidates. However, the  
5 uniqueness of the Asian community here does not  
6 free it from problems described by the  
7 Commission's report.

8           So today and tomorrow, tomorrow  
9 morning, you will hear testimonies from a group of  
10 community experts and scholars on issues with both  
11 national and local perspectives. Asian Americans  
12 here have often bemoaned the lack of political  
13 representation for the community. Unlike the  
14 African American and Latino communities in Chicago  
15 which have successfully obtained greater political  
16 power through redistricting, Asian Americans have  
17 remained largely ignorant of this process.  
18 Redistricting is a frontier which has been paid  
19 little attention, yet it is so crucial for Asian  
20 Americans to achieve full political empowerment.  
21 The panelists here will tell you how the  
22 redistricting affects Chinese Asian American  
23 voting power in the City of Chicago and Cook

1 County, an issue which is just beginning to be  
2 addressed by the community in the aftermath of the  
3 recent redistricting.

4 I had an opportunity to work with  
5 the Chinese community here and it has certainly  
6 been a frustrating experience for Chinese  
7 Americans in south Chinatown who try to learn that  
8 intricacies of the politics of remapping as they  
9 attempted to stop Chinatown from being  
10 fractionalized. Sadly they realized that they did  
11 too little and too late.

12 I hope that by bringing this issue  
13 to the forefront, Asian Americans will be better  
14 informed by the impact that unfair redistricting  
15 plans have to dilute their voting strength and  
16 discourage Asian American candidates from running  
17 for office.

18 It is also important for Asian  
19 Americans to be aware that under the one person  
20 one vote standard in the U.S. Constitution, Asian  
21 Americans aren't protected from dilution of their  
22 voting strength when we constitute a substantial  
23 percentage of the voting age population, and

1 substantial percentage does not mean that it has  
2 to be over 50 percent.

3           While redistricting fights are more  
4 commonly associated with the black and hispanic  
5 districts because of the size of these  
6 communities, there will be opportunities for Asian  
7 Americans if only to be kept in tact in the  
8 district to comprise the influential swing vote.  
9 We are robbed of the opportunity to exert a  
10 maximum influence of our numbers if we are split  
11 over two or three districts as is the case in the  
12 Chicago City Council. Well let me also add that  
13 last year's U.S. Supreme Court decision in Shaw  
14 versus Reno which questions the ability of the  
15 majority and minority districts will have future  
16 impact on Asian American political process. The  
17 lawyers in our community should watch how it is  
18 interpreted around the country by lower courts.  
19 It not too early for Asian Americans to be  
20 prepared for the next round of reapportionment  
21 following the census in the year 2000. Perception  
22 about Asian Americans are often contradictory with  
23 report such as the one in the February issue of

1 the Atlantic Monthly complaining about southeast  
2 Asian refugees taxing our nation's welfare system  
3 on one hand, and on the other, a study published  
4 by the Center for Immigration Studies warning  
5 about Asian American professionals edging out our  
6 minority groups and whites in high paying jobs.

7 Asian Americans in Illinois have  
8 been fortunate that there is less confrontation  
9 and hostility directed toward them from either the  
10 public or the private sector than those who live  
11 on the West Coast. However, job discrimination,  
12 glass ceiling and misconceptions about Asian  
13 Americans have no geographic limit. In the  
14 Chicago area those problems remain pervasive.

15 So today we have an opportunity to  
16 learn firsthand about conflicting images of Asian  
17 Americans. Affluence versus poverty, professional  
18 versus low wage workers, et cetera. The working  
19 standards of Asian Americans in this area ranges  
20 from unskilled workers, staying at the bottom rung  
21 of the job market to those highly trained  
22 professionals who are also in the rut of becoming  
23 what many called frozen talent, forever stuck in

1 their technical station feeling under utilized and  
2 disillusioned. Being labeled as model minority is  
3 more a curse than a blessing for Asian Americans,  
4 as this well-meaning nickname for Asian Americans  
5 ignores those in our community who have not  
6 advanced and ignores the barriers we face. The  
7 professions lost, the political appointments lost  
8 and not secured that we would otherwise expect  
9 from our educational and economic accomplishments.

10 As many Asian Americans share  
11 similar civil rights concerns, the diversity and  
12 culture and ethnicity found in the community here  
13 also present many challenges ranging from  
14 conflicts within the community to race relations  
15 with non Asian communities. The conflicts within  
16 this community can be attributed to different  
17 principles in religion and to historical animosity  
18 in the homeland. Although there have been fewer  
19 hate crimes against Asian Americans in this area  
20 compared to nationwide statistics, there are still  
21 concerns that such incidents are under reported  
22 because of the language and cultural barriers.

23 A more serious problem for Asian

1 Americans which is not shared by European or  
2 Hispanic immigrants is that we are often not  
3 considered American. As the head of Senator  
4 Simon's office, I was recently asked to meet with  
5 a constituent who was complaining about a service  
6 of my staff members, but when she saw me, she  
7 refused to deal with me because, as she put it, I  
8 was not American. And she also said that she  
9 would not deal with anyone who bombed Pearl  
10 Harbor. While, others may not be as insensitive  
11 and crude as this particular person, the  
12 perception that Asians are foreigners contributes  
13 to many problems we discussed here today. Anti  
14 Asian sentiment rises whenever political and  
15 economic friction rises between the United States  
16 and an Asian country. Asian American candidates  
17 have difficulty to be accepted because of their  
18 appearance and their ancestry. The feeling that  
19 Asian Americans just do not fit into the vision of  
20 America keeps Asian Americans behind in their  
21 professions. In politics and in their overall  
22 pursuit of happiness in a country to which they or  
23 their ancestors, as many as five generations back

1 have chosen to belong.

2 As we look ahead to the 21st century  
3 in which the Asian American population will have a  
4 more significant impact in our nation work force  
5 and economy, the issue of racial discrimination  
6 will not go away unless we begin to work on it.  
7 To achieve full equality for Asian Americans, we  
8 need a lot of allies to help work on common goals.  
9 The Asian community has begun to reach out to  
10 African American and Latino groups to build civil  
11 rights coalitions. It is also important that our  
12 policy makers do not view race relations as just  
13 black and white.

14 In conclusion, I want to thank all  
15 the panelists for their committment to be here to  
16 share their insight and to contribute to this  
17 important discussion about the state of Asian  
18 Americans. This will be the beginning of many  
19 more dialogues that we must actively pursue to  
20 promote better understanding and better relations  
21 with everyone in our city, state, and nation.  
22 Thank you very much.

23 MS. LYON: Thank you, Nancy. I'd now

1 like to introduce our first two panelists Calvin  
2 Manshio and Tom Corfman.

3 Mr. Manshio, why don't you begin our  
4 session?

5 SESSION I: ASIAN AMERICAN POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

6  
7 CALVIN MANSHIO, J.D.

8 Attorney At Law

9 (Creating a Bonding Force for Asian American  
10 Political Empowerment)

11 Thank you, Madam Chairman, members  
12 of the Commission. I appreciate the opportunity  
13 to make this presentation. As Nancy has said,  
14 Asian Americans are the fastest growing segment of  
15 the American population. This fact, however, is  
16 deceptive. The fact is that this has spawned a  
17 new myth, the myth that Asian Americans  
18 collectively will participate in shaping the multi  
19 cultural future of America. The reality, however,  
20 is the Asian Americans lack common heritage,  
21 racial identity, language, poor immigrant  
22 experience. We are at best a government created  
23 demographic classification. Unlike previous



1 immigrant populations Asian Americans are more  
2 widely dispersed geographically, have greater  
3 disparity in income and employment, and constitute  
4 different generational perspective. Given this  
5 reality, the only present Asian American  
6 commonality is global geography.

7 We all descend from an area west of  
8 Pacific and east of the Caspian Sea, and the task  
9 of developing an Asian American identity based on  
10 all these differences appears impossible. Given  
11 the facts, can we really pretend that an Asian  
12 American identity exists. In reality it does not.  
13 This is not to say that it shouldn't. While it  
14 will be difficult, it's essential. If Asian  
15 Americans are to become more than observers in the  
16 political process, an Asian American identity must  
17 emerge. Asian Americans must take steps to  
18 accumulate political power. But this requires  
19 paying the price, the time, energy, and effort.  
20 Asian Americans, I believe are at a crossroad. We  
21 can take up the challenge to organize collectively  
22 or surrender ourselves to the emerging  
23 opportunists within our own community and/or the

1 kindness of non Asian American politicians. The  
2 alternatives to me are very clear. My preference  
3 is to help create an Asian American political  
4 identity. My presentation therefore will focus on  
5 the need to create this identity for some bonding  
6 force, that is, an attitude or perspective that  
7 will provide Asian Americans with a political  
8 identity to ensure all of our dreams as citizens  
9 of the United States.

10 The road to achieving such an  
11 identity must, I believe, overcome three hurdles.  
12 These hurdles are largely imposed upon ourselves  
13 by ourselves. First, recognition by Asian  
14 Americans that political power isn't given but  
15 gained. Example of African Americans I think is  
16 notable political power was achieved because they  
17 fought for it. Second, we must overcome the  
18 legacy of accommodation. Asian Americans were  
19 political disenfranchised in the beginning of the  
20 century. We have not overcome that legacy. We  
21 still, as a practical matter, believe that we are  
22 disenfranchised. Third, Asian Americans  
23 collectively must invest in political

1 organizations.

2 Let me elaborate on each of these  
3 points. Political empowerment means different  
4 things to different people. To avoid any  
5 confusion, my working definition of political  
6 empowerment for this presentation is the ability  
7 to control or influence decision makers or  
8 decisions that affect society as a whole or each  
9 of us individually. In 1938 Mao Zedong provided  
10 one perspective of political power when he said  
11 political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.  
12 That quote, I believe, provides two lessons about  
13 gaining political empowerment. First, you have to  
14 be willing to pay a price. Second, you need to  
15 consider your present circumstances. In post  
16 World War II, Mahatma Gandhi in India knew the  
17 lesson and applied them through a non violent  
18 protest approach. In 1994, loyal political power  
19 for Asian Americans in Illinois mean committing  
20 time, money, and effort in developing political  
21 organizations. In order to understand Asian  
22 Americans, I believe it's important to appreciate  
23 the political legacy imposed upon Asians in this

1 country going back to the first four decades of  
2 the century, Asian Americans were legally excluded  
3 from participating in the political process. As a  
4 consequence, our strategy became one of  
5 accommodation, whereas a popular Japanese saying  
6 provides Shichat gia kia, (phonetic) it can't be  
7 helped.

8           Since we couldn't change the laws  
9 and didn't have any powerful friends, our only  
10 practical course was to accept disenfranchisement.  
11 Over time this exclusion led to reliance of  
12 "friends" for assistance. Sometimes these friends  
13 were sincere, sometimes they were not. The  
14 relationship was not based on equality. As a  
15 consequence, a distrust and disdain for all things  
16 political emerged in various Asian American  
17 communities. While other ethnic immigrant groups  
18 were learning to pursue political empowerment  
19 through direct control or indirect influence,  
20 Asian Americans largely accepted the fact that  
21 they were outside the process. Their political  
22 disenfranchisement resulted in an attitude best  
23 described in a Japanese proverb, "the nail that

1 sticks out gets beaten down." Asian Americans by  
2 and large did not want to stick out.  
3 Notwithstanding our appearance, we did not want to  
4 draw attention to our problems or to our views or  
5 did not want to participate in political or social  
6 issues. This does not mean that Asian Americans  
7 were a political. We certainly were not. Our  
8 political focus however was overseas in our nation  
9 of ancestry or in our local community. We were  
10 concerned in these events overseas and in our own  
11 backyards, but not on an organized, mainstream  
12 basis.

13 Lacking organized community  
14 involvement in politics, we became the model  
15 minority. We paid our taxes, voted when we could,  
16 and did not generally participate as a community  
17 in the political arena. This period of non  
18 involvement continued through the 1950s.  
19 Outsiders to the Asian American community saw us  
20 as a model for assimilation to other minorities.  
21 The result is a legacy of accommodation.

22 What occurred to shatter this  
23 paragon was a series of events. Legislation that

1 produced more Asian immigrants, the Civil Rights  
2 Movement of the 1960s that redefined race  
3 relations; and more importantly, the influx of  
4 Asian Americans by resettlement from southeast  
5 Asia which altered the prevailing model minority  
6 syndrome. As a result of these three causes, not  
7 only the prevailing circumstances for Asian  
8 Americans change, but also the prevailing attitude  
9 of Asian Americans. Ironically, the federal  
10 government contributed the most to this change in  
11 attitude when in the 1980 they provided  
12 demographic classification for Asian Americans.

13 Today political power, I believe,  
14 requires a focal point for money that's coming out  
15 of Asian American community. Votes that Asian  
16 Americans can provide. Media attention that's  
17 been focused on Asian Americans, and popular  
18 support among Asian Americans for various  
19 candidates. That focal point is political  
20 organization. In Illinois there's no Asian  
21 American polarity in any electoral area;  
22 therefore, demographics will not help elect an  
23 Asian American. Asian American candidates are

1 therefore left to their own devices when they run  
2 for office.

3 In 1994 more Asian Americans ran for  
4 political office in Illinois than in any other  
5 time in history. The results, however,  
6 demonstrate the continuing lack of Asian American  
7 political organization. In many cases, election  
8 victory, depended on traditional political party  
9 support, not Asian American efforts. In the past  
10 traditional political parties have provided the  
11 organization to generate votes for candidates.  
12 Asian Americans really lack the broad base support  
13 needed for the political organization. An example  
14 is the 1992 9th Illinois Congressional race by  
15 Glen Sukiya, a Japanese American businessman  
16 against incumbent Congressman Sidney Yates.  
17 Although Sukiya did well in the primary against  
18 Yates, he was not perceived as a community-based  
19 candidate. Thus, while he had broad base support,  
20 represented by a Chicago Tribune endorsement, he  
21 lacked support from the Asian American community  
22 because he was not known to that community.

23 Asian American communities across

1 the United States, and particularly in Illinois,  
2 consist of numerous small core groups, church  
3 groups, clubs associations, social service  
4 providers. What is lacking among all these groups  
5 is a common agenda, common purpose, a sense of  
6 motivation for cooperation.

7           Whether the diverse Asian American  
8 ethnic community can learn to speak as one blended  
9 voice or continue to sing solely depends upon a  
10 number of factors. The manner in which Asian  
11 Americans can influence state, county, or city  
12 maps is probably negligible, but considering the  
13 importance of those maps in determining electoral  
14 boundaries, it is essential for Asian Americans to  
15 become involved. For example, the 1965 Voting  
16 Rights Act recognized the problem of minority  
17 populations and their efforts to gain political  
18 representation and required that where demographic  
19 population reflected, majority minority districts  
20 could be created which would adequately represent  
21 minority populations. In 1990, Cook County  
22 voters, by referendum, decided to change the  
23 manner in which Cook County commissioners were



1 elected. In the past, based upon population  
2 distribution, 17 members were elected, ten from  
3 Chicago at large and seven from the suburbs.  
4 Beginning in 1994 these 17 members were elected  
5 from single member districts. Based upon our  
6 analysis of total population, African Americans in  
7 Cook County believed that they could claim 5 to 6  
8 of those 17 seats. Latinos believed that at least  
9 two of those seats should go to the Hispanic  
10 population. Currently African Americans hold four  
11 seats and Latinos one. Although both of these  
12 groups worked together to produce a compromise map  
13 to reflect their demographic interests, the Cook  
14 County Board adopted a map more favorable to the  
15 current incumbent. Asian Americans notably were  
16 not even at the bargaining table, were not even  
17 aware of the issue.

18 Now, in addition to overcoming their  
19 lack of political indifference, redistricting at  
20 the turn of the century after the year 2000 U.S.  
21 census will take into account, as Nancy mentioned,  
22 the latest U.S. Supreme Court decision, Shaw  
23 versus Reno involving the North Carolina 12th

1 Congressional District. The Court, in a 5-4  
2 decision found that the majority minority  
3 districts created by the Voting Right Act of 1965  
4 needed to require some compelling justification  
5 for the creative crotography that was established  
6 by the map in North Carolina. While the Court  
7 appeared to object to the manner in which the map  
8 was drawn, it was drawn in a sea shape in order to  
9 reflect a significant African American population,  
10 the Court found that there had to be a valid  
11 compelling justification for the drawing of this  
12 map, which was lacking. The case is currently on  
13 remand to the U.S. District Court pursuant to the  
14 Court's direction. Ironically, one of the  
15 witnesses for the Plaintiff in the original suit  
16 that challenged the district's boundary  
17 acknowledged that today compact districts might  
18 not be as important in the age of the telephone  
19 and computer as they were years ago. Hence the  
20 use of technology communications of voters is  
21 being recognized. Whether Asian Americans can  
22 impact legal decisions based upon some new theory  
23 is problematic at this point. One possible remedy

1 may be found in the writing of Lonnie Ganier, once  
2 a nominee for the Assistant Attorney General for  
3 Civil Rights, but was withdrawn from consideration  
4 because of her writings. In her writings, Gainer  
5 gives the example of cumulative voting, where  
6 several candidates are put into a large  
7 geographical district. Each voter is given as  
8 many votes as there are candidates. Voter can  
9 then get as many votes to as many candidates as he  
10 or she wishes. If minorities want to put all  
11 their votes on one candidate from their group,  
12 they can do so. Unlike the plan criticized in  
13 Shaw v Reno, this isn't a race-based plan.  
14 Cumulative voting guarantees the opportunities to  
15 represent minority interests without guaranteeing  
16 the outcome.

17                   Asian Americans in the midwest might  
18 not have the numbers to create majority minority  
19 districts, but we should make the effort to  
20 combine with other minorities to secure greater  
21 opportunities for minority candidates. The  
22 history of Asians in the United States has  
23 progressed from political exclusion to the

1 potential for inclusion. It is up to the Asian  
2 Americans themselves to realize whether they want  
3 to realize the full potential of political  
4 inclusion. This, however, comes at a price. This  
5 committee and other bodies can assist Asian  
6 Americans in acquiring political power. They  
7 cannot give it to Asian Americans. I would not  
8 prefer that it be given to Asian Americans. I  
9 believe Asian Americans, like Latinos and like  
10 African Americans have to earn political power.  
11 Earning it takes effort. That effort has to come  
12 out of the community. Thank you very much.

13 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Mr. Corfman, will you  
14 present your presentation?

15 MR. CORFMAN: Yes, thank you.

16 TOM CORFMAN

17 I'm honored to be invited today.  
18 The late Milton Raycoff once said that one map  
19 maker is worth a thousand precinct captains. And  
20 in the latest round of redistricting, the Asian  
21 American community didn't have a map maker, and  
22 I'd say they're at least 900 precinct captains  
23 short.

1                   My remarks today will be based upon  
2                   an article that I wrote that appeared in the  
3                   December, 1992 issue of the Chicago Reporter and  
4                   I'll indicate where I'm updating that article with  
5                   additional information. In that article I looked  
6                   at what maps could have been drawn, and what I  
7                   found was that at every level of government from  
8                   Judge to Congressman, political leaders divided  
9                   the most populous Asian neighborhoods into smaller  
10                  and less influential segments. And let me give  
11                  four examples. For example, a northside ward  
12                  could have been drawn that would have been at  
13                  least 27 percent Asian American instead of one  
14                  that is now 21 percent Asian American. A Cook  
15                  County judicial sub circuit could have been drawn  
16                  that would have been at least 18 percent Asian  
17                  instead of 11 percent Asian. A state  
18                  representative district could have been drawn that  
19                  would have been 24 percent Asian American instead  
20                  of 11 percent Asian American. And finally, the  
21                  9th Congressional district which has ten percent  
22                  Asian Americans, could have had it's Asian  
23                  American population increased by including the

1 neighborhoods of Albany Park and North Center to  
2 the west of the district. Those neighborhoods  
3 instead are represented by the 5th Congressional  
4 District. And neither Republicans or Democrats  
5 did the Asian Americans any favors during  
6 redistricting. City Democrats, for example, drew  
7 up a ward map. Black and Latino Democrats teamed  
8 up with Republicans to draw the judicial sub  
9 circuit map, and Republicans controlled the  
10 process that resulted in maps for the Illinois  
11 General Assembly and Congress.

12 Now Mr. Manshio has alluded to the  
13 Cook County Board in it's redistricting. At the  
14 time that I wrote my article, those boundaries had  
15 not yet been drawn. And my analysis showed that a  
16 Country Board district could have been drawn that  
17 would have stretched from the Lakefront to Park  
18 Ridge and would have been 19 percent Asian  
19 American. Instead the process resulted in three  
20 districts on the north side that are respectively  
21 9.6 percent Asian American, 8.8 percent Asian  
22 Americans, and 8.15 percent Asian Americans. Why  
23 am I not surprised? Asian Americans lost the last

1 round of redistricting and the winners were  
2 primarily white incumbent for whom these  
3 boundaries on the northside -- for whose advantage  
4 these boundaries on the northside were all drawn.

5 The situation in the southside with  
6 respect to Chinatown is much more complicated  
7 because of the necessity of drawing majority  
8 districts for Latinos and African Americans. Let  
9 me add one follow up to my story. The problem of  
10 low voter registration. After my article  
11 appeared, political consultant Don Rose wrote me  
12 to say that a low registration makes redistricting  
13 for Asian irrelevant. Rose said that if Asians  
14 were given a ward that was 50 percent Asian  
15 American they could not influence the election.  
16 There are no local estimates of the percentage of  
17 Asian Americans of voting age who are, in fact,  
18 registered. Typically for whites and blacks the  
19 registration rate estimates given are around 75  
20 percent. In comparison, about 35 percent of all  
21 Latinos over the age of 18 are registered to vote.  
22 This is a problem. In the absence of any clear  
23 estimate as to what the registration rates are,

1 still it seems there is a problem that the  
2 community has yet to address.

3           There are many reasons why Asian  
4 Americans did not make a meaningful effort to  
5 influence redistricting. Certainly the most  
6 obvious one is that their population is still very  
7 small. Mr. Manshio has alluded to the ethnic  
8 differences that make it difficult for the  
9 community to come together. Another problem is  
10 though one of party loyalty. And after the 1992  
11 presidential election, national surveys showed  
12 that Asian American voters who voted in the  
13 election were fairly evenly divided, about one  
14 third or slightly more Democrats identified  
15 themselves as Democrats. About one third or  
16 slightly less identified themselves as  
17 Republicans, and about one third identified  
18 themselves as independent. But in Chicago, Asian  
19 Americans face significant divisions among  
20 themselves, and I would like to just mention  
21 briefly, 3 of them. First is that, and I think  
22 that this will become more apparent in the coming  
23 decades. In this decade Asian Americans are



1 increasingly divided between city and suburbs.  
2 More Asian Americans live in the suburbs than in  
3 the city. Even in Cook County about 44 percent of  
4 Asian Americans live in the suburbs. No other  
5 minority group can say this. Second, I think the  
6 Asian American community faces an increasing  
7 division between rich and poor. The median  
8 household income for suburban increased 7.6  
9 percent to \$51,000 during the '80s. So suburban  
10 Asian households had a median household income of  
11 \$51,000. In the city Asian American media  
12 household income actually dropped 12.7 percent to  
13 \$28,000 and these figures are adjusted for  
14 inflation. Third, as Ju Ju Ling, a long time  
15 community activist said in my article, there are  
16 not solid grassroot coalitions among Asian groups.  
17 The Asian community has a particularly strong  
18 elite. It's affluent, well educated, and  
19 concerned about the issues facing the community.  
20 But in my opinion, the Asian American elite seems  
21 to have stronger connections to the white  
22 establishment than it does to it's own working  
23 class.

1                   No significant redistricting effort  
2                   can be launched until Asian leadership begins to  
3                   motivate the entire community. The day will come  
4                   when the Asian American community truly elects one  
5                   of their own to public office. That candidate  
6                   will be someone who comes from the community, not  
7                   one who is passed on by party bosses or chosen by  
8                   white voters. And as Shenae Chung said, when that  
9                   day comes, it will be thrilling for the community.  
10                  It will be like the birth of a child. Thank you  
11                  very much.

12                  CHAIRPERSON LYON:    Okay. Panel members,  
13                  any questions of either of these two speakers?

14                  I have one question. When you say  
15                  that there aren't any grassroots efforts Nancy Chen  
16                  had made mention that there are some differences  
17                  in the cultures that are brought over from the  
18                  homeland. Is that why maybe -- is that  
19                  prohibitive from maybe forming some grassroots  
20                  efforts?

21                  MR. MANSHIO:    I guess I would agree with  
22                  Tom that there aren't any grassroots, by  
23                  grassroots, I regard as a very populus street

1 level organization which people can relate to. As  
2 Tom mentioned, there are fairly active  
3 professional associations, social service groups  
4 in the Asian American community. The only example  
5 from the grassroot is the Asian American Coalition  
6 that Nancy alluded. It was really an organization  
7 started over 12 years ago, now based upon a  
8 commonality of interests. The Chinese American  
9 community believed that there should be one Asian  
10 American celebration. They talked to other  
11 groups, and it became a focal point and various  
12 times different communities from the Chinese  
13 American to the Korean Americans Tai's,  
14 Vietnamese, Pakistanians, Indians, have all  
15 sponsored the event. But, the extent of  
16 cooperation have been limited to hosting this  
17 particular event. It hasn't progressed beyond  
18 that.

19 CHAIRPERON LYON: I know my practice I  
20 have several Vietnamese that come in. There are  
21 three subcultures. The three of them still have  
22 animosities. You can't get them to sit down and  
23 talk about different issues. And I'm wondering if

1 that inhibits forming some grassroot effort  
2 because they can't seem to get past these homeland  
3 differences to come together to accomplish what  
4 they need to accomplish? I don't know if you see  
5 that a lot or if it's just something that I'm  
6 seeing?

7 MR. MANSPIO: I think it's in all Asian  
8 American communities, frankly, not just the  
9 Vietnamese. Even in the Japanese community which  
10 I'm a member of, you see a large Japanese national  
11 population that's here with a Japanese corporation  
12 which is different from a Japanese American  
13 population that grew up in the midwest, which is  
14 different from the Japanese American population  
15 that grew up in California. But see you got these  
16 differences and then you have the generational  
17 perspective. Most of the community-based  
18 organizations are very, very senior leaders. By  
19 senior I mean 65 and older heading the group. You  
20 have a big gap in generational leadership. I'd  
21 like to call the generational glass ceiling that a  
22 lot of the more younger and professionally  
23 oriented members of the community find more outlet

1 in professional Asian American associations than  
2 they do within their own community because of this  
3 generational glass ceiling.

4 CHAIRPERSON LYON: What would you  
5 recommend as solutions to try and facilitate maybe  
6 a meeting of the minds and laying some groundwork  
7 for some common interests?

8 MR. MANSPIO: I think the commonality is  
9 it's bigger than the Japanese community, it's  
10 bigger than the Chinese community. The only way  
11 we can maybe collectively have an impact on the  
12 larger society is through the Asian American  
13 perspective and there has to be, I guess enough of  
14 an appreciation for all the different sub groups  
15 and sub segments of our community to realize that  
16 if we want to be a player in the future, we have  
17 to gravitate around an Asian American identity.

18 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Any other questions?  
19 Tom?

20 MR. PUGH: You mentioned the  
21 disenfranchised. I wonder can you give us a  
22 little bit of history of what actually happened?

23 COMMITTEE MEMBER: I didn't hear the

1 question.

2 MR. MANSPIO: The question relates to, I  
3 referred to disenfranchisement of Asian Americans  
4 and I guess Mr. Pugh would like me to refer to  
5 what I'm referring to, and I guess I go back to  
6 the federal legislation in effect denying Japanese  
7 American, Chinese American, Philippino, Asian  
8 Indians, the right to vote, the right to obtain  
9 citizenship. there are a number of cases in the  
10 turn of the century which related to Asian  
11 American immigrants comin to this country, whether  
12 or not they would be eligible for citizenship. A  
13 number of contacts resulted in legislation where  
14 these Asian group were specifically denied the  
15 right to become citizens based upon an  
16 interpretation in the Constitution which meant  
17 that the citizenship was only open to free white  
18 citizens, and it was only changed by the 14th  
19 Amendment for African Americans. So there are  
20 some case law and there was actual denial of  
21 citizenship rights by Asian Americans during the  
22 first part of the century going into the 1840s.

23 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: If I may address a

1 question. I think both of you had addressed  
2 yourself to political power as it focused upon the  
3 election of symbolic leadership of a particular  
4 player. Political power, of course, has other  
5 aspects. Indeed there are those who will suggest  
6 that the initial symbolic leader for any ethnic  
7 group tends to sell out the interests of that  
8 group in exchange for personal power. Are there  
9 issues which potentially bind the Asian American  
10 community? For example, there is a proposal  
11 before the Congress which would deny welfare  
12 benefits to those who are not citizens. From my  
13 vantage, which is totally separate from the  
14 community, I would assume that that community  
15 would be more highly impacted by that proposal by  
16 most communities. Is there a sense within the  
17 community that that is true and is that the kind  
18 of issue which might bind that community together,  
19 and if not, what are some of the other issues that  
20 might bind that political community if, in fact,  
21 it's ever to become a community?

22 MR. MANSHIO: You're certainly right.  
23 There are issues that are of concern to Asian

11

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1 American population from immigration is one I  
2 think that transcends all the different cultures.  
3 The only thing the Japanese American population  
4 immigration is not as important as it used to be  
5 30 years ago. The Japanese American population  
6 needs to realize that it's important because it's  
7 Asian American issues and it affects Asian  
8 Americans. Each of the Asian American communities  
9 need to realize that it may not affect them  
10 individually that much, but it's an Asian American  
11 issue. It the development of the Asian American  
12 issues that is long overdue and, in fact, maybe we  
13 don't have the maturity as a community in this  
14 country to appreciate, to look beyond our  
15 immediate needs and to the long term interest of  
16 the Asian Americans. But that's something that  
17 has to be developed and it has to be appreciated  
18 at the local level, and until that's done, we're  
19 not going to have these binding issues that are  
20 going to pull it together.

21 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: Same question for Mr.  
22 Corfman?

23 MR. CORFMAN: I think part of that



1 problem, that all politics is local, isn't it?  
2 And I think that is an issue that national  
3 organizations have worked very hard on in  
4 Washington, but it's an issue that I think that,  
5 like most federal legislation, is remote to people  
6 here in Chicago. What the Asian American  
7 community probably needs as an issue is, you know,  
8 for the city to shut down the Ravenswood el line,  
9 you know, that goes out to Lawrence Avenue the way  
10 Mayor Bilandic did in 1979. Because that's the  
11 one single issue I can think of as a local issue,  
12 purely local issue, that the Asian community has  
13 worked very hard on is the question of persons  
14 with international medical degrees. Now, but that  
15 is not hardly anything that you could -- that is  
16 not a grassroots political issue. Whereas, you  
17 know, I think that immigration is a question that  
18 affects a huge portion of the population, of the  
19 Asian American population, I think it very  
20 difficult to rally support around.

21 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Ms. Bombela?

22 MS. BOMBELA: I wanted to ask a couple  
23 of questions. The first to Calvin and that is,

1 just for seeing and being a part of the hispanic  
2 community and how some of the coalitions have been  
3 built, many times it's a feeling of frustration  
4 and anger that forces people to go from different  
5 communities like the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.  
6 Is that amongst the leadership of the Asian  
7 American community, do you feel a growing  
8 frustration and anger on the lack of political  
9 representation or is it based on other kinds of  
10 issues? I don't know. I had personally heard  
11 that this one issue was something that's going to  
12 help the people together.

13 MR. MANSPIO: I don't think there's an  
14 anger about the lack of political representation.  
15 I think that there's an expectation in the  
16 community that, in effect, we've been relatively  
17 successful as an Asian American identity over the  
18 last few years in getting some recognition from  
19 this various aspect of society, and I think the  
20 idea of a Asian American candidate, Asian American  
21 office holder, in effect, would kind of validate  
22 this trend. But I think the problem, the  
23 frustration comes in is that the success has come

1 relatively easy compared to Latinos and African  
2 Americans. The level of effort, and I guess I'm  
3 overly critical of this, is not there.

4 You mentioned voting rights. The  
5 corollary to voters right is voter registration.  
6 Asian Americans is going to have to put the time  
7 and effort into voter registration. How can they  
8 cry disenfranchisement? To me there is an, for  
9 the lack of a better way, the ying and yang of  
10 things. If you want power, you've got to go after  
11 it, and you've got to figure out how to do it.  
12 Nobody's going to give it to you. Frustration  
13 comes into -- see that we're very crises driven at  
14 this time. If there is a hate crime incident or  
15 there's an immigration problem, there's immediate  
16 galvanization of the community to react to that  
17 crises. My feeling is that we should avoid this  
18 crises mentality and build a solid foundation for  
19 an agenda of where we want to go into the '90s and  
20 into the turn of the century and not constantly  
21 react to crises.

22 MS. BOMBELA: And the second question, I  
23 guess to all of you, and I guess Mr. Corfman, you

1 said that 44 percent of the Asians are moving to  
2 the suburbs. I mean, isn't political empowerment,  
3 when you were talking about a smaller political  
4 organization and proces, is it to the suburbs that  
5 perhaps we should be looking for the first Asian  
6 American candidate and not in the city where the  
7 numbers are working against you?

8 MR. CORFMAN: Well, there are, in June  
9 of last year, I reported, did a story about  
10 minority elected officials in the suburbs and  
11 found as a kind of general finding or somewhat to  
12 our surprise that minority candidates were doing  
13 very well at the village and town level in holding  
14 city positions. I believe, however, that in the  
15 six county area there are only two Asian Americans  
16 now holding municipal office. So there is still a  
17 way to go there. And you're right, I believe that  
18 the suburban movement creates an opportunity for  
19 Asian Americans at -- for suburban government. It  
20 makes it difficult, however, in terms of unifying  
21 a community that is so much both in the city and  
22 in the suburbs.

23 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Any other questions?

1                   MR. ROBERTS: I had a question for Mr.  
2 Corfman. In your research, being involved with  
3 the Black Task Force for Political Empowerment, it  
4 has been stated on a number of occasions that the  
5 Asian community, I'm speaking primarily of the  
6 area that we know as Chinatown, which was  
7 basically from 22nd Street to 26th Street prior to  
8 Harold Washington's administration, was given a  
9 great boost by the Harold Washington  
10 Administration who did spend quite a bit of time  
11 there and that that expansion has gone now from  
12 21st to 31st because of the inroads from Harold  
13 Washington's Administration. And one of the  
14 things that is somewhat of a negative is that this  
15 is a business community and it didn't help as far  
16 as the votes that were coming in from that area.  
17 You have any--

18                   MR. COREFMAN: What you say is  
19 interesting, and I haven't studied economic  
20 development in Chinatown. I mean, I can't say as  
21 a matter of law one of the reasons that, as a  
22 matter of law, that the political questions in  
23 Chinatown are rather thorny and the reason why my

1 article did not look at redistricting  
2 possibilities in that area is because of the very  
3 difficult competing demands to create districts  
4 that would be either majority black or majority  
5 Latino. The promotion that theres an obligation  
6 under the Voting Right Act to create a so-called  
7 influenced district where, for example, Asian  
8 Americans would at least be concentrated, if not a  
9 majority, as a significant minority in a single  
10 district is not clear under the law. And  
11 certainly even if there is such an obligation, it  
12 would take a backseat to what you might refer to  
13 as a primary obligation to create a majority  
14 district where another minority group could  
15 actually control the district, and that's, you  
16 know, partly what went on in terms of the  
17 redistricting in the Chinatown area. There was an  
18 opportunity to create a majority Latino district  
19 as well as preserve existing majority black  
20 districts, and that's one of the reasons why the  
21 district was so, that area rather was so chopped  
22 up.

23 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Any further questions?

1 Thank you both for your presentations. Next on  
2 our agenda is James Lewis and Ping Tom.

3 Why don't we start with James Lewis?

4 JAMES LEWIS, Ph.D.

5 CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE

6 (Chicago Area Asian Americans and Their Voting  
7 Rights)

8 Madam Chairperson, members of the  
9 Committee, I would like to thank you for the  
10 opportunity to testify today regarding Asian  
11 American voting rights. My remarks this morning  
12 are aimed primarily at assessing the strengths and  
13 weaknesses of Asian voting rights claims in  
14 relation to the drawing of election districts.  
15 Asian Americans in Illinois are now at the front  
16 end of the challenge of gaining political power.  
17 White ethnic, African Americans, Latinos,  
18 historically have been elected to office by  
19 mobilizing members of their individual racial  
20 groups behind their candidates and winning seats  
21 in electoral districts, dominated by their  
22 particular group.

23 The analysis I have conducted

1 suggests that over the next 20 years Asian  
2 American's route to elected office may have to be  
3 different. Because they are unlikely to  
4 constitute majority of voters in a single district  
5 in the near future, Asian American will need to  
6 either form new coalitions with other ethnic  
7 groups or work within existing political  
8 structure. Only a small number of Asian Americans  
9 have run for elected office in the Chicago area.  
10 None have been elected to the State Legislature,  
11 Cook County Board, Chicago City Council, let alone  
12 Illinois Congressional delegation. Beyond lack of  
13 candidates, there are a number of possible reasons  
14 for the lack of Asian American elected officials  
15 in Chicago, and in Illinois. The Asian American  
16 community is perhaps the most buried ethnically,  
17 socially, and economically of all the major racial  
18 groups, and may lack the broadly understood  
19 political ideology that might define Asian  
20 candidates within the political spectrum.

21 Many Asian Americans are not  
22 citizens and many who are citizens are not  
23 registered to vote. A large percentage of Asians



1 are new to the United States. Many Vietnamese and  
2 Cambodian and Laotian refugees are unfamiliar with  
3 the American political system. Finally, with only  
4 2.4 percent of the total Illinois population and  
5 less than 6 percent of Chicago's, Asian Americans  
6 tend to lack the numbers to enforce their  
7 political will. Projecting Asian American  
8 political power is also made difficult by their  
9 wide residential dispersal.

10 Asian Americans are widely dispersed  
11 among many voting districts in each of the major  
12 Chicago area governmental jurisdictions. The  
13 voting districts with the greatest Asian American  
14 concentration is Chicago's 39th Ward which is only  
15 21.2 percent Asian American.

16 While it has been suggested that the  
17 current political powers in Illinois have  
18 intentionally denied Asian American concentration  
19 districts, no evidence to that effect has been  
20 developed. Rather, the dispersal of Asians among  
21 many districts most likely is the result of a lack  
22 of political strength. The lack of concentration  
23 of a large number of Asian American in a compact

1 geographical areas, and their presence in parts of  
2 the city that have been the site of hotly  
3 contested redistricting battles where Asian  
4 American interests were subordinated to those with  
5 far more powerful race based political forces.

6 Asian Americans are found in large  
7 numbers in two areas of Chicago. However, in all  
8 of Chicago there are only four precincts that are  
9 at least 50 percent Asian American in a voting age  
10 population. Asian Americans living in Chinatown  
11 are concentrated in 17 precincts for a total  
12 population of approximately 12,000 persons. The  
13 north side Asian American population is much  
14 larger than Chinatown, and far more dispersed. 43  
15 north side precincts have a voting age population  
16 that is at least 20 percent Asian American;  
17 however, none of these precincts is as much as 50  
18 percent Asian American.

19 Persistence of these demographic  
20 conditions preclude creation of any voting  
21 district that would be majority Asian. The most  
22 promising opportunity for creating a majority  
23 district in the future would appear to be the

14

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1 Chicago City Council. To accomplish this after  
2 the year 2000, it would be necessary for  
3 approximately 26,000 Asian Americans to be  
4 concentrated in a single ward in a map where if  
5 current population trends continue, each ward will  
6 have approximately 52,000 persons. Attaining a  
7 majority in the single state legislative district  
8 appears to be a remote possibility, but attaining  
9 majorities in county board or judicial  
10 congressional districts is clearly an  
11 impossibility within the next several decades  
12 because of their very large sizes. For the most  
13 part, Chicago's residential patterns have dictated  
14 that Asian American political aspirations fall  
15 victim to efforts of whites and African Americans  
16 to maintain political power and Latinos to attain  
17 that. Both African Americans and Latinos have  
18 successfully litigated districting cases in recent  
19 years, and are clearly protected by the Voting  
20 Rights Act because the size of their population  
21 and the documented history of discrimination. The  
22 first priority of those who have drawn maps for  
23 any of the Chicago or county jurisdictions have

1           been first to draw districts for Latinos and  
2           African Americans in a way that would satisfy the  
3           requirements of the Voting Rights Act of  
4           representation of those two minority groups. The  
5           politics of map making also made it a difficult  
6           concentration of Asian Americans in voting  
7           districts. Also complicated political battle took  
8           place during the 1990 redistricting on both the  
9           near south side and north side. In both cases the  
10          location of Asian American neighborhoods meant  
11          that aggregating Asian Americans in single  
12          districts would have disrupted white political  
13          arrangements or cost whites or Latinos political  
14          power.

15                           Chinatown is located at a point  
16          where concentrated Latino, African Americans and  
17          white population meet. In both the Congressional  
18          and city ward maps it was divided in order of the  
19          needs that those two groups might be met. On the  
20          north side, separation of Asian Americans into  
21          multiple districts has been a product of partisan  
22          interest in protecting income as well as the  
23          desire to maintain the maximum number of districts

1 likely to elect white candidates. In the case of  
2 all five of the Chicago electoral district maps,  
3 the creation of a district unifying Asian American  
4 population would have made addressing other  
5 political interests either awkward or impossible.

6           The drawing of voting districts is  
7 governed by state, local, and federal law,  
8 depending upon the jurisdiction in question and by  
9 the interpretation of the 14th Amendment and  
10 Voting Rights Act by United States Supreme Court.  
11 Although voting rights law could surely change  
12 over the next decade, the major question that  
13 might face the Asian American community were it to  
14 try to enforce creation of Asian American voting  
15 district through litigation would be whether it  
16 could draw a district for any jurisdiction that  
17 would meet the standards established by two major  
18 cases brought before the U.S. Supreme Court;  
19 *Thornberg v Jingle*, 1986, and *Maurice Shaw v Reno*.  
20 These two cases provide much of the legal  
21 framework that will likely provide the major  
22 guidance for courts and legislatures in creating  
23 districts following the 2000 census. Federal

1 courts, including the Northern District of  
2 Illinois, and the 7th Circuit in particular have  
3 also applied a standard of totality of  
4 circumstances. A further assessment of whether a  
5 minority group has been improperly denied access  
6 to the political system and the ability to select  
7 representation of it's own preference. Asian  
8 American litigants would likely need to comply  
9 with each of the three standards enumerated in  
10 Jingle before a court would apply a totality of  
11 circumstance test. Demonstrating that a district  
12 can be drawn wherever a majority of total  
13 population is of that racial group, the primary  
14 import in justifying the creation of that district  
15 for a racial group. The court's ruling in Jingle  
16 means that if the voting district will not be at  
17 least 50 percent Asian Americans age 18 and over,  
18 then the jurisdiction may not be legally obligated  
19 to create an Asian American district. Given the  
20 lack of total population in Chinatown and the  
21 dispersion of population on the north side, only  
22 in the case of north side ward would it appear  
23 possible to obtain a majority voting age

15

1 population in a voting district in the next  
2 decade.

3 A second legal option could be  
4 brought into play where Asian Americans willing to  
5 concede the need for control of a district can  
6 join with another racial group to form essentially  
7 a minority coalition within a single district.  
8 Courts have accepted this option where litigants  
9 were able to show that the two racial groups acted  
10 in a politically cohesive way. Litigants would  
11 have to demonstrate that Asian Americans or either  
12 African Americans or Latinos in that area  
13 consistently voted for the same candidate and  
14 shared political agendas.

15 The next two Jingle's tests  
16 political cohesion and racial block voting address  
17 the issue of whether a majority group is denying  
18 the minority group to elect the candidate of it's  
19 choice. Political cohesion would be defined as  
20 whether Asian Americans within the area under  
21 consideration for a particular district vote for  
22 the same candidate in the election. Political  
23 cohesion is difficult to ascertain precisely

1 because no public record exists of how persons of  
2 different races vote. That information thus,  
3 therefore, must be derived through statistical  
4 inference. This is difficult in the case of Asian  
5 Americans because the two favorite statistical  
6 methods, homogeneous precinct analysis and  
7 ecological regression can only work when there are  
8 concentrations of population to study. To date,  
9 only one public analysis of Chicago voting  
10 patterns, a political atlas published by the Chicago  
11 Urban League, Northern Illinois University, and  
12 the Metro Chicago Information Center throws any  
13 light on who Asian Americans have voted for. The  
14 analysis suggests that Asian Americans tend to  
15 vote as a block in individual elections. In 14 of  
16 18 elections analyzed, the candidates supported  
17 most by Asian Americans received an estimated 75  
18 percent or more of the Asian American vote,  
19 suggesting Asian American cohesion. Analysis of  
20 two Asian American candidacies for Cook County  
21 Circuit Court judgeships in the March, 1994  
22 democratic primary affords an opportunity to  
23 assess the extent to which Asian American voters



1 have supported Asian American candidates. On  
2 average, Amat Patel ran about 4 percent better in  
3 precincts with Asian Americans than in those  
4 without. And Lin Kolomotto ran approximately 7  
5 percent better in those precincts.

6 Having ascertained that racial  
7 minority groups voted as a group for a particular  
8 candidate, it is then necessary to demonstrate  
9 that the candidate for whom that minority group  
10 voted lost because of the precinct of a white  
11 voting block. Again, a lack of data because of  
12 the policy of Asian American candidates make  
13 drawing firm conditions difficult. The election  
14 analysis referred to a glove found that Asian  
15 American on the north side of Chicago voted almost  
16 identically to their white neighbors. In ten of  
17 the fourteen elections analyzed, Asian Americans  
18 and white majority supported the same candidate.  
19 In the four cases where they divided, the Asian  
20 American candidate was the winner twice; Bush over  
21 Dukakis, and Clinton over Tsongas. The two Asian  
22 American traditional candidates were indeed  
23 defeated by non Asian American majorities,

1           although those majorities include white, African  
2           American and Latinos. It is also not clear that  
3           the Asian candidate received strong support from  
4           Asian Americans themselves. Even in the strongest  
5           Asian American American precinct, Patel and  
6           Kolomotto received the votes of only a small  
7           fraction of the voting age population in the  
8           precinct.

9                               Based upon this evidence, it is  
10           difficult at this point to argue that Asian  
11           American political choices have been thwarted by  
12           white voting blocks largely because so few have  
13           run for office.

14                              In summary, Asian American  
15           population dispersal makes it unlikely in the next  
16           decade that an Asian American voting majority  
17           district of any kind can be drawn. The best  
18           chance of a Chicago ward, because of the size, is  
19           the smallest. Unless the Asian American  
20           population increase in concentrated areas, the  
21           prospect of winning voting right lawsuit appear  
22           minimum for several reasons. It may be impossible  
23           to draw a district for any jurisdiction of 50

1 percent voting Asian population. It's sure that  
2 the Shaw ruling could provide the most difficult  
3 in that it seems directed towards moving away from  
4 the very orderly shaped districts that have been  
5 part and parcel of a lot of Voting Rights Act  
6 voting rights work in the past. It appears that  
7 Asian Americans do vote cohesively, however, there  
8 is no evidence that their choices in elections are  
9 consistently defeated by a white majority. More  
10 often than not, they vote with whites and the  
11 preferred candidates are as likely to win as are  
12 the white preferred candidate. To build a voting  
13 rights case, more Asian Americans need to run for  
14 local office. Asian Americans should take up the  
15 challenge of conducting the political analysis  
16 necessary to understand how Asian Americans vote,  
17 and to the extent to which members of other racial  
18 ethnic groups vote for them. Asian Americans  
19 should also begin documenting and discussing  
20 publicly the extent of social conditions,  
21 political party slating processes, history of  
22 discrimination, racist political campaign have  
23 impeded their access to the political process.

1 This is the work that's necessary to prove a  
2 totality of circumstances case.

3 Although these areas are now  
4 somewhat subordinate to the more quantitative  
5 tests discussed above with respect to Jingle, they  
6 are considered relevant to enforce Section 2 of  
7 the Voting Rights Act and to help to build both  
8 the legal and population political inclusion.

9 Finally, Asian Americans should work  
10 hard to build a coalition with other racial ethnic  
11 groups and their neighborhoods who may share  
12 similar concerns about disenfranchisement and lack  
13 of political power. Given the relatively low  
14 number of Asian Americans in many communities, and  
15 the dispersion of both African Americans and  
16 Latinos on much of Chicago's north side and in the  
17 suburbs, it may be possible to fashion political  
18 strategists based on mutual interest. In order  
19 that our elected bodies represent the full range  
20 of people within their jurisdictions, political  
21 parties should be encouraged to develop Asian  
22 American candidates that can be slated and  
23 supported for office. Thank you.

1 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Thank you. Mr. Tom?

2 PING TOM

3 Chinese American Development Corporation  
4 (The Political 'Dissection of Chicago's Chinatown)

5 Good morning, ladies and gentlemen  
6 of the Committee. Thank you for this opportunity.  
7 The Chinese have a proud heritage in civilization.  
8 Their recorded history begins over 4692 years ago,  
9 long before the Egyptian Pharoahs built the  
10 pyramids, before the Aztec built the cathedral and  
11 before stonehedge was even conceived. The Chinese  
12 discovered paper, gunpowder, the compass, silk,  
13 herbs, acupuncture and many other important  
14 developments. But despite these notable  
15 accomplishments, the Chinese Americans have faced  
16 numerous problems and continuous discrimination in  
17 housing, education, and employment. More subtle  
18 problems include discriminatory quotas, glass  
19 ceilings which limit the upward mobility of many  
20 people of Chinese Ancestry, immigration laws which  
21 tear families apart, and limit the growth of the  
22 Chinese American community. Those of Chinese  
23 ancestry need to educate themselves about the

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1 political processes of this country and become  
2 active participants. Just learning who are their  
3 representatives in government and what can be  
4 expected from them is not sufficient to the  
5 Chinese. To have a government responsive to  
6 community needs, problems, and concerns. Nor will  
7 such education by itself make government resource  
8 to the Chinese American community real.  
9 Government investment in the Chinese community  
10 requires political empowerment, an empowerment  
11 that emanates from both voting blocks.

12 In the past the population, the  
13 numbers of Chinese and other Asian Americans in  
14 Chicago are too small to have a voice in political  
15 affairs. Today, however, that has changed. Asian  
16 American communities, including the Chinese  
17 American community is as others have indicated  
18 here today, the fastest growing community in  
19 Chicago. The sustaining of the voting block  
20 dream, however, and the political power in  
21 communities that are racially and ethnically  
22 similar must be able to act collectively in order  
23 to achieve real representation of their interests.

1 Officially 43,000 residents of  
2 Chinese ancestry live in the six county  
3 metropolitan areas. That number is substantially  
4 lower than the figures that have been given by the  
5 Organization of Chinese Americans which estimate  
6 it to be between 50,000 and 55,000. In the City  
7 of Chicago, 98,000 or 3.5 percent of city  
8 residents are of Asian Pacific Island ancestry.  
9 22,000 or 21 percent of these individuals are of  
10 Chinese heritage, which make them the second  
11 largest Asian ethnic group in the city. In  
12 Chicago the largest concentration of individuals  
13 with Chinese ancestry is in Chinatown. But these  
14 gains of population have only come in recently.  
15 A strong persistent political resistance to Asian  
16 immigration have existed in this country for over  
17 two centuries. This evolved early in this country  
18 and still lingers in the national setting. Most  
19 of this anti Asian hostility have been directed at  
20 the Chinese. Immigration laws have limited the  
21 number of Chinese allowed to enter this country  
22 and withheld citizenship from those who did come.

23 As Calvin has indicated, in 1790 the

1 Congress of the United States began it's  
2 persecution by passing legislation limited  
3 naturalization only to free white persons. Only  
4 with the passage of the 14th Amendment in the mid  
5 19th Century, Congress modified it's 1790 laws and  
6 allowed aliens of African nativity and person of  
7 African descent to become naturalized citizens.  
8 But at the same time, expanding naturalization  
9 rights to individuals in the southern hemisphere,  
10 Congress deliberately rejected extending that  
11 right to Asians, making Asians the only population  
12 who was now barred from naturalization. And  
13 although by this action Congress excluded all  
14 Asian groups, the exclusion was understood to be  
15 primarily intended for the Chinese whose  
16 immigration in the United States was beginning to  
17 increase at that time.

18 The Chinese began coming to the  
19 United States in the 1850s. They initially arrived  
20 to work in the coal mines in California and later  
21 were used to provide labor for the construction of  
22 trans group railroad. These first Chinese  
23 immigrants were predominantly males. The ratio of



1 male to female was approaching a hundred to one.  
2 This gender imbalance reflected the purpose for  
3 Chinese immigration. The Chinese that arrived  
4 here in the 19th century didn't come for, most, to  
5 take up permanent residence. They came with the  
6 intention of finding temporary employment,  
7 working, accumulating savings and then returning  
8 to their native China. With the major railroad  
9 construction completed in 1860, job and  
10 opportunities for employment -- job employment  
11 opportunities in the west became limited.  
12 Antagonism set up against the Chinese workers who,  
13 primarily because of their immigration, work  
14 habits, continued to be immigrated and worked for  
15 less than other workers. This spread into a  
16 bitter resentment among non Asian workers, and  
17 mobilized political efforts to obstruct Chinese  
18 from competing with white workers. The eventual  
19 result was a series of immigration restrictions  
20 banning an Asian from owning property.

21 In 1892 Congress passed the first in  
22 a series of restrict immigration measures, the  
23 Chinese Exclusion Act. This Act prohibited the

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1 immigration of Chinese workers for ten years. Six  
2 years later Congress extended the immigration act  
3 to include all Chinese and further denied re-entry  
4 into the United States to any Chinese who left the  
5 country. In 1892 the Gerry Act extends the  
6 Immigration Act another ten year and required all  
7 Chinese currently living in the United States to  
8 obtain certificates of residence to prove that  
9 they were legal residents. In 1904 Congress  
10 passed the ultimate Chinese exclusion legislation  
11 banning all further Chinese immigration. This ban  
12 was lifted in 1943, but a stringent quota of  
13 Chinese immigration was still maintained; a quota  
14 of 105. After World War II, various Asian and  
15 Chinese immigration money began to crumble. In  
16 1952 Congress passed Farren-Walter Act ending all  
17 exclusions to Asian immigration and granting Asian  
18 immigrants naturalization rights. The Act was  
19 amended in 1965 establishing an annual quota of  
20 20,000 immigrants per country. It was this  
21 legislation that finally allowed for the sizeable  
22 Chinese immigration to the United States.

23 These historical developments are

1 reflected in the Chinese population of Chicago.  
2 Because the early immigrants were almost  
3 exclusively male, restricted the numbers by law,  
4 and a great number of these immigrants returned to  
5 their families in China, only a very small  
6 proportion of today's Chinese are descendants of  
7 the early Chinese immigrants.

8                   Consequently, most Americans with  
9 Chinese heritage have a recent family history in  
10 this country. Although the Chinese made their way  
11 into Illinois as early as 1866 and the first  
12 Chinese community was established in Chicago as  
13 early as 1880, it was not until the 1960s and '70s  
14 that sizeable number of Chinese began to come into  
15 Chicago. The 1960 census showed the Chinese  
16 population of approximately 7,000. By 1970 the  
17 population doubled to 14,000 and Chicago ranked  
18 4th in the nation in the number of Chinese in the  
19 United States. Twenty years later, the Chinese  
20 population of this six county metropolitan area  
21 had increased three times to 43,000. Today's  
22 Chinese community is a mixed population consisting  
23 of descendants of early Cantonese, Chinese

1 immigrants, Indo Chinese refugees, new immigrants  
2 from Taiwan and mainland China.

3 The present day Chinatown developed  
4 in three stages. The first concentration was  
5 located in the south at Clark and Van Buren and it  
6 was considered the first Chinatown. Local  
7 covenant laws prohibited the Chinese from owning  
8 property, so Chinese and businesses in this area  
9 were rented in short term leases and were  
10 particularly vulnerable to shifts in the economic  
11 and political climate of the city. The first  
12 Chinatown was relatively small, both in area and  
13 population due to the small areas of Chinese and  
14 the lack of available space and high rent.

15 A second Chinatown began developing  
16 south in Chicago at 22nd and Wentworth, as Mr.  
17 Robert indicated. Around 1912 a number of Chinese  
18 moved from the original area on South Clark to  
19 Cermak and Wentworth, when their landlord in the  
20 downtown area began to raise the rent. The  
21 Chinese influx was made possible by a series of  
22 ten year leases on buildings which were contracted  
23 through the H.O. Stone Company by members Aldeon

1 Businessmen Association and then this will become  
2 the center of Chicago's Chinatown.

3           The early 1970s they began razing  
4 the original Chinatown area at Clark and Van Buren  
5 to build a state correctional facility, and this  
6 prompted the third phase of today's Chinatown  
7 since most of the businesses then moved to the  
8 southern part of Chinatown as well as Argyle. The  
9 unofficial boundaries of Chinatown are the south  
10 branch of the Chicago river, Cermak on the north,  
11 the Dan Ryan on the east, 35th on the south,  
12 Halsted on the west. This area is part of two  
13 neighborhood communities; Armour Square and  
14 Bridgeport and encompasses 12 census tracks. The  
15 boundaries of Chinatown are not clearly defined,  
16 and there is a growing Asian population in the  
17 surrounding tracks. The total population of 12  
18 census tracks is 20,000, and the number of Asians  
19 is 8,769, 42 percent. This is in short contrast  
20 to the demographics of the area ten years earlier.  
21 In the 1980 census reported 22,000 residents and  
22 5,000 Asians, or 24 percent. So, although the  
23 total population has shown a slight decline in

1 total number, the Asian population that is grown  
2 both in number and percentage to the community.

3           Recent research data shows that this  
4 Chinese of non Chicago areas of the metropolis are  
5 largely composed of married couples, 76 percent,  
6 as compared to Chinatown area which is 66 percent.  
7 The data also shows that middle class married  
8 couples are more likely to settle in the suburban  
9 area where people who are single, elderly  
10 individuals without family or refugees remain in  
11 the metro city for reasons of survival.

12           Historically Chicago Chinatown, like  
13 it's counterparts in other major cities, has been  
14 a place of support, protection for those of  
15 Chinese ancestries. It still meets that need as  
16 the presence of 15 mutual aid organizations, a  
17 community center and two churches and tests. But  
18 it's also a cultural and economy within this city  
19 accommodating not only for it own residents,  
20 citizens of Chicago service to the city.

21           The government of the City of  
22 Chicago is divided into the executive and  
23 legislative branch. Much political power in

1 Chicago resides in the City Council. The  
2 legislative branch of the city government. The  
3 city council enacts ordinances which govern the  
4 city and approves the mayor or Department head or  
5 commission appointments and it consists of 50  
6 aldermen, one for each of the 50 wards. Each  
7 aldermanic district today represents around 53,000  
8 people. Aldermanic elections are non partisan and  
9 have no political party designation and there's no  
10 primary election. Because of the size of the City  
11 of Chicago, direct access to city administration  
12 is through community funds is limited, Aldermen  
13 become the key link between city service and city  
14 residents. Those individuals with access to local  
15 Aldermen are more able to have their complaints  
16 weeded out and services provided, and because the  
17 city districts are themselves are so large,  
18 Aldermen are only typically responsive to groups  
19 who have real significant voting power within the  
20 district.

21 As fare as redistricting of Chicago  
22 Chinatown and the Democratic party and Republican  
23 party are the primary sponsors for these kinds of

1 activities. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are  
2 spent by both parties in Illinois to the  
3 redistricting process. In Chicago the Democratic  
4 party dominates local politics and controls City  
5 Hall. And following the 1990 census, the Illinois  
6 state Democratic party employed Kimball Grace, the  
7 Chicago Election Data Service Company with  
8 headquarters in Washington to assist the state  
9 organization, Chicago Democratic Party. Since the  
10 City Council has responsibilities for drawing the  
11 Alderman map is technically non partisan, it is  
12 unclear to outsiders who actually contracts for  
13 map consultation services and how these services  
14 are paid. EDS and Kimball-Grace did provide  
15 computer services and matching software to the  
16 city administration in 1991 and supporting these  
17 services with full time dictation who conducted  
18 the day to day expertise and training the local  
19 officials. The aides to Alderman Burke in that  
20 ward where the primary article of the aldermanic  
21 district maps adopted by the city district council  
22 and approved by the voters on March 17, 1992. The  
23 democratic party in the City of Chicago is -- the

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1 City and ruling Democrat party is divided into  
2 racial, ethnic among three groups. Each with a  
3 sizeable population block. Whites have 38  
4 percent, African American, 39 percent and Hispanic  
5 18 percent.

6 Minority Aldermen felt that a 1991  
7 sponsor on the city map was drawn to the advantage  
8 of the incumbent white politicians at the expense  
9 of the minority politicians. So the coalition of  
10 minority Aldermen organized a rival coalition map  
11 to challenge the administration map and broad  
12 district ward map more representative. They named  
13 it as The Fair Map Coalition. The original  
14 coalition included most of the city's black and  
15 hispanic and three maverick white Aldermen and  
16 most of this work of the Fair Map Coalition work  
17 was done by my counterpart, Mr. Lewis here, Vice  
18 President of Research and Planning of the Chicago  
19 Urban League.

20 In the initial stages of the  
21 project, the Fair Map Coalition tried to forge a  
22 cooperative between the Mexican American Legal  
23 Defense and Education, MALDA, but ultimately the

1 interests of the two groups splintered and both  
2 filed suit in federal court under the Voting  
3 Rights Act to stop the implementation of the city  
4 council truth map, and the suits are still  
5 pending.

6 Mr. Lewis explained that the Chicago  
7 Chinatown is particularly vulnerable to dissection  
8 by the three major community powers. I quote:  
9 "Since voting in Chicago falls along racial lines,  
10 all map drawers in the city are trying to maintain  
11 a corps racial voting base in as many districts as  
12 possible. Core voting strength is optimal at  
13 around 65 percent of the district. That means  
14 that map drawers for African American districts  
15 are trying to draw as many districts as possible  
16 where black voters are 60 percent of the  
17 population.

18 Because some of the areas of the  
19 city are so segregated, even after map drawing  
20 process for African Americans with districts that  
21 are a hundred percent black and you try to avoid  
22 that because any voting block strength over 65  
23 percent in a district is wasted from a political

1 standpoint because that is voting strength that  
2 cannot be used in other districts. That's where  
3 Chinatown comes into play. It is not sufficient  
4 in it's own right to be a district, so it becomes  
5 the last piece of a population that fit into other  
6 people's plans. And it's particularly vulnerable  
7 because it sits adjacent to the three competing  
8 interests.

9 In drawing the fair coalition map by  
10 extending the boundaries of African American  
11 districts into Chinatown, it was a perfect  
12 political plumb to redistricting. The area was  
13 contiguous to an all black area of the city, so  
14 they incorporated Asian residents of the community  
15 would be sought by a majority black vote of  
16 government districts. Asian, in essence are  
17 sacrificed for the welfare of the African American  
18 interests and I'm sure that MALDA ultimately  
19 sought the same thing." End of quote. Despite  
20 the cultural creation of the area, Chicago's  
21 Chinatown area is not and has not been united  
22 geographically entirely within one aldermanic  
23 ward. It has been chopped and parceled out as

1 needed to complete political interest. This  
2 dimunition of Chinese political power in Chinatown  
3 was used during the 1980s and again in 1990. The  
4 aldermanic ward map of the 1980s dissected  
5 Chinatown into two parts. The area's northeastern  
6 portion was placed in the 1st Ward, the ward  
7 encompassing the commercial and business interests  
8 of the Chicago Loop and Chicago Gold Coast  
9 residential areas. The southwest section was  
10 pushed into the 11th Ward, an onclave of white  
11 residents on the near southside of Chicago, the  
12 Mayor's home district. Aldermen from the 1st and  
13 and 11th wards were generally unresponsive to  
14 community problems in their Asian sector. Perhaps  
15 they were waiting for the Asians to act together  
16 as a political block, and until then, the  
17 concentrate their efforts on voting constituents.  
18 Regardless, business and community leaders in  
19 Chinatown were forced to work directly with City  
20 Hall in resolving problems and these efforts met  
21 with some success.

22                   Recent mayoral administrations,  
23 including Mayor Byrne, Washington, Sawyer and

1 presently Mayor Daley, have promoted improvements  
2 in the Asian community. In Chinatown there's a  
3 new public school, there's a new library, and  
4 there's a new parking development. The current  
5 mayor has been helpful in all of these issues.  
6 Whether this cooperation has been out of genuine  
7 good will, or for other personal reasons. But  
8 because of these success, it was hoped that this  
9 new cooperative spirit between Chinatown and City  
10 Hall will keep Chinatown in tact during the 1980  
11 redistricting. There were meetings between  
12 Chinatown leaders and city officials to discuss  
13 the issues of concern to the community. In the  
14 course of these events rumors began circulating  
15 that a new district map was being drawn by the  
16 administration with again dividing Chinatown, this  
17 time into three different wards. Another section  
18 of Chinatown was being sliced up and transferred  
19 to the 2nd Ward of the area of itself.

20 On October 22, 1991 Chicago  
21 Chinatown Chamber of Commerce urgently requested a  
22 meeting with the Mayor to address this issue.  
23 With the mere 40 days available before the City

1 Council was to consider the new district map, the  
2 community leaders in Chinatown were on the outside  
3 looking in as a non player in this important  
4 political decision.

5 Mayor Daley met with the Chinese  
6 delegation in November. The delegation expressed  
7 it's concern to the Mayor about the rumored  
8 dissection of Chinatown, expressed the desire to  
9 be unified into one district, preferrably the  
10 25th. The Mayor listened, but could make no  
11 committment or promise to the group. He did  
12 recommend that the group; visit with Alderman  
13 Burke representative on the second floor of City  
14 Hall.

15 The delegation met with  
16 representatives of Alderman Burke's office and  
17 expressed concern about the position of Chinatown.  
18 Several political maps were discussed, none of  
19 them contained the Chinatown area in them. The  
20 political reality was Chinatown was caught in  
21 between the major political interests of the city  
22 and it's residents were without influence. The  
23 major political, competing political groups had

1 substantial population bordering this Chinatown  
2 district and all were trying to hold a 65 percent  
3 racial ethnic voting percentage, and using the  
4 Asian population to round out the ward.

5 In the end, the 1991 redistricting  
6 again divided Chinatown between two aldermanic  
7 districts, the 25th Ward to the north, because the  
8 northern eastern section, the 11th ward to the  
9 south, to the southern western portion. The  
10 Chinese constituency commanded 20 to 25 percent  
11 voting block in one ward is reduced to ten percent  
12 voting block in two wards.

13 The political fallout of this  
14 division is also affecting the power of the  
15 Chinese Community in two ways; first the power of  
16 Chinatown residents is diluted. No one Alderman  
17 is threatened by the issues of Chinatown. Second,  
18 addressing the specific needs of the Chinatown  
19 area required the cooperation of multiple  
20 Aldermen. Each of them has to divert attention  
21 and resources to the area to make the parts  
22 consistent.

23 Chinatown is in many ways a

1 relatively new intergration into society. Their  
2 continuing stream of new immigrants and continuing  
3 exodus of other immigrants. It is not uncommon  
4 experience with other Asian groups, and for many  
5 countries of Asian orgin who have had very short  
6 or non existent experiences with democratic  
7 traditions. This convention of non participation  
8 in government must be exorcised. To be a full  
9 participant in the political structure of Chicago,  
10 the Asian community must be a political player, a  
11 drawer of maps, not a petitioner of maps. The  
12 political climate of the city has changed  
13 dramatically in the last 20 years. For years the  
14 political powers struggles in Chicago were between  
15 European ethnic groups. In the past alderman,  
16 city administration really did ignore the  
17 situatıon of the Asian American community. In the  
18 last two decades, however, new political alliances  
19 have been forged in racial and cultural  
20 identities. In the 70s the African American  
21 community began to acquire genuine political  
22 power. In recent years the Hispanic community has  
23 viable vessels of support. On a smaller scale



1 this is also true of the Asian American community  
2 and the community has benefit as a result.

3           Given this political reality, the  
4 Chinese community and other Asian communities in  
5 the city cannot afford to be non participants and  
6 entrust the good will of elected officials. The  
7 political establishment with respect to response  
8 to the needs of the Asian community when it acts  
9 as a cohesive effort. But, to this point in time,  
10 the Asian community has not had the mission to set  
11 a common goal. The community has been asleep and  
12 our efforts at empowerment have been very lame.

13           Some of this stems from our own  
14 cultural heritage. American culture focuses on  
15 the individual. A person can succeed, but on an  
16 individual basis. The Chinese culture is  
17 different. It draws it's strength not from the  
18 individual itself, but from the community. The  
19 person grounded in the family unit and his  
20 extended family. When a serious problem arises,  
21 the American strategy is to assess the issues,  
22 develop a strategy and then implement the plan on  
23 an individual basis. The Chinese's approach is to

1 include all parties in a collective discussion and  
2 base a decision on what is best for the entire  
3 community.

4                   These cultural differences directly  
5 impede the Chinese and other Asian communities  
6 from political power, and an effective  
7 representation. As individuals within the  
8 community, Chinese tradition restrains an  
9 individual from moving ahead of it's community,  
10 standing out on an individual basis or drawing  
11 attention to a personal problem. When we need  
12 help, we look internally, not externally. This  
13 could cause an insulation of the community at  
14 large and restrain it from effective political  
15 participation.

16                   Such cultural traits can be a source  
17 of strength, but people from the south side can  
18 easily feel that the Chinese and Asian American  
19 community do not care. That issues are not  
20 important to them. That Asians are willing to  
21 accept greater hardship and that decisions can be  
22 made on their behalf. The Chinese community and  
23 other Asian communities need to respect and use

1 the potency of the culture, but merge that into an  
2 understanding of American culture in which it  
3 lives

4                   The new political dynamic emerging  
5 in Chicago congeals around racial and ethnic  
6 cultures and identities. The Chinese and Asian  
7 American communities are poised to be a critical  
8 informed player. To do this, though, there is a  
9 need for a ground swell community, the business  
10 community, welfare agencies, and other sectors of  
11 the community recognize the individualistic nature  
12 of American society and disseminate this selfish  
13 structure into their culture so that Chinese and  
14 Asian Americans could become partners and have an  
15 equal share of the prosperity of society. This  
16 takes vision, planning, unity, and a willingness  
17 to change. Essential to even minimal success is  
18 learning American politics, getting counted, and  
19 voting.

20                   We need to focus on three areas.  
21 The Chinese and Asian community must realize that  
22 this individualism of the American society culture  
23 is different from most Asian culture. The Chinese

1 community and Asian community need to recognize  
2 and learn the mores of American culture in  
3 politics. 2. To be recognized as a legitimate  
4 player toorrow different society, numbers matter.  
5 The Chinese and Asian communities need to prepare  
6 for the 2000 census and work during the census to  
7 ensure the complete count. This takes planning,  
8 coordination and communities. Discussions and  
9 strategies for full counting should begin  
10 formulation today and in the waning months of the  
11 census. And 3, Chinese American and Asian  
12 American community needs to register and vote.  
13 Until the commitment is made to fully register  
14 all voters in the communities and vote in  
15 substantial numbers, Asians will be relegated to  
16 accepting the mandates of those who do. It is no  
17 longer the case that Asian voting strength is not  
18 sufficient. Thank you.

19 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Any questions from  
20 the panel?

21 MR. ROBERTS: It was mentioned earlier,  
22 and I think it was mentioned now about voter  
23 registration. Have there been voter registration

1 drives that have targeted the Asian American  
2 community?

3 MR. TOM: I can't speak in general, but  
4 I do know that for the Chinese community that  
5 we've had both discussion on the national basis  
6 and on the local community basis. Again, part of  
7 our problem is that it has that problem of  
8 understanding the political basis of a lot of  
9 Chinese immigrants. In China they've never had  
10 sharing of democratic policy. They don't have  
11 this identity, it's usually based on the extended  
12 family where we draw our strength. So, although  
13 where we try many times to have voter drives in  
14 the churches, community centers, many of the new  
15 immigrants just simply don't understand even after  
16 becoming naturalized citizens, they don't  
17 understand the policy and the result. They're  
18 beginning to become aware, but it's a very slow  
19 process.

20 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: Is it likely that  
21 there will be a change in that with the increase  
22 of democrazation of Taiwan? Has there been any  
23 sign of that having a secondary influence here?

1 MR. TOM: Well, again, it depends on  
2 immigration policy. The really change within this  
3 very recent history Senator Simon was instrumental  
4 in increasing the numbers that we were able to  
5 gather from the Chinese quotas, but Taiwan is a  
6 different situation. Taiwan is economically very  
7 strong, so there isn't as much of a stream of  
8 immigrants coming here as there is in Main China,  
9 which is really the bulk of it. So you have a  
10 different -- it's a long lengthy education  
11 process.

12 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Mr. Tom, could you  
13 please speak into the mike so we can pick it up?  
14 Thank you.

15 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: I had asked the two  
16 previous guests whether there were specific issues  
17 which troubled the Asian American community or any  
18 portion of it. Is there any particular problems  
19 which you would like to raise other than the  
20 general political structure and things of that  
21 sort?

22 MR. TOM: I can't identify any. I think  
23 that as Tom Corfman has indicated, a lot of the

1 political effort had been strictly on the local  
2 basis and with our recent ability to get the --  
3 we're in the process of getting a new locals  
4 grammar school. We've gotten recently a library  
5 which has the largest circulation in the city, and  
6 that's a brand new branch. So, I would say that  
7 within the last decade we at least in trying to  
8 help ourselves, a lot of the community needs have  
9 been met on that level. Immigration, of course,  
10 is still a national problem. We still have broken  
11 families. We need to try to reunite them. That  
12 if -- but most of the others are universal; better  
13 education, we want opportunities to find  
14 employment, job creation. Those are not on racial  
15 issues, those are more economic. Those are  
16 universal. That's true with every wave of  
17 immigrants that have come to this country.

18 We've been unique in the sense that  
19 for years there's been such a blatant  
20 discrimination, again, we really had not the  
21 numbers and there have been effort now to change  
22 that. But we need to do more to educate ourselves  
23 to develop the social skills.

1 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: A final follow up.  
2 What is either of your estimate of a possible  
3 impact if, in fact, welfare payments are limited  
4 only to those who are citizens?

5 MR. TOM: I don't know to what degree --  
6 I've never done the research on that and I have no  
7 idea the percentage of immigrants in our community  
8 that are dependent on it.

9 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: There have been some  
10 discussions in the New York Times and elsewhere  
11 within the last two or three weeks suggesting that  
12 for the Asian American community that will come as  
13 a great and substantial surprise if, in fact, the  
14 legislation is passed.

15 MR. TOM: I have no doubt. I don't  
16 think that that has been on their consciousness.  
17 Clearly the elderly members of our community of  
18 Chinatown are recipients of that benefit, but I  
19 don't think it's been brought home to them as to  
20 that; how it's going to impact. I think that for  
21 many of the communities that have still maintained  
22 traditional values, the family members, the  
23 younger generation, the children, still have been



1 supportive of the elderly out of social security  
2 payments and so forth. But others, I simply have  
3 no idea.

4 MR. LEWIS: From my experience, the  
5 heaviest impact of that would be on the new  
6 American population primarily out of refugee  
7 communitys that on the northside of Chicago.  
8 Particularly in both the Vietnamese, Cambodian  
9 communities there still are very high rates of  
10 welfare utilization, and one of the ongoing  
11 struggles that's taken place nationally over at  
12 least the last decade has been the extent which  
13 federal refugee programming would continue over  
14 multiple years after a new refugee is resettled  
15 because we have found in the refugee community  
16 that many people did not become self sufficient  
17 within that last two or three years, particularly  
18 we went through a lot of younger people as well.  
19 The process took a lot longer. A lot of those  
20 people are on Public Aid. I hope you will ask  
21 that same question to Mr. Ed Silverman later on in  
22 the day. He is indeed an expert on precisely that  
23 question. But I think particularly on the north

1 side with the refugee population, the kind of  
2 welfare changes they are going to be talking about  
3 may have very, very, serious implications.

4 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Tom?

5 MR. PUGH: Mr. Ping, your history is  
6 excellent and I appreciate that very much. The  
7 question in regard to the coalition building of  
8 Asian Americans. Is there much involvement  
9 between the Chinese and Latino community and  
10 Chinese and Indian communities to take the three  
11 largest national groups?

12 MR. PING: There really hasn't been  
13 sufficient. I think we've done it on a social  
14 level up until the time -- a number of people have  
15 alluded to the Asian American coalition, a lunar  
16 celebration which is held once a year. That has  
17 really served the purpose as to the community,  
18 being traditional community groups coming to at  
19 least the leadership and trying to begin to  
20 understand one another. There are vast interests.  
21 For example, when the Indians hosted the  
22 celebration, they didn't have an understanding  
23 what a lunar celebration would be and so they

1 wanted to shift it into a different time period,  
2 which was in the summer, which coincided with one  
3 of their holidays, and the community went along  
4 with it just as trying to understand and to work  
5 together.

6 We have tried to form the coalition  
7 on a more permanent basis and I think one of the  
8 outcomes of at least networking among groups has  
9 been the creation two years ago of a new  
10 organization called the Asian American Institute  
11 which would be, we hope, the forerunner for the  
12 more strategy and substantive issues. I think  
13 what we need to do is distill issues to perhaps 1,  
14 2, or 4. That very commonality, and then  
15 beginning to build on that.

16 Part of the problem again is as  
17 we've indicated, that for many of us we're recent  
18 immigrants and their home and politics interferes.  
19 If there were problems with the Chinese as  
20 Japanese as a rule of word, the Koreans and the  
21 Vietnamese, so forth, older generation, it's  
22 difficult sometimes for them to overcome that  
23 tradition. And so it's really hopeful that the

1 younger generations that are involved and the  
2 young professional groups such as the Asian  
3 American Young professional or the Asian Bar,  
4 those will be able to work upon a better basis and  
5 so that we can have a unified word to run in.

6 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Mr. Roberts?

7 MR. ROBERTS: I have a question. Based  
8 upon the new Ward map and the fact that you  
9 indicated prior to the ward map that you were part  
10 of the 11th ward and the 1st ward. I understand  
11 that it is now the 2nd ward which encompasses most  
12 of the northern end of Chinatown. Do you think  
13 that that coalition --

14 MR. TOM: No, let me correct you. It's  
15 now between the 11th ward and the 25th ward,  
16 assuming that there's no other changes in the  
17 lawsuit, but the northern part of Chinatown is  
18 within the boundaries of the 25th Ward.

19 MR. ROBERTS: Not the 2nd Ward?

20 MR. TOM: Not the 2nd ward, and from  
21 26th further south is part of the 11th Ward, and  
22 really as I indicated in my discussion, we were  
23 not part of that discussion. I mean, it was after

1 the fact. We just simply didn't know what was  
2 going on.

3 MR. ROBERTS: Not in the 2nd Ward at  
4 all. The 2nd Ward extends down 12th Street to  
5 Madison Street.

6 MR. TOM: Right, but Chinatown only goes  
7 up north as far north now, even to the new  
8 expansion to 18th Street. But the eastern  
9 boundary is the Dan Ryan Expressway and so we  
10 don't -- it doesn't go beyond that. And so that's  
11 where the 2nd Ward boundary is.

12 MR. ROBERTS: The boundaries of the 2nd  
13 Ward comes down --

14 MR. TOM: On the Dan Ryan, that's right.

15 MR. ROBERTS: What do you then attribute  
16 that germane and is that helpful or devisive?

17 MR. TOM: Well, certainly it's devisive  
18 for us because I think, as I indicated, our voting  
19 power is decided on the population. If we look at  
20 a population, a ward population, a number of  
21 53,000. If we had been all within one Ward,  
22 assuming our numbers are close to 12,000 or  
23 15,000, we would have been a much higher

1 percentage than we are instead split up in two  
2 wards.

3 Right now we really don't have --  
4 we've been fortunate in getting the good will of  
5 both the Aldermen, but that is not through  
6 strength or voting, which is a different issue.

7 MR. ROBERTS: Basically it will be  
8 through contribution?

9 MR. TOM: Yes. There's either voting  
10 strength or contribution. So it's through  
11 contributions.

12 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Any other questions?

13 MS. BOMBELA: That kind of follows up on  
14 the question that I had because they say politics  
15 is local, but also politics is money and I was  
16 curious as to how you see the strength of the  
17 Asian American community in that respect when  
18 you've -- when we've seen other groups, other  
19 ethnic groups, religious groups gaining power  
20 through their influence financially to campaigns.

21 MR. TOM: Well, as far as the Chinatown  
22 community, it is still considered a low moderate  
23 income community. It has a fairly large immigrant

1 population. But I think within the last decade  
2 the businessmen groups, the Chinatown Chamber and  
3 so forth have been cognizant of the need to be  
4 involved. And so it's the route that they've  
5 chosen is through contributions wherever possible.  
6 But it's still -- the numbers are not that  
7 generous, but I think that for many of the  
8 political styles, they would try to welcome any  
9 groups they would recognize. I think the need for  
10 voting voice and we would share it if we had ours.

11 MS. BOMBELA: In your opinion, is the  
12 issue an elected office or is the issue political  
13 power or influence perhaps?

14 MR. TOM: I think ultimately it's the  
15 ability to elect officials, but that seems  
16 relatively remote. We need far more activity  
17 before we get to that point. But that is the  
18 ultimate goal. Many of the people were not going  
19 to be recognized, but it takes a lot of work and  
20 effort and, you know, a lot of, as has been  
21 indicated when you get unifying forces, when  
22 you're against something, you have a common enemy  
23 and most of it has been, in our case, has been

1 directed towards the federal government with the  
2 immigration laws. That's been our real problem.  
3 The local politics has been not so much of an  
4 issue because, as I say, we've been able recently  
5 to get the benefit of schools and the parking and  
6 so forth and so on. And so that's not so much  
7 we're crying out, but we need to get someone  
8 elected that's much more sensitive to what we  
9 have.

10 CHAIRPERSON LYON: One last question from  
11 Nancy Chen.

12 MS. CHEN: My question is for Dr. Lewis.  
13 You had reported, and I think we are, all the  
14 Asian community, all of us were working and  
15 looking at the redistricting plan, were very  
16 cognizant of the fact that attaining a majority  
17 district in the near future is almost impossible  
18 and I'm not even sure even in the next 25 years  
19 whether the Asian community would ever be at that  
20 the population, would ever be big enough to form a  
21 district that's 50 percent Asian. And in light of  
22 the fact, however, as Tom Corfman said before,  
23 there are districts where Asians form 25 percent,



1 28 percent, or 23 percent. Can you give us any  
2 advice in terms of strategies? What can the Asian  
3 community do to make sure that we at least are  
4 able to retain the site that we have and what we  
5 call Jo Pos (phonetic). Are there strategies,  
6 particularly that you can recommend in terms of  
7 working with other groups and also in light of the  
8 fact that other groups they are competing  
9 interests, as Ping has mentioned in the Chinatown  
10 case. They're actually competing with the  
11 Hispanic and with the African American community  
12 in terms of redistricting. Can you share with us  
13 your suggestion?

14 MR. LEWIS: I guess I would see two  
15 major strategies; one is in each of those local  
16 communities to form the coalitions with other  
17 community groups that may be based in other racial  
18 groups such that that combination might start to  
19 approach the kind of numbers that could control  
20 probably a Ward, possibly a state legislative  
21 district, but have those meetings, community  
22 meetings be involved in one another's  
23 organizations to the extent possible, try to

1 identify those local issues like the Ravenswood  
2 line I thought was an excellent example how a  
3 local economic issue could possibly unify a  
4 community and how the closing up of el stations in  
5 the past, you know bridging small communities in  
6 small ways. Perhaps there will be issues around  
7 discrimination, hate crimes, things that will  
8 appear to cross racial groups, and I think at a  
9 local level it's more to really build those  
10 bridges in coalitions to the extent possible so  
11 that when that opportunity comes people are ready  
12 to move forward without the divisiveness that, in  
13 fact, has plagued a lot of redistricting effort at  
14 all levels when groups couldn't get together, and  
15 I think have missed some opportunities.

16                   The second thing I think to do some  
17 analysis of how the part of the politics are going  
18 to work out on each of these, each of the maps  
19 drawn in a different way by a different  
20 jurisdiction, and for instance, in the end the  
21 Republican drawn, the state legislative plan, the  
22 Republican map was the one that won in the  
23 Congressional districts. Whoever worked with the

1           Republicans had a better chance of having their  
2           interests served on each of those maps because  
3           that was the party sign work. On the other hand,  
4           you know, if at the city council level and in Cook  
5           County it was Democratic that drew it then, so I  
6           think that the people who were working in the  
7           community need to look carefully at how the chips  
8           are collected. All -- politically, in terms of  
9           who is likely to have the votes, how in the past a  
10          map in county, in the past a map in the state  
11          legislature and make sure that they work closely  
12          with those existing political organizations and  
13          they export the opportunity that they have.

14                 MS. CHEN: Ping, I have a question for  
15           you. I thank you for an excellent presentation.  
16           You have been a leader in the Chinese community as  
17           well as the Asian community and here we're talking  
18           about redistricting and I think we all recognize  
19           the importance of redistricting for the Asian  
20           communities, not necessarily to achieve a majority  
21           district, but however, to retain our political  
22           power, our voting power. What suggestions do you  
23           have or do you think that you would do after this

1 consultation project, go back to the Chinese  
2 community to go back to the Asian community that  
3 to -- what would you do to start to get prepared  
4 for the year 2000 for the census and also do we  
5 approach them after that?

6 MR. TOM: Well, again, we were naive  
7 this last period and we were late and I think we  
8 need to begin the process now. We set up a group  
9 of Chinese Americans who cut across, I mean was  
10 not only within this community itself, but it was  
11 in large metropolitan area and we had a 4 series,  
12 as discussed, these issues and I think we need to  
13 begin now in discussing it and devising the  
14 strategy that's required. Waiting until that  
15 year, we need to build the structure today for  
16 what's going to happen in the year 2000. That to  
17 me is at least within the Chinatown community. As  
18 far as the larger Asian community, that's it. We  
19 need to recognize that we can. We're so small a  
20 part of this whole community that ultimately  
21 unless we do networking and work together, our  
22 efforts will come to naught. And so we need to  
23 work on that.

1 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: If I can play devil's  
2 advocate for a moment. Much of this discussion  
3 seems to be centered on a desire to elect a  
4 representative following the pattern of having a  
5 majority in a district as as been pointed out,  
6 it's terribly unlikely in the foreseeable future  
7 that even for all Asian Americans as a whole that  
8 that will come about. Is there any feeling that  
9 perhaps it's better for the Asian American  
10 community to place substantial minorities in a  
11 number of districts in order to have the swing  
12 vote strength in those districts later than  
13 placing all of the Asian American's marbles in one  
14 basket.

15 MR. TOM: I think for the interim that's  
16 the only strategy that's possible. We're  
17 disturbed even between on Lawrence Avenue, on  
18 Devon, most of the Japanese community, most of  
19 Philipinos is disbursed. So really that's the  
20 only thing that we can do and hopefully find  
21 candidates in those districts that have the  
22 largest number and be in the Chinese community  
23 should supports recognize who these are, and

1 wherever possible be within the Chinese community  
2 throughout the metropolitan area.

3           When we talk about the Patel running  
4 as Judge, many of our communities realized that it  
5 was an Asian name. It's not one that we would  
6 recognize, but I think that we need to do a better  
7 job of working on those that are willing to be the  
8 forerunners and to build on that representation.

9           MR. TOM: I'm sorry I've gone overtime.

10           CHAIRPERSON LYON: That's okay. It's  
11 very informative.

12           I'm going to take a five minute  
13 break at this point and I want to thank our  
14 speakers.

15           (A brief recess was taken.)

16           CHAIRPERSON LYON: Our 11:00 o'clock  
17 speakers are Ross Harano and he has provided me  
18 with a resume which I'd like to read for the  
19 record. He is a former banker, business man,  
20 state government executive, president of the World  
21 Trade Center Chicago Association. Prior to his  
22 being at the World Trade Center, Chief of the  
23 Crime Victim's Division for the Office of the

1 Attorney General where he also served as Director  
2 of the Advisory Council and the EEO officer. As a  
3 businessman he was the operating partner for two  
4 international trading companies and served as a  
5 Chief Financial officer for a third company doing  
6 business internationally as a banker. He was vice  
7 president at the Bank of Chicago and later at the  
8 Community Bank of Edgewater. He's the President  
9 of the Illinois Ethnic Coalition and also the  
10 Chairperson of the Chicago Chapter of the Japanese  
11 American Citizen's League. In 1992 he was also  
12 the first Asian American to be appointed as an  
13 elector for the electoral college in Illinois.  
14 And then we also have Sandra Otaka.

15 We want to thank each of you for  
16 coming and we will start with Mr. Ross Harano.

17 ROSS HARANO

18 Illinois Ethnic Coalition  
19 (Assimilation of Asian Americans and their  
20 Participation in the Political Process)

21 Thank you very much, chairperson. I  
22 appreciate the opportunity to be here this  
23 morning. I have prepare a written paper which I

1 passed out to those of you here. I just would  
2 like to make some comments on them.

3 The other day I was giving a talk to  
4 a group from out of town at the World Trade Center  
5 Chicago talking about international trade. After  
6 I gave my talk, someone walked up to me, a  
7 gentleman walked up to me and said gee, where did  
8 you learn to speak English so good? And I told  
9 him gee, I grew up in Kenwood Oakwood actually,  
10 went to Oakenwald Grammar School, went to Hyde  
11 Park High School, University of Illinois. And  
12 said oh, but where were you born? I was born in  
13 California, came to Chicago as a baby. Where were  
14 your parents born? Well they were born in  
15 California, too. Where were your grandparents  
16 born? They were born in Japan. Oh, you're  
17 Japanese. And I think that's sort of part of the  
18 problem that we as Asian Americans face in this  
19 country that our history has never been  
20 legitimized in history books. We study history  
21 of the United States from war to war to war. I  
22 can recall studying about the French and Indian  
23 war, the war for independence, the war of 1812,



1 the Mexican war, the civil war, World War 1,  
2 Spanish American war before that. We also studied  
3 about the Germans, the French, the English coming  
4 into this country, and after that we didn't hear  
5 about anybody else coming here. I can recall in  
6 U.S. history II somewhere along there was a page  
7 in the book about a ship going pass the Statute of  
8 Liberty, showed people coming from eastern Europe.  
9 And that was probably the first time that at least  
10 when I took American history that any other group  
11 was mentioned that came to this country. Perhaps  
12 we have to begin to study American history, not  
13 from war to war to war, but from the point of  
14 immigration. That a group comes to this country,  
15 they start at the lowest level they can, that  
16 they're able to get into. They may be servants,  
17 some were slaves, some worked as indentured  
18 servants, some came to work on the railroads. And  
19 through the process of years we're able to go up  
20 another ladder, a step in the ladder, another  
21 group comes in, fills those jobs. It's a history  
22 of immigration, and there's conflicts as a result  
23 of that. There's been tremendous conflicts as

1 people are vying for those same jobs as groups go  
2 up this ladder. Perhaps we can teach American  
3 history this way, and recognize the fact that  
4 groups have been coming to this country for  
5 hundreds and hundreds of years. The Asian  
6 Americans came to this country, came as Ping Tom  
7 and others have talked about, to get jobs. We  
8 thought that the streets were lined with gold. My  
9 grandfather came to this country thinking that he  
10 was going to make his fortune and return to Japan.  
11 After working for \$3 a day for Union Pacific, he  
12 never made his fortune, between owing the country  
13 store and sending money home and trying to  
14 survive, he stayed here.

15 Another thing that happened to him  
16 was that he wanted to get married, so he wrote  
17 home to his family and said I'd like to get  
18 married. So they arranged for a bride and they  
19 sent my grandmother to be's picture to him and  
20 somehow he got up to Portland, met the ship and  
21 with this picture found my grandmother. So most  
22 of the first generation Eas Asian, first  
23 generation women were picture brides. That's sort

1 of the way it worked in those days. Somehow they  
2 got married up there, came back and my grandfather  
3 became a farmer in California.

4 The history of immigration in terms  
5 of Asians are an important part of the political  
6 process that we face today. Every time an Asian  
7 group came in and began to settle in this country,  
8 exclusion acts began to appear. There was Chinese  
9 Exclusion Act. There was a gentleman's agreement  
10 which stopped all male immigration from coming  
11 from Japan. And finally the Asian Exclusion Act  
12 which prohibited all Asians from coming to this  
13 country, except for maybe a hundred out of the  
14 Asian Pacific triangle for a year. The  
15 naturalization laws of this country is based upon  
16 the census of 1790 where there were no Asian here  
17 in 1790. So when when my grandfather wanted to to  
18 become a citizen for this country, he could not  
19 because there was no provisions of Asians in the  
20 law. My grandfather and others tried to become  
21 citizens and couldn't. Finally a Supreme Court  
22 case in 1922, the Yama case, the Supreme Court  
23 ruled that Asians cannot become citizens in this

1 country. It wasn't until 1952 under a special  
2 rider of the Walker McCaren Act that those  
3 immigrants who had been in this country over 50  
4 years were eligible to become citizens. So my  
5 grandfather became a citizen in the late '50s, and  
6 the first time he voted for president was for John  
7 F. Kennedy. I can recall as a child him coming  
8 home and saying this is the first time he had an  
9 opportunity to vote.

10 It is estimated by 1940 there were  
11 over 500 state and local and national laws which  
12 specifically discriminated against Asians in this  
13 country. Because of our not being able to become  
14 citizens, we had no political base, no political  
15 power. We see this changing now with the 1965  
16 Immigration Bill which finally allowed Asians to  
17 come to this country. As a result of that, our  
18 population doubled in 1980 over 1970 and it almost  
19 doubled once again in 1990 over 1980.

20 In terms of the national political  
21 impact of Asians, our largest populations are in  
22 four states California, New York, Texas and  
23 Illinois. And those are the keys states in terms

1 of national politics. For an individual to become  
2 president, they must at least carry those four  
3 states. So we see on the national level at least  
4 a movement to include Asians into the political  
5 process. For example, in 1984, for the first time  
6 the democratic national convention in San  
7 Francisco, we had over a hundred Asian delegates  
8 attending the democratic convention. The same in  
9 1988, and the same in 1992. We have played a  
10 role, a very active role in terms of this last  
11 1992 presidential election. As you would guess, I  
12 am a democrat and I guess this last election was  
13 the first time I was able to vote legally twice  
14 for the same candidate; once in November, and once  
15 in December as an electoral delegate down in  
16 Springfield. So I was able to vote twice legally,  
17 which is interesting. It's fun.

18 Some of the issues we face today,  
19 because of the rise of the number of Asians in  
20 this country is a backlash movement. There was  
21 pay backlash now aimed at Asians. As an Asian  
22 American, unfortunately, my position in this  
23 country is dependent upon the relationship of the

1 United States and Asia. During World War II as a  
2 Japanese American, I was born in a concentration  
3 camp for Japanese Americans. During the Korean  
4 War people would think I'm Chinese and they would  
5 call me a Chink. During the Vietnamese War people  
6 would think I'm Vietnamese and they would call me  
7 a Gook. The problem we have in the country is  
8 that, once again, people cannot tell us apart. We  
9 see that happening, you Vincent Chen who was  
10 murdered in Detroit, beaten to death with a  
11 baseball bat. He was Chinese, but they thought in  
12 Detroit he was Japanese, and he was murder. And  
13 that's part of one of the issues that we as Asian  
14 Americans face today. We believe that political  
15 empowerment is the way to perhaps try to solve  
16 these issues. When we went to get redress or  
17 reparations for Japanese Americans who were in the  
18 camps in World War II, it was a coalition, not  
19 only of Japanese Americans, Asian Americans, but  
20 other groups who were very supportive of our  
21 efforts to succeed. In 1988 President Regan did  
22 sign legislation which, for the first time,  
23 allowed redress, reparation of the Japanese

1 Americans that were in the camps in World War II.

2 Other issues that we see on a  
3 national level that affect us, employer sanctions.  
4 It was a trade off, the Simpson Rizolli Bill to  
5 have employee sanctions if you were an employee  
6 who hired someone who is illegal, there's  
7 penalties against it. This has had a tremendous  
8 impact for those people of color. We know that  
9 there was a study done by the federal government  
10 which showed that if you were Latino or Asian  
11 there's a probability that you would not even be  
12 interviewed for that job. So that's an important  
13 piece of legislation that we need to cull this  
14 with the Latino community in terms of repealing  
15 employer sanctions.

16 We're also concerned about the  
17 immigration backlash in terms of benefits. I  
18 believe somebody else will be discussing this  
19 issue with you, but it seems whenever times are  
20 bad or economics are a little low in the United  
21 States that Asians, people of color seem to be the  
22 first victims of it. And we're seeing that  
23 there's some movement to limit benefits to those

1 refugees that are here as non citizens that are  
2 here legally. So those are some of the issues  
3 that we're concerned about right now.

4 In terms of a coalition, an Asian  
5 coalition, the first one that was created here in  
6 Chicago, I believe was in 1976 when we created the  
7 first Asian Political Coalition while we worked  
8 for the candidacy of Jimmy Carter. It was the  
9 first time that we had a group that worked  
10 together and it was -- since then we've had  
11 coalitions throughout every national election.  
12 But, if a coalition is to be effective, it must  
13 have several principles. One, an Asian coalition  
14 must have a domestic agenda. We can only be  
15 concerned about those issues that face us as we  
16 reach these shores. If we get involved in an  
17 international agenda, we wouldn't be, all of us  
18 wouldn't be in this room together. Because we  
19 come from countries, we're decendants from  
20 immigrants of countries that were at war at one  
21 time. There's a lot of historical differences  
22 there. The Asian coalition must also define the  
23 issues and agree upon some comon goals. I think

11



1 we've done that here in Chicago, in Illinois is  
2 what the common goals are. We've put together --  
3 the community has put together, the Asians have  
4 put together a Lunar Coalition Dinner which was  
5 first put together by the Chinese community some  
6 11 or 12 years ago, and the purpose was to be a  
7 showcase to show the unity of the community, plus  
8 it also invited all of the politicians to it. If  
9 I can recall, Governor Thompson at the first one  
10 announced the creation of the Asian American  
11 Advisory Group and also the having of an  
12 individual who would be responsible for Asian  
13 American affairs within the Governor's office.  
14 And we saw right after that, Senator Simon doing  
15 the same, Senator Dixon, Harold Washington.  
16 Almost every political, major political official  
17 now has either an Asian liaison for them or an  
18 Asian American Advisory Committee of some sort  
19 which plays an important role in terms of  
20 liaisioning between that elected official and the  
21 community itself.

22 The third aspect of the coalition is  
23 that the members of coalition must all participate

1 on an equal basis. They must contribute the  
2 resources equally. We all have to make sure it's  
3 an Asian coalition rather than an Japanese  
4 coalition or a Chinese coalition or a Korean  
5 coalition or whatever. It has to be truly an  
6 Asian American coalition.

7 I've tried give some historical  
8 perspective on the topic and also the need for  
9 political movement here in Illinois and in this  
10 country. The two main challenges that face the  
11 Asian American political movement that we must  
12 keep in mind this decade. Must be an advocate for  
13 the needs and concerns of the Asian American  
14 community. It must recognize what our community  
15 needs are. It must advocate for them in terms of  
16 the politicians and elected officials. I know  
17 that when we do have these dinners for Asians or  
18 for elected officials, that afterwards there is a  
19 response from those officials in terms of we now  
20 have a way to communicate with them about what our  
21 needs are. That's very important.

22 Lastly, it must be vigilant because  
23 too many out there really don't like us and we

1 must be aware of that. We must stand together, we  
2 must work to stop the firebombings that have taken  
3 place in California. There's been Buddhist Temple  
4 that's been bombed here in Illinois. There's been  
5 several cases of hate crimes directed against  
6 Asian Americans and we as a community must  
7 respond, we as a community must react, and once  
8 again we must be vigilant to make sure that the  
9 elected officials and government officials do  
10 respond and help us in terms of dealing with these  
11 issues. Thank you very much.

12 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Thank you very much.  
13 Ms. Otaka.

14 SANDRA OTAKA, J.D.

15 Asian American Bar Association  
16 (Asian Americans and Political Influence)

17  
18 Good morning Madam Chair, Committee  
19 members. Thank you for creating this opportunity  
20 for us to speak. I want to address my comments to  
21 the area of Asian Americans in political  
22 empowerment and much of which you've heard this  
23 morning, but some which bears repetition, and

1 perhaps there will be some new thought.

2 My focus or my experience comes  
3 primarily in the legal area as an attorney, as  
4 past vice president of the Asian American Bar  
5 Association. I've been involved for the past six  
6 years I would say in efforts for getting Asian  
7 Americans on the bench. As we all know here in  
8 Illinois, electing judges is oftentimes one of  
9 first steps communities take in trying to achieve  
10 political empowerment. It's through the effort of  
11 the Asian American Bar Association in Chicago that  
12 we have succeeded in getting the first Asian  
13 American on the bench. That was not an electoral  
14 process. There are two ways of selection judges,  
15 and associate judges are selected by all of the  
16 full circuit judges. We succeeded in a campaign  
17 effort to get the first Asian American on the  
18 bench, and frankly it was very difficult. It was  
19 two years of hard campaigning, meeting with major  
20 politicians, meeting with Supreme Court justices,  
21 meeting with the Chief Justice and frankly we ran  
22 a community campaign of awareness in all the Asian  
23 papers and in the Tribune and the SunTimes to let

1 the the electoral know that even though Illinois  
2 had the, at the time the 4th largest Asian  
3 American population in the United States, there  
4 was not one Asian American judge in the State of  
5 Illinois. And it was through that baptism that  
6 the bar association stepped into really the  
7 political arena as far as in the legal community  
8 which is in the effort to get judges.

9                   Unfortunately, we have to report  
10 today that there is not one Asian American elected  
11 judge in the State of Illinois and it is not for  
12 lake of trying. The Asian American community has  
13 a large number of attorneys, and some of them have  
14 recently run for judge. In the last Democratic  
15 primary there were two Asian Americans who ran for  
16 judge. Both of them sought slating by the  
17 Democratic party. Through meetings with many of  
18 the important power brokers in the county and  
19 statewide, meetings with Supreme Court justices.  
20 We were, however, totally unsuccessful in getting  
21 the Democratic party to slate an Asian American  
22 for judge. And the slating was one of the most  
23 singular critical factors in getting elected in

1 the Democratic primary. In Cook County depending  
2 on which district you're running in, it's largely  
3 this -- it's terribly significant to win the  
4 Democratic primary because that means in all  
5 likelihood you will be elected in the fall. There  
6 are some districts that are Republican, but  
7 there's a large number that are Democrat. So, it  
8 is through that experience that we came here today  
9 and say that the Democratic party really was not  
10 responsive to the needs and interests in the Asian  
11 American community regarding judgeships when it  
12 came to the most critical decision, which was  
13 slating. There were many nice words said and many  
14 acknowledge the importance of the Asian American  
15 community. When push came to shove, in my  
16 estimation, it was a power decision. Who was  
17 close to which powers and how close were you, and  
18 if you were close, you got slated. The Asian  
19 American community, unfortunately, despite all of  
20 it's efforts, was not close. That was the very  
21 unfortunate experience.

22 I do not mean to exempt the  
23 Republican party from criticism. I understand

1 this is a bipartisan panel and so let spread my  
2 criticisms equally. The focus on judgeships was  
3 Democratic, but the Republican party has fared not  
4 much better when it came to slating. The  
5 Republican party has slated two people in the  
6 current election; one for the county treasurer and  
7 one for the county commissioner running against  
8 Cal Sutger. Those are positions where there were  
9 no other Republicans who were willing to run,  
10 frankly, to my knowledge, and those are positions  
11 that are seen as nearly -- let's put it this way,  
12 we hope that they will win, but we view it as a  
13 very difficult challenge.

14 So it seems that when it comes to  
15 slating, both parties tend to give Asians what no  
16 one else wants, not what everyone want, which is  
17 slating in a race where you're likely to have a  
18 significant chance of success. So, we have a very  
19 significant problem, and if one come to political  
20 empowerment, the parties do not slate Asian  
21 Americans, and that is something that we need to  
22 move on. We do have Asians running, and that is  
23 probably one of the most optomistic things that's

13

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1           happening right now. There are a number of Asian  
2           Americans who ran this last time, a couple as  
3           judge, one for state representative, and the  
4           Republicans that I mentioned. So we are seeing  
5           an increase in Asian Americans running, but  
6           unfortunately we have not been successful. To my  
7           knowledge, there is not one Asian American elected  
8           to any statewide office; to state representative,  
9           no state Senator, there's no one who has been  
10          elected to Alderman or to county commissioner here  
11          in Cook County. We just have no Asian Americans  
12          of significant political influence.

13                        I think, and Tom Corfman has  
14          mentioned, I believe there are four Asian  
15          Americans who are elected to to levels of trustee  
16          in minor villages. Other than that, there are no  
17          Asian Americans that hold political office. That  
18          does not mean that the Asian American community  
19          has not made some progress. Ross has talked  
20          about, and I'm sure others have and will talk  
21          about how we now have Asian liaisons in various  
22          positions with most significant political offices.  
23          We have equally, and someone said even more



1 importantly, we've got people who are on staff  
2 like Nancy Chen who has welded tremendous  
3 influence for the Asian American community. She  
4 has looked out for our needs and done an excellent  
5 job. There has been counterparts Steve Dikata in  
6 the Republican party? So there has been some  
7 strides in the area of Asian liaisons and Asian  
8 staff and those people do carry some influence,  
9 but it has not been -- that's a limited kind of  
10 power. It's secondary. It's one step removed.  
11 It is not the same as having your own elected  
12 official.

13 One of the primary reasons I think  
14 for the lack of Asian political empowerment has to  
15 do with the population. When we are at 3 and a  
16 half to 4 percent of the population, our numbers  
17 are small. In California Asians out number blacks  
18 according to recent statistics. I believe Asians  
19 are about ten percent of the state there. Here we  
20 are only 4 percent. While we are a very fast  
21 growing, and some say is fasten growing minority  
22 proportional wise, merely double from the last  
23 census count in 1980 to 1990, the numbers of 4

1 percent are very small, but that number is  
2 compounded by the fact that we are dispersed. As  
3 people have mentioned, we have Chinatown, we have  
4 Uptown, the Argyle area with the southeast Asian  
5 community and the Chinese community. We've got  
6 Devon with the Indian community. We've got the  
7 Greek community up on Lawrence Avenue. We are  
8 dispersed, and so obviously that dilutes our  
9 voting strength in terms of one sub district.  
10 We're not just dispersed geographically, we are  
11 dispersed ethnically. All of those different  
12 onclaves tend to be done on an ethnic basis and we  
13 have historical racial tension between our groups.  
14 There are many in our community who are very  
15 ethnocentric and they do not view themselves as  
16 part of a broader Asian American community, and if  
17 that 4 percent is diluted because you will only  
18 really support a Korean candidate or you will only  
19 really support a Pakistanian candidate, then we  
20 become more dispersed. So we become dispersed  
21 geographically and we become dispersed ethnically  
22 and we become dispersed politically. Other people  
23 far more learned on the topic than I talked about

1 how the districting has been done in such a way  
2 that communities are divided. So Chinatown gets  
3 divided, Koreatown gets divided when it comes to a  
4 judicial sub district because they want to give to  
5 the Hispanics. So we become dispersed further  
6 politically because of those maps. We also have a  
7 problem because we have low voter registration.  
8 Those are not for strange reasons. Those have to  
9 do with the fact that some of them, which Ping  
10 last talked about, our communities are new. Many  
11 of our community people are not registered to vote  
12 because they're not citizens yet or many of them  
13 do not understand the process. We have a low  
14 voter registration and so that 4 percent becomes  
15 diluted even further when it translates into  
16 practical political terms, which is how many votes  
17 do you have? How many votes can you deliver? 4  
18 percent and the dispersion of that 4 percent  
19 really weakens our community. We have to do  
20 things then to maximize the strength of that 4  
21 percent. We have to get, first of all, we have to  
22 get Asian Americans, more Asian Americans to run  
23 for office and frankly I think that that's likely

1 to happen. Just a recent trend suggests that some  
2 of the younger generations, some of the third,  
3 fourth, and fifth generations are running. Some  
4 of the -- a number of Asian American candidates  
5 ran this last time and I think we can predict  
6 fairly that there will be more in the future. But  
7 they will only run if they have encouragement from  
8 the Asian American community. And I think that  
9 one of the things that I would like to stress is  
10 that the Asian American community must see itself  
11 as one community. We cannot focus on just Koreans  
12 or just Pakistanians or simply Indian or simply  
13 Philippino. We must view ourselves as one to  
14 maximize that 4 percent. So that when John Lee  
15 Bingham runs, everybody has to work to support  
16 him, when Lourdes Lund runs this fall, the Asian  
17 American community needs to support her. When  
18 Jean Puchett runs, we need to support her. We  
19 have to not look at whether someone is Philippino  
20 or Chinese. We must have an Asian American  
21 identity and without that, sorry, that 4 percent  
22 is going to be diluted where it becomes  
23 insignificant. We must also support those

1 candidates with money. Asian Americans must form  
2 more political camps. There is have been some in  
3 the past, there are some now, but we need more.  
4 We need more money to be channeled, not just by  
5 individual businessmen who want to increase their  
6 influence with a particular Alderman, which is  
7 important, but we need to do it as a community so  
8 that we can then go to the Democratic or  
9 Republican county president and say, party  
10 president, say, look it this is our community and  
11 that is what we need. And then they will be  
12 responsive because frankly while I would like to  
13 see both parties say we'll slate because it's the  
14 right thing to do, I frankly don't think that that  
15 is likely to happen. They will be responsive to  
16 power, which is economics. They will be  
17 responsive to votes, which is power. They will be  
18 responsive to public opinion, and those are the  
19 things that our community has to do. Our  
20 community must push to have the parties slate and  
21 the parties must take some responsibility to see  
22 the importance -- the Asian American community is  
23 the fastest growing. It has some economic

1 strengths and both parties should wake up and say  
2 this is an investment in the future, and we should  
3 be slating these people and getting their support.  
4 Now, the Asian American community is not  
5 monolithic in it's party identification. It's  
6 open to both parties and those parties will be  
7 wise to address their future by looking at the  
8 interests of the Asian American community through  
9 slating. When candiates run, it's important when  
10 we look at 4 percent to realize that they must  
11 reach beyond the Asian American community. Many  
12 people have talked about building coalitions, and  
13 depending on what the focus is in that particular  
14 race that they must look beyond the Asian American  
15 community because Asian American candidates, even  
16 with a 20 percent district, cannot win. So,  
17 obviously their base must expand beyond the Asian  
18 American community which means they have to  
19 address the needs of other groups, whether they're  
20 minority, whether they're other people who share  
21 the same interest in the shutting down of an el  
22 stop, whatever it is. The Asian American  
23 candidate must broaden their perspective beyond

15

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1 the Asian American community.

2 And I guess I would close with  
3 what's probably one of the most important things  
4 and that is voter registration. Parties could  
5 direct, if they sought to increase their  
6 investment in the Asian American community,  
7 efforts toward voter registration in our  
8 community. That would be a great boon for them,  
9 it would be a great boon for our community. It's  
10 a win-win situation. It advantages the party that  
11 invests, it advantages the Asian American  
12 community, it advantages the democratic process in  
13 it's entirety. Community groups need to be added  
14 to that, not just the party, but also Asian  
15 community group centers and non Asian community  
16 groups. The League of Women Voters could focus on  
17 the Asian community and encourage the drive in the  
18 Asian American community for voter registration.  
19 This is the essence of the democratic process, and  
20 the focus is there. I think all communities,  
21 Asian and non Asian will benefit. Thank you.

22 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Any questions from the  
23 panel?

1 MR. EWING: In the slating for  
2 judgeship, how many positions were there to be  
3 filled?

4 MS. OTAKA: If I recall correctly, the  
5 focus was on countywide judgeships and there were  
6 I believe many, 9 or 10 county wide judgeships  
7 that these two candidates were looking at. There  
8 was, however, numerous sub districts and neither  
9 party suggested well, if you will go in this sub  
10 district we will slate you. So, while there were  
11 only 9 countywide, there were numerous, I mean 3  
12 in each judicial sub district which there are 15.  
13 I think there were in excess of 40 sub district  
14 vacancies. Now you have to live in that sub  
15 district and so that limited it.

16 MR. EWING: But there were 9?

17 MS. OTAKA: 9 countywide and typically  
18 the way that goes, my understanding is there was  
19 an agreement if your were appointed by the Supreme  
20 Court, you would be slated. And so I believe  
21 there were six people, I believe who were slated  
22 for because they had previously been appointed by  
23 the Supreme Court which then left the remaining 3



1 which everyone else who was interested in county  
2 wide fought over. Well, what was interesting, in  
3 the last judicial process is that the parties  
4 often slated people in sub district or county wide  
5 who were fall unqualified by most of major bar  
6 associations. So it was not an issue of  
7 qualification. In fact, one of the Asian  
8 Americans who was running was endorsed by the  
9 Chicago Tribune. Her qualifications were  
10 extraordinary. She is a sitting judge right now,  
11 Judge Lynn Karamotto, the only Asian judge. But  
12 it worked out that we did not have significant  
13 clout to get her slated.

14 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Any other questions?  
15 Very good. Thank you so much.

16 I believe that brings us to the  
17 conclusion of our morning session and we will  
18 reconvene at 1:30. Thank you.

19 (The meeting was recessed for lunch at  
20 12:00 o'clock p.m.)

21 AFTER LUNCHEON RECESS

22 CHAIRPERSON LYON: We're going to  
23 reconvene the discussion. We have our 1:30

1 agenda, Dr. Kwang Kim and Kishore Tampy had to  
2 return to the hospital for a surgery that was  
3 taking place, but we have with us today an  
4 associate of his, Layton Olson who is going to be  
5 presenting the paper. For the record, I am  
6 accepting the presentation in written form that  
7 was going to be made by Dr. Tampy and we will go  
8 ahead and proceed with Dr. Kim.

9 SECTION II: EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION and HEALTH  
10 ISSUES FACING THE ASIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN  
11 METROPOLITAN CHICAGO

12 KWANG KIM, Ph.D.

13 Western Illinois University

14 (Asian Americans and the Successful Group Myth)

15 It's my pleasure to be here. As Mr. Tom  
16 mentioned this morning, Chinese immigrants came in  
17 1850, then they were subjected to the numerous  
18 kind of prejudice and discrimination. So were  
19 Japanese immigrants and many of the Asian  
20 immigrants. What this kind of historical  
21 experience shows from one century, the middle of  
22 the 19th century to the 1950s that there was all  
23 kinds of negative prejudice against Asian  
Americans as a whole, and Asian Americans were

1 categorized as uncivil, immoral cunning,  
2 treacherous, sneaky, inscrutable, all kinds of  
3 negative remarks. Then in the 1960s the negative  
4 image turn around so they are positive  
5 stereotypes. So I think this is the topic of my  
6 presentation, why the image turn around to the  
7 kind of positive image in the '60s. And I'd like  
8 to mention two factors; one factor relates to the  
9 age of American socioeconomic status. The other  
10 was the racial tension in the United States in the  
11 second half of the 1960s. In the 1960s, by that  
12 time the second generation or third generation of  
13 the Chinese immigrants, Japanese immigrants, they  
14 achieve the high -- their educational achievement  
15 was high, high proportionate college education.  
16 So, in terms of the proportion of the Asian  
17 Americans who complete the college education in  
18 the proportions was higher than that of the white  
19 in the 1960s. Then, as you know, there are many  
20 family members were employed, so their family goes  
21 higher. Then many of the Asian immigrants, they  
22 were either the small business and the children  
23 with college degrees, they were in the white

1 collar occupation. So, as a whole the proportion  
2 of the Asian Americans in the white collar  
3 occupation was higher than whites. So, basically  
4 three things; the educational achievement, family  
5 income, and proportion of those who are in the  
6 white color occupations were both the factors in  
7 the 1960s.

8 The Asian American social economic  
9 status was higher than even that of the dominant  
10 group, the white. Then in, after 1965 a new wave  
11 of Asian immigrants came and they were highly  
12 selective groups. They came with high  
13 socioeconomic status. So their occupation, their  
14 income, their family income was high, too. So  
15 originally social image developed in 1960 based on  
16 the socioeconomic achievement of the second, third  
17 generation of Chinese immigrants. And that kind  
18 of image was re-enforced by the new immigrants who  
19 came after 1965.

20 So that those are kind of the  
21 imperical grounds to promote the idea of success  
22 image. The second factor was that, as you know,  
23 there was a whole lot of rioting in the second

1 half of the 1960s, then the American mass media  
2 they pick up the case of Asian experience and say  
3 Asian experience shows that this country is the  
4 land of opportunity. So it send a message to  
5 African American as if Asian Americans can make  
6 it, why can't you make it? So from the beginning  
7 the success image carry heavy critical message.  
8 Say land of opportunity, then that then was used  
9 to divide minority groups. So the question is are  
10 the Asian Americans, are they really successful,  
11 the successful minority? I think the question is  
12 based on your concept of success. What is  
13 success? And one way to measure success is that  
14 they are Asian American's educational achievement.  
15 Asian American's family income. Their occupation,  
16 American prestige. Whether there are thousands of  
17 Asian Americans in white collar occupations. In  
18 those terms, if their achievement is higher than  
19 whites, then say they are successful group. I  
20 think by that standard Asian Americans are a  
21 successful group, both natural born and  
22 immigrants. And as you know, today about six  
23 major ethnic groups; Korean, Chinese, Japanese,

17

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1       Philippino, Vietnamese, Asian Indians, and they  
2       are 95 percent of Asian immigrants and Asian  
3       immigrants are from those six groups. They are  
4       both native born and for immigrants, I think they  
5       are by the standards I just mentioned, by that  
6       standard Asian Americans are really successful,  
7       are successful. The question is is that kind of  
8       standard correct? And here's one of the big  
9       problems. This kind of framework does not  
10      consider the cost for investment. So our  
11      contention is that when we discuss the success of  
12      the Asian North Americans, we have to think of the  
13      cost for investment aspect of Asian Americans as  
14      their achievement.

15                   Suppose the Asian can get a job,  
16      only they are overqualified, then can we say that  
17      they are occupation successful, no. That's kind  
18      of the issue. So we propose when we measure Asian  
19      American's success, we have to consider it is not  
20      just outward achievement, but input. The cost and  
21      investment that I'd like to call eco moto  
22      (phonetic), fairness motto, and by that standard.  
23      Okay, so from this active perspective Asian

1 American socioeconomic achievement cannot be  
2 considered successful. On Page 7. It cannot be  
3 considered successful on the following condition  
4 of disparity within the investment and outcome of  
5 the Asian American socioeconomic status. Number  
6 one, Asian Americans -- whites are equally  
7 achievement with Asian Americans investment is  
8 much higher than that of the white. 4, while  
9 Asian American and whites are equal in  
10 achievement, whites achieve much higher than that  
11 of the Asian Americans or say why Asian Americans  
12 higher investment than whites, but whites are  
13 higher in achievement than Asian Americans. You  
14 know it is that kind of conditions we can not get  
15 a slate. With this kind of ecomoto, actually we  
16 analyzed 1980 census data, the income as the  
17 dependent variable, then we used actually this to  
18 formulate ways to develop by the U.S. Commission  
19 on Civil Rights their publication. So using their  
20 formula,s we tested many investment factors and of  
21 workers, educational obtainment, occupational  
22 prestige, mean income of the worker, state, number  
23 who went with work, and number of hours worked,

1 and the preceding work of data relations. With  
2 this kind of formula, our finding was that when we  
3 consider this investment factors, the income of  
4 the Asian immigrant was much lower than the white  
5 under the ecci condition of investment. And take  
6 native Asians, their income was much higher than  
7 the Asian immigrant, but still given our income of  
8 the native Asian there are and was lower than  
9 whites in the condition of investment. So here  
10 the workers shows that if you use the ecciomoto or  
11 fairness motto, Asians are disadvantaged and why  
12 their incomes are lower than whites in spite of  
13 education and so many factors. So we analyze that  
14 with the data we selected from career immigrants  
15 in the Chicago area in 1986. This research was  
16 funded by the National Institute of Mental Health  
17 and we interviewed 622 Korean adults and we  
18 analyzed the occupational experience. And as you  
19 know, the immigrant's occupation depends on two  
20 factors. With what kind of background they came  
21 here pre immigration, socioeconomic status, plus  
22 the kind of occupational change available to them  
23 in the United States. Combining particularly the



1 opportunity of say a career and/or the age of the  
2 immigrant. Today they're coming in high  
3 re-immigration socioeconomic status, but at  
4 immigrant workers today that occupational  
5 opportunities very limited. Usually they can get  
6 three kinds of occupation. One is their  
7 occupation in short supply with work, simply not  
8 enough workers and that kind of occupation  
9 immigrants can get, but the kind of occupation  
10 that native workers do not want to take, or low  
11 wage occupations and we are discovering from our  
12 data that Koreans are in all three kinds of  
13 occupation. Okay, Koreans in the occupation  
14 distributed in three categories; professional,  
15 technical, occupation, self employers, small  
16 business than manual or service workers. And it's  
17 categorically the Korean immigrant workers we  
18 discovered have some problems, mostly in  
19 professional, technical occupations and. What  
20 kind of place, what kind of employment, under what  
21 kind of employment conditions do they work?

22 Let's take the medical doctors. I  
23 think the best way to describe their experience is

1 for categorizations. The kind of specialty as  
2 that immigrant doctors can take, the kind of  
3 hospital where they work, it all indicates very  
4 unfavorable as types of speciality or hospitals.  
5 And why they are so many Korean immigrants in  
6 small business. It's quite clear they say in the  
7 case of the Korean males, majority adult, they're  
8 already out of college already in Korea. So when  
9 they come over here, many of them, they are  
10 excluded from professional occupations. They are  
11 excluded from managing careers. So when they are  
12 excluded from that kind of thing, small business  
13 is the only thing they can do. So when we  
14 consider their educational background, the college  
15 degree in their native country, and many of them  
16 they had to work in the white collar occupation in  
17 their native country. With that kind of  
18 investment on what they can do is to run small  
19 business. the small business, not regular small  
20 business. It's, the scale is so small. We say  
21 Korean small business is really small, small  
22 business or family small business. It's not  
23 regular small business, and they heavily deal with

1 minority customers who are extremely labor  
2 intensive. They are in that kind of thing. So  
3 what types of occupation do they have with the  
4 college degree? They are self employed in certain  
5 of marginal merchandise center of this economy.  
6 Now those are the manual workers. They are merely  
7 classical case of people who work for such a low  
8 wage. What we call secondary market, they  
9 employment. So our analysis concluded with  
10 ecciomoto condition of investment, Asians earn  
11 less for native immigrants, and immigrants -- and  
12 our analysis of Korean immigrants shows in  
13 occupational, they are highly disadvantaged or  
14 unfavorably unfavorable conditions. So, when we  
15 consider this kind of factors, I don't think there  
16 is any fairness for any success.

17 So our contention is that part of  
18 ecciomoto of fairness model, the idea of the Asian  
19 successful idea is a myth. It has little validity  
20 in reality. And I think the success image raises  
21 two civil rights issues, one is that Asians are in  
22 this disadvantaged image of the labor market. The  
23 success image is dead guys or concealed.

1                   So turning away attention is not  
2                   that the Asian -- see the reality that their labor  
3                   markets are positioned. So it turns away  
4                   attention, thus encouraging a forced consciousness  
5                   or the diguised sense. And the second problem is  
6                   that because of success image there today Asian  
7                   Americans are excluded. Many are programmed  
8                   designed to benefit minority groups, so they have  
9                   excluded Asians. As you know, there are so many  
10                  Asian students, when they apply to the Ivy League  
11                  schools -- there was a well documented case of  
12                  discrimination and the Ford Foundation, they  
13                  exclude Asian Americans from the category of  
14                  minority. It's not just the Ford foundation,  
15                  Months of the programs that sponsor, when  
16                  sponsored by the Ford Foundation, Asians are  
17                  excluded. So my conclusion is that by the  
18                  eccimoto we are the successful image is a myth.  
19                  It has real reality or validity, but that kind of  
20                  image diguise, considering Asian American labor  
21                  market condition. Furthermore, they are excluded  
22                  from the program which is designed to benefit  
23                  minority workers. So we are the success image,

19

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1 but to Asian Americans its is kind of double  
2 jeopardy. Thank you.

3 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Thank you. Mr. Olson,  
4 please.

5 LAYTON OLSON

6 (For Dr. Kishore Thampy)

7 Thank you. My name is Layton Olson,  
8 I'm an attorney and I'm here today because I  
9 understand in the past I have aided several Asian  
10 Americans to give them opportunities to exercise  
11 their due process rights to practice their  
12 profession in the United States. Many of these  
13 physicians are of Asian background. I note in my  
14 data from the testimony you can identify  
15 particularly some of the background of resident  
16 physicians. It's clear in this country that  
17 between 20 and 25 percent of the physician  
18 population, practicing physician population  
19 currently is trained overseas. I think that some  
20 of the comments that I have reflect in  
21 relationship to what Dr. Kim has described in the  
22 sense of I speak of not only in regard to the  
23 profession of medicine, but there are many other

1 licensed professions which could use the  
2 assistance of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to  
3 take a look at research and to be a clearing house  
4 to identify barriers to international work force  
5 migration to uphold appropriate standards, but not  
6 add additional standards. I think in the  
7 physician population you will find many persons  
8 who come to this country with the process of  
9 licensing. Maybe one which may never allow a  
10 person to be a physician, but may become a  
11 surgical assistant, a physician assistant or  
12 perhaps not a laboratory person, and I will go  
13 into some of those things as I read Dr. Thampy's  
14 testimony in just a moment. But I want to give a  
15 couple of examples where I believe that the Civil  
16 rights Commission can look at perhaps physicians  
17 as a model that might be applied to other  
18 professions where there is a state licensing  
19 requirement because I think the Civil Rights  
20 Commission could work together with the Employment  
21 Opportunity Commission to help bring about a  
22 lowering of the barrier which may or may not have  
23 been consciously but do result in discrimination.

1                   For example, for internationally  
2 trained persons, there is often a separate  
3 statute. If we could put this back into the  
4 concept of is this separate and is it equal? I  
5 think that in the physician licensing area we now  
6 have in 1994 when uniform license for all  
7 physicians to take both in terms of entry into  
8 residency and into licensing activities, there are  
9 tremendous difficulties in the training process  
10 where internationally trained physicians have lost  
11 credit for prior examinations they had taken. But  
12 with those examinations I think that state  
13 licensing agencies can have greater and greater  
14 confidence that all physicians meet the same  
15 quality standards. We will go back then and look  
16 at the great disparity. Over half the states have  
17 requirements that internationally trained  
18 physicians take three years of residency training.  
19 Domestic graduates can take only one year. That  
20 has been thought to be a double and triple check  
21 to be sure that the quality is there.

22                   I think we are finding other ways to  
23 measure quality, and if we look to the future, if

1 internationally trained physicians have been seen  
2 in many places as a good supply of highly trained  
3 specialists, as the American health care system  
4 needs more family practice physicians, the persons  
5 who get out in one year are often going into  
6 family practice and specialization will be in  
7 relative decline. We need to go back and take a  
8 look at that.

9 . I note that Illinois has been a  
10 leader in providing people treatment, including  
11 the requirement for equal residency requirements  
12 of the internationally trained and domestically  
13 trained physician. It also has a stated state  
14 policy now that there will not be discrimination  
15 based on the location of training, whether in this  
16 country or overseas.

17 I would like to then proceed to go  
18 through some of Dr. Thampy's testimony to give you  
19 a picture of the circumstances that a physician  
20 might encounter. Dr. Thampy is the Executive  
21 Director of Liberty for American Minority  
22 Physicians. He is the former past president of  
23 the American College of International Physicians



1 which is based in Washington, D.C., and it has  
2 1,500 members, and although mainly Asian, it  
3 derives it's support from all ethnic and racial  
4 backgrounds. LAM, is the educational and legal  
5 research organization affiliated with the College  
6 and dedication to the illumination of  
7 discrimination against physicians based on race  
8 and national origin. Dr. Thampy also speaks from  
9 his background as a physican who was born in  
10 Keñya, of Indian parents, received his medical  
11 education in Spain and came to the United States  
12 to specialize in psychiatry in 1970. He has also  
13 personally experienced discrimination and has  
14 counseled thousands of physicians on how to cope  
15 with racial attacks, often camouflaged as peer  
16 review. As a physician here in Chicago, he is  
17 basically always on the telephone. You will see  
18 his name in the American College of International  
19 Physician's magazine. He receives, and other  
20 colleagues receives a tremendous number of calls.  
21 The successful passage of a Visa examination is no  
22 guarantee that a Visa, let alone the opportunity  
23 to enter residency training. Many requests for

1 applications to those training hospitals are not  
2 even given the courtesy of a reply. Other  
3 institutions simply respond by saying they do not  
4 accept international medical graduates. In many  
5 cases, the international medical graduates are  
6 immigrants or citizens who have passed several  
7 examinations and tend to live in the U.S..

8                   In 1992 Congress prohibited  
9 hospitals receiving U.S. public health service  
10 grants from refusing to send applications to  
11 international medical graduates. This, of course,  
12 does not stop many hospitals from not recruiting  
13 qualified physicians who are legal immigrants  
14 based upon the school of graduation. A recent  
15 poll shows whereas the majority of the hospital  
16 executives believe that hiring IMGs would  
17 adversely affect patient care, the majority of  
18 patients surveyed found that IMGs to be slightly  
19 better than domestically trained physicians.  
20 Again, this is at variance with the public image  
21 that is sometimes put forward. There are  
22 currently about 130,000 licensed IMG physicians in  
23 this country or about a 5th of the practicing

1 population. The LAM receives many complaints of  
2 an abusive peer review practices by hospitals,  
3 government agencies, and peer review  
4 organizations. The most notable example is a  
5 disproportionate number of IMG physician's mailing  
6 agents who were subject to adverse peer review  
7 actions by the Illinois Department of Public Aid  
8 whose Peer Review Committees were dominated by  
9 domestic medical graduate physicians. It took  
10 intervention under legislative action and freedom  
11 of information to force the IDPA to release data  
12 and it took legislative process to include due  
13 process aspects into the system; including such  
14 things as enabling a physician to have another  
15 physician assist that person in going through that  
16 process.

17 One case recently involved a  
18 prominent medical journal which claimed that  
19 international medical graduates were at a higher  
20 risk for malpractice suits. However all evidence  
21 is to the contrary and but no one but  
22 international medical graduates objected. These  
23 are the kinds kinds of information that is going

1 out into the public domain and needs to be dealt  
2 with. I believe these are the kinds of things  
3 which are felt in many professional licensing  
4 circumstances. The federal government has a  
5 limited role. The states have the primary  
6 licensing role, and I think that the U.S. Civil  
7 Rights Commission can go through and assist some  
8 of the state licensing people to take their  
9 responsibilities very, very seriously and provide  
10 due process.

11 I'd like to just finish for Dr.  
12 Thampy by identifying key national issues which  
13 were faced by international medical graduates  
14 today. There are legislative proposal in Congress  
15 to limit the access of qualified international  
16 graduates who are legal immigrants to obtain  
17 residency training. There are, as I described  
18 before, attempt through the Federation of State  
19 Medical Licensing Boards to restrict the ability  
20 of international medical graduates to take the new  
21 licensing examination. There is a substantial  
22 amount of discrimination in the federal  
23 government. The Peace Corp said, domestic

1 graduates only need apply. The Navy, a number of  
2 other federal agencies simply do not enforce the  
3 law, and many times they are not even aware of the  
4 discrimination they are practicing. There has  
5 been a tremendous amount of focus on the area of  
6 reciprocity. Once a physician is in this country  
7 and has had his credentials checked, you will  
8 often come back 20 or 30 years later, the state  
9 medical licensing board will say, bring us your  
10 original copy of your transcript from halfway  
11 across the world. Certified copies from the first  
12 state is simply not acceptable. I think that  
13 states should be held to be brought into the  
14 modern era in that regard. There is a federal law  
15 which requires the National Advisory Council on  
16 Licensure which was adopted in 1992, has not yet  
17 been implemented, and that is to assist  
18 internationally trained physicians to be  
19 appropriately treated.

20 I think we also need to understand  
21 that some of the health care proposals are  
22 watering down the state, any willing provider law.  
23 Any willing provider law says that if you're a

1 qualified physician, medically, you cannot be  
2 turned out of a position for a provider of a  
3 position. Many insurance companies are simply  
4 closing the door for internationally trained and  
5 other physicians who often tend to be individual  
6 or small practice physicians and I think -- and  
7 they provide a very poor market. But those are  
8 areas that need to be reviewed. Those are a  
9 number of the comments, and you have the testimony  
10 and I thank you very much for your time.

11 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Thank you. Any  
12 questions from the panelist?

13 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: I have one for each  
14 one. Mr. Olson, wear meeting here in Illinois and  
15 Illinois, for example, is among those which  
16 requires certified copies of diplomas as opposed  
17 to photostats, certified copies of transcripts as  
18 opposed to photostats. Where someone who may want  
19 to get this out to bat, may want to get up to  
20 Bucharest, may find that it takes months if not  
21 longer to get these documents. Is there any  
22 reality behind the requirement of this  
23 certification? Are there any states which have

1           been willing to accept photocopies which do not  
2           march through all these hoops?  And isn't it a  
3           fact that as we're presently structured, this is  
4           largely a design to limit physician qualifications  
5           of those already here as opposed to independent?

6                   MR. OLSON:  I'm not exactly familiar  
7           with all the states, all the state laws.  There is  
8           the education commission for medical graduates  
9           which provides the certification function to try  
10          to get the best record in the first instance, and  
11          I think that if Illinois were to require that an  
12          applicant have submitted an original application  
13          at some point and that was validated either by the  
14          first state or by the education commission, you  
15          could then not have that problem.  While this may  
16          disproportionately be a burden on the  
17          internationally trained physician, it's a burden  
18          on other trained physicians.  Yet if there was any  
19          questions that a Xerox copy wasn't quite right,  
20          you might be able to go back.  I think that the  
21          reciprocity with the first state certification, I  
22          think is an appropriate way to proceed, but no  
23          state wants to sort of be the first to step.

1                   MR. SCHWARTZBERG: I wasn't asking about  
2 the first state. I'm well aware -- I understood  
3 what you're saying about the first state. If you  
4 go to a second state, the first should be  
5 recognized. What I'm suggesting is the idea that  
6 it's possible to get certified copies of some of  
7 these records out of something like Bucharest  
8 three years ago, just imagine that, and that those  
9 who try to get these materials find that they are  
10 blockaded by the inability to get to a government  
11 halfway around the world to get them to move.

12                   MR. OLSON: That's correct. And that's  
13 also a continuing circumstance. I know that it  
14 would be useful for you in any state to provide an  
15 alternative. I know that Cuban physicians, for  
16 example, in Florida were able to go through a  
17 procedure to obviate that by going through a  
18 number of other activities and very, very  
19 difficult when you don't have the cooperation at  
20 the other end. And I think that to have that be a  
21 continuing opportunity for persons from any  
22 country, Viet Nam, for example, would be very  
23 appropriate.



1                   MR. SCHWARTZBERG:    One follow up, and  
2                   this is a suggestion.  Mr. Kim, can you, running  
3                   this campaign, public attention, most people in  
4                   the United States are not aware of the degree of  
5                   intern shortage at most hospitals in this country  
6                   face.  And that if the country as a whole were  
7                   more aware how much of a shortfall there is say in  
8                   Iowa, Iowa would not be putting the kinds of  
9                   barriers that it presently does against foreign  
10                  physician or against foreign trained physicians  
11                  that we presently find.  But, most people assume  
12                  that we have far more interns and residents  
13                  available than what we do.

14                 MR. OLSON:    I think that's exactly  
15                 correct, and there was also a survey taken in New  
16                 York and particularly in terms of specialist  
17                 interns being trained there.  They identified that  
18                 if you actually had to replace, if you cut about a  
19                 third, for example, the number of interns there.  
20                 We all realize these persons are not paid a very  
21                 large amount of money.  If you had to replace them  
22                 by a nurse, you would double the cost of providing  
23                 those exact same purpose services.

1                   MR. SCHWARTZBERG:    The question I had  
2                   for Professor Kim, of course, is an entirely  
3                   different area.  You pointed out two things.  You  
4                   pointed out the Ford Foundation now takes the  
5                   position that Asian Americans are no longer a  
6                   threatened community.  You've also pointed out  
7                   that there's an enormous disparity within the  
8                   Asian community.  So that while you have a portion  
9                   of the Asian American community which appears to  
10                  be extremely successful in economic and education  
11                  terms and also a large portion of the Asian  
12                  community which is not.  This creates, in effect,  
13                  a potential permanent two world division within  
14                  the Asian community.  If the Congress does what it  
15                  is now threatening to do, which is to deny welfare  
16                  monies to those who are not citizens of the United  
17                  States, given the fact that the study shows that's  
18                  more true of Asian Americans than of any other  
19                  group who are on welfare at that level for that  
20                  and similar reasons, aren't we also having simply  
21                  another set of factors added that are going to  
22                  divide the Asian American world into a world of  
23                  very rich and very poor?

3

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1                   MR. KIM: I think you made a good point.  
2                   In each age and ethnic group there's so much  
3                   difference in their socioeconomic status, it's  
4                   highly polarized. Then also among the Asian  
5                   Americans so much interethnic group difference.  
6                   So there are high proportion of Asian Americans  
7                   that are economically in big problems, and I think  
8                   the Asian American system is not the case I'm  
9                   familiar with the immigrants and they have been  
10                  here for a long time, but some are psychological  
11                  data and they wanted to get their U.S.  
12                  citizenship. So they are not citizens and also  
13                  what I want to stress is that traditionally you  
14                  know we are from the country where the fear of all  
15                  the cultures is very strong, but that's rapidly  
16                  broken down. Now what we see from Asian American  
17                  family is that nuclear family and nuclear family  
18                  means that becomes husband and wife and the  
19                  consent of the family that mean the entire  
20                  generational relations, and second relations with  
21                  family. So, even our adult children and elderly  
22                  parents, their relationship is not smooth. So the  
23                  Elderly Asian that really needs the problem, needs

1 help.

2 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: I pose this final  
3 follow up. Is there any way that we can help  
4 ensure that the Asian American community  
5 understands in advance what denying welfare  
6 payments to those who are not citizens will mean  
7 to vast numbers of that community?

8 MR. KIM: Any way the committee can do?

9 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: Any way this committee  
10 or we as individual citizens can do to deal with  
11 that problem before it becomes a reality?

12 MR. KIM: I think there should be active  
13 campaign and I know in Chicago there are Korean  
14 newspapers, they start reporting that  
15 implication, but once, unfortunate things that  
16 U.S. Congressman who originally from Korea, he's  
17 one of the persons who sponsored that bill. So I  
18 think the Asian politically diversified, from my  
19 subjective point more consciousness is a serious  
20 problem for so many Asian Americans.

21 MR. SMITH: I was interested in the  
22 comments about the Ford foundation as well and I  
23 wanted to know in your research could you find any

1 basis for this position taken by taht foundation  
2 and whether or not there are other national  
3 foundations which have also taken the position  
4 because that really cuts the community out from  
5 grant making?

6 MR. KIM: I don't think much  
7 justification, in fact, I wrote Ford Foundation  
8 and asked them to explain it. Their reply was  
9 that Asian American was not excluded from  
10 category, it was simply not included. That was  
11 their reply. It was not included. So they didn't  
12 really have a justification.

13 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Any other questions?  
14 Very good. Thank you, gentlemen.

15 MR. OLSON: I would just finally like to  
16 call your attention to the last three pages in my  
17 testimony as the kind of resources which might be  
18 used by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to  
19 analyze due process aspects of persons in any  
20 licensed profession.

21 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Thank you. Our next  
22 speakers will be Ngoan Le and Shin Kim.

23 We will commence with Ngoan Le.

1 NGOAN LE

2 Illinois Department of Public Aid  
3 (The case of the southeast Asian Refugees in  
4 Chicago, Policy for a Community at Risk)

5  
6 Thank you very much for the  
7 opportunity to present some facts and  
8 recommendations about the southeast Asian  
9 community. You just talk about the probable of  
10 welfare dependency as a factor. Very little is  
11 known about the fact that a substantial number of  
12 Asian Americans are, in fact, living in poverty  
13 and most of those happen to be southeast Asian  
14 refugees, and I want to clarify the term southeast  
15 Asian refugees first to avoid any confusion as  
16 possible. They are made up of Vietnamese,  
17 Cambodian, Laotian and also the Mung who is a  
18 minority in Laos. Sometimes people refer to them  
19 as Indochinese. Some of the southeast Asians do  
20 not like this term because it refers to a Colonial  
21 time. So you will hear the term southeast Asian  
22 refugees frequently, and it basically refers to  
23 those three people from Cambodia, Vietnamese and

4

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1 Laos.

2 As some of you may know, the  
3 southeast Asians have been resettled in the United  
4 States as part of the world wide rescue effort  
5 subsequent to the Communist takeover of Cambodia,  
6 Laos and Viet Nam. The U.S. resettled the largest  
7 number of all nations and data from the U.S. State  
8 Department confirmed the fact that as of  
9 September, 1991, southeast Asians constituted the  
10 largest group of refugees worldwide admitted to  
11 the U.S. since 1975. According to the 1990  
12 census, there are over a million southeast Asians  
13 in the U.S.. Some who are ethnic Chinese may  
14 choose to identify themselves as Chinese and  
15 therefore not included in this group, even though  
16 they are also from southeast Asia. Of these  
17 numbers, there are 614,000 Vietnamese, about 147  
18 Korean and about 239 Laotians which includes  
19 90,000 Mung.

20 In the State of Illinois the 1990  
21 census identified 16,700 southeast Asian refugees.  
22 Among these approximately 56 percent are  
23 Vietnamese, 26 percent are Laotian, 16 percent

1 Korean, and 2 percent are Mung. A little bit less  
2 than 50 percent live in the city. It's primarily  
3 in Uptown, Edgewater, Albany Park, Rogers Park and  
4 the remaining over 50 percent live outside of the  
5 City, principally in Cook, Kane, DuPage and Will  
6 counties.

7 It's a very young community. The  
8 majority of southeast Asians arrive in Illinois  
9 less than 15 years ago. And that there are little  
10 differences between groups. For example, 16  
11 percent of Vietnamese 85 percent of Korean, 75  
12 percent of Laotian and 55 percent of the Mung  
13 arrived here after 1980. I point out these  
14 different times of arrivals because it's very  
15 important to understand that each of the cohorts,  
16 represent different characteristics. The group  
17 who arrived here earlier usually represents the  
18 elite in their countries of origin. Whereas the  
19 late arrivals tend to have been exposed to more  
20 trauma in their home countries because of  
21 persecution or imprisonment. Their escape  
22 attempts tend to be more dangerous and thus stays  
23 in refugee camps tend to be longer because of



1 difficulty obtaining permanent asylum. There has  
2 been a small number of studies done on the  
3 southeast Asian refugees, but what the data has  
4 shown is that for those who are in the U.S., they  
5 represent survivors, the people who have attempted  
6 to escape outside of their country and also from  
7 the refugee camps.

8           The cambodians, for example, show  
9 that there is some 12 percent who are widow  
10 because of the dangerous escape as well as the  
11 warfare inside of Cambodia. Many of the refugees  
12 from Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia have rural areas  
13 as well as urban areas. Vietnamese and Chinese  
14 tend to be from urban areas. The Mung and  
15 Cambodian and Laotians tends to be from rural  
16 areas.

17           If we look at the 1990 census, we  
18 also learn a little bit more about these  
19 communities. Again it's the very young community,  
20 close to 50 percent or more of southeast Asians  
21 are 25 or younger in comparison with 36 percent of  
22 the U.S. general population of this age group.  
23 And the Mung in particular, 70 percent of the Mung

1 are younger than 24 years of age.

2 In regard to educational attainment  
3 among the adults age 25 and older, 40 percent of  
4 Vietnamese, 60 percent are Cambodian, 60 percent  
5 are Laotian and 72 percent of Mungs have high  
6 school education. Data shows that approximately 1  
7 out of 4 Vietnamese, 1 out of 2 Cambodian, 1 out  
8 of 3 Laotian, and 2 out of 3 Mung live below  
9 poverty line. When you look at this data, it  
10 becomes very obvious that the southeast Asian have  
11 had a very difficult time to make the economic  
12 adaptation to American society and also  
13 contributing to the difficulty includes illiteracy  
14 in their own native language, English language  
15 barriers which prevents them from obtaining  
16 training of either education or vocational  
17 training that would help them to find work, and  
18 without new skills whether it's English skills or  
19 vocational skills, they are not able to find the  
20 job that can support the whole family. For those  
21 southeast Asians who have professional  
22 credentials, they may no longer be employed in the  
23 same profession because it's not unusual that

1 their credentials are not accepted in the United  
2 States. And for that reason, the majority have to  
3 learn new skills or update their training to be  
4 more modern world in the new economic environment.

5 We talked earlier about welfare  
6 dependency. You should know that the refugee  
7 policy very much discourages southeast Asians from  
8 relying on public assistance, even though the  
9 majority of them arrive more or less without  
10 anything, they have had to count on public  
11 assistance for the first few years of their  
12 resettlement. When we examine the data from the  
13 Illinois Department of Public Aid from June, 1993,  
14 that's roughly 4,000 persons of Asian ancestry  
15 receiving Aid to Families With Dependent Children  
16 and about 1,700 receive transitional assistance.  
17 If we were to assume that the majority of these  
18 individuals are southeast Asian, this data  
19 revealed that approximately 35 percent continue to  
20 have to rely on public assistance. So that's  
21 about one out of three southeast Asian in Illinois  
22 today. If we look at those who have found work,  
23 the data does show that the employment retention

1 rates improve each succeeded years in spite of the  
2 fact the majority southeast Asians have had to  
3 make major occupational changes. The majority of  
4 southeast Asian, some 64 percent held blue collar  
5 jobs when we look at data from the office of  
6 refugee resettlement. And for those people who  
7 were once farmers and fishermen, a very small  
8 percentage were able to find work in that  
9 occupations now. For those who are in the labor  
10 force, the average wage earned during the first  
11 five years is estimated at \$209 per week or \$5 per  
12 hour. The relative low wages for the first five  
13 years and the very large family sizes may explain  
14 why southeast Asians continue to have to rely on  
15 public assistance. For example, households that  
16 have more than six members and less than two  
17 individuals working would still need to rely on  
18 some form of public assistance such at food stamps  
19 to sustain that family. Outside of the economic  
20 conditions there are other issues that challenge  
21 this population, such as mental health. Studies  
22 have been conducted on the mental health  
23 conditions of the southeast Asian have shown that

1 they're a tremendous amount of people experiencing  
2 depression. For Cambodians in particular, post  
3 traumatic stress syndrome is a common experience  
4 for many of those adult children who survived the  
5 killing fields in Cambodia. The Mung has a very  
6 special product, very many men people who are  
7 healthy individuals die suddenly in their death  
8 and the causes are still not known, but many of  
9 those who have studied this problem have  
10 attributed this problem to stress and the problem  
11 of having to adapt to the new life as well as  
12 making reconciliations of painful memories of  
13 their loses. These mental health studies have  
14 also shown that the mental health of individuals  
15 from southeast Asia is predicated upon the  
16 condition whether preceded their arrival in the  
17 U.S., and the condition of community in the  
18 settlement.

19 A study by Professor Al Rubin  
20 Rombalt, mental health and refugee experience  
21 conducted in 1985 found that 65 percent of  
22 Cambodians have lost at least one family member  
23 and 83 percent were separated from their families.

1 For Vietnamese, on the other hand, 42 percent  
2 reported having family members jailed by the  
3 government in power, 30 percent were assaulted  
4 during that escape, and 39 percent had lost family  
5 members.

6 Outside of the mental health  
7 problems, refugees from southeast Asia also  
8 experience a number of health problems, and health  
9 problems in part was presented by the southeast  
10 Asian refugees as one of the major barriers to  
11 their ability to find work. The Center for  
12 Disease Control identifies the PL problem  
13 experienced by southeast Asian using flu,  
14 tuberculosis, Hepatitis B, anemia, malnutrition,  
15 hearing, vision, and dental problems.

16 So, you have listened to the litany  
17 of problems of the southeast Asian in the United  
18 States and the experience before and during their  
19 resettlement in the U.S.. So, if we have to  
20 analyze the prospects of southeast Asian refugee  
21 community will seem very dim, but in effect we do  
22 see signs that it's reason to be hopeful as well.  
23 On the one hand, community and the individuals

1 from southeast Asia have to overcome a number of  
2 barriers to become successful, even just to  
3 survive. On the other hand, if we look at data  
4 made available by the Office of Refugee  
5 Resettlement, it shows that after ten years the  
6 average income of those arriving in 1975 is  
7 \$17,000. So compared with the U.S. average, the  
8 1975 arrival will achieve an income equal to that  
9 of the average United States resident. And I want  
10 to emphasize the fact that those arriving in 1975  
11 represents the earlier groups who suffer loss,  
12 traumas and probably come more equipped for  
13 mainstream perhaps in this country as opposed to  
14 western cultures prior to where they are in the  
15 settlement.

16 Another data that shows some sign of  
17 hope is that the Bureau of Census shows between  
18 1982 to 1987 the number of businesses owned by  
19 individual identifying them as Vietnamese  
20 increased 40 percent from close to 5,000  
21 businesses in 1982 to about 25,700 businesses in  
22 1987 with the reported receipts of \$1 billion, 300  
23 million.

1                   So this data shows that the  
2                   community has been able to set up businesses and;  
3                   therefore, create jobs for their own people as  
4                   well as for the local community. You can travel  
5                   to Argyle Street between Sheridan and Broadway to  
6                   see the visible sign of economic vitality of the  
7                   community. We also look at reports of the  
8                   student's performance and indeed that has been  
9                   outstanding individuals who have graduated top of  
10                  their class or who have won scholar contentions.  
11                  Again at the same time that we look at these  
12                  reports, we examine drop out data and it showed  
13                  that close to 35 percent of southeast Asians  
14                  dropping out of high school. And I want to  
15                  explain that some of the factors contributing to  
16                  the drop out rates that many of the youngsters,  
17                  especially high school age, have not been in  
18                  schools for a number of years, whether because  
19                  they were in the refugee camps or because while  
20                  they were in the countries themselves, they were  
21                  not allowed to attend school because of their  
22                  family affiliation with the former regime.

23                               When we talked earlier about the

7



1 polarization of the Asian community and even  
2 within the southeas Asian community you see you  
3 got a picture of the extremes. There are  
4 individuals who are making it and there are some  
5 who have a failure to make it in this country.  
6 And what it means for public and private  
7 institutions who are concerned with competency  
8 issues that they need to be sure that southeast  
9 Asian community, they are not overturned. I  
10 sometimes believe we think of an Asian community  
11 as those who have been able to adjust and have  
12 been able to achieve some economic success in this  
13 country and will forget to recognize that the  
14 southeast Asian community is unique in it's own  
15 problem. The unfortunate facts about this is not  
16 only public and private institutions, I'm not  
17 aware of this problem. The community leadership  
18 sometimes don't have enough data to work on  
19 programs that could help in making improvements  
20 for the community. Most of the community leaders  
21 are very concerned that their efforts and  
22 strategies to work with families living in poverty  
23 as soon as possible because they don't want to see

1 the people living in, either having to depend on  
2 public assistance or just below poverty line to  
3 develop generational poverty. Often we already  
4 seen incidents of gangs being created. Many new  
5 international problems as well as domestic  
6 problems.

7 Another important factor to point  
8 out here is that since most of the southeast  
9 Asians are not doing well, they are living in poor  
10 neighborhoods of inner cities, and because of this  
11 reason, they tend to come into contact more  
12 frequently with other poor communities who may be  
13 resentful of the fact that as new arrivals,  
14 southeast Asians may be competing for a limited  
15 resources to assist people living in poverty.

16 On the final note, though, I do feel  
17 very strongly that southeast Asians could become a  
18 useful group builder between communities of  
19 different economic and social background because  
20 of their unique experience in which many who were  
21 once the haves are now the have nots. And we have  
22 seen such examples of Uptown where southeast  
23 Asians have taken the leadership role to help

1 build affordable homes and/or affordable programs  
2 that not only benefit their population, but other  
3 populations such as Indians, African Americans,  
4 Latinos. Thank you very much.

5 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Shin Kim.

6 SHIN KIM, Ph.D.

7 Chicago State University

8 (Political Economic Nature of Korean-African  
9 American Conflict; Its Civil Rights  
10 Implications.)

11  
12 Madam Chair, members of the  
13 committee, I am honored to be here at the same  
14 time, but somewhat uneasy appearing here.

15 There are several reasons for that,  
16 but first of all, as you can see, the topic of my  
17 discussion testimony is belong to Session III  
18 which is scheduled for tomorrow. Because Dr. Sen  
19 could not be here at the last moment. So it  
20 appears like I'm opening Kenneth Wong without any  
21 time to follow it's and recheck him. I'm also  
22 academic, meaning that I don't have much  
23 illustrative details or stories to tell or

8

1 practical staff such as, but most of the topic of  
2 my discussion interracial group relations. It is  
3 a very emotional topic so that my discussion will  
4 be somewhat from a Korean's perspective. As I  
5 said, I want to point out a couple of things. One  
6 my title of the topic has been changed a little  
7 bit because I found out under the similar topic  
8 there's articles was published in the fall and  
9 also another thing I want to point out is that the  
10 title of the paper which is a microanalysis which  
11 means in some both at the level of the discussion  
12 as well as the size of sample is very small. So  
13 you have to take the conclusions, whatever  
14 conclusions you decide to with draw from there.  
15 You have to take it with a grain of salt and  
16 another thing is that even though I point out only  
17 the conflict between Korean and African American  
18 conflict does not mean these two groups only  
19 conflict exists. As a matter of fact, if you will  
20 look at what happens in Chicago between Korean and  
21 African Americans, there is quite a lot of  
22 cooperation between these two groups. If you also  
23 look at what happened to other cities, then I

1 think Chicago has a lot more cooperation between  
2 these two groups than any other city.  
3 Nonetheless, we know there's a conflict, so I just  
4 concentrate on the conflict.

5 With that introduction, I want to  
6 just read some part of my paper. I'm sorry I did  
7 not have enough of them, copies of the paper. In  
8 1993, Los Angeles disturbance, commonly call  
9 Saiego (Phonetic) in Korean Street terms means 4  
10 to 9, April 29, it changed the normal dimension  
11 discussions regarding the Korean and African  
12 American conflict. As you already know it was an  
13 African American expression of anger against the  
14 American citizen oppressive to racial groups, but  
15 such an expressive act led to massive scale  
16 looting or burning of local businesses in African  
17 American, Hispanic neighborhoods and several  
18 nearby areas. We all know that the media  
19 immediately, because of unrest, was that a trial  
20 over the police beating of Rodney King, but  
21 African American resident's anger over the trial  
22 verdict resulted in destruction of large number of  
23 Korean businesses located in south central L.A. as

1 well as Koreatown, which was nearby. More than  
2 2,000 Koreans owned businesses are estimated to  
3 have been lost or burned and also disrupted the  
4 daily life of local residents and deprives them of  
5 stable supplies, daily necessities, and job  
6 opportunities. A large proportion of the  
7 destroyed area like this remain as an urban waste  
8 land for a long time to come. I hope now, but  
9 always past experience of other rise on the -- for  
10 several weeks after that the news media focused on  
11 the Korean and African American relationship. In  
12 this coverage, the man, Korean store owners, them  
13 Korean store owner's own traumatic experience are  
14 the desire of their own and their family members  
15 work was hard dimensioned. It seemed only ironic  
16 that the victims who were depicted as victimizers,  
17 but whether this coverage was intentional or not,  
18 nevertheless, this coverage I think has increased  
19 the hostility and between these two groups, racial  
20 groups. To some degree I think it's come down  
21 somewhat, but right after this high blow to the  
22 level of counterproductive and in the sense you  
23 can say it's highly cohesive, real depressing to

1 both groups.

2                   What happened to Los Angeles can  
3 happen in any of the major American cities.  
4 Citizens, many of them is a small business in the  
5 inner city, African American community, thus their  
6 business emerged as highly visible targets of  
7 local resident's hatred against the system, as  
8 demonstrated by the cases of a family apple store  
9 in New York in the Roosevelt area, and another  
10 recent Chicago experience at the Bulls'  
11 Championship games as a way to cope with such  
12 volatile racial issues, it's urgent to examine the  
13 nature of the relationship between these two  
14 groups. The relationship between these two  
15 groups; particularly Korean store owner and  
16 African American residents must be investigated  
17 with both macro and micro perspectives.  
18 Nonetheless, there's the possibility and further  
19 study on this issue. I did not print my paper,  
20 but it will be very helpful if somehow the  
21 committee can support or finance the last study,  
22 size of the study of this relationship. As  
23 anecdotal, small size studies are helpful, but

1 also we need some large studies. In any case the  
2 posture of the focuses on this issue, this paper  
3 exposed the limited aspect of this relationship  
4 with a small sample.

5 I will once again want to emphasize  
6 it's a micro level. And the structure is the  
7 source of Korean/African American conflict we all  
8 know is the history pattern of white and African  
9 American relationships. I think Douglas  
10 Siandenten (phonetic) has a very good book about  
11 talking about the migration of African Americans  
12 from rural south to the urban north. For example,  
13 80 percent of African Americans were in the rural  
14 south in 1870, but a century later a similar  
15 proportion of African Americans live in urban  
16 areas and many of them settled in major American  
17 cities such as Chicago. In these, the major  
18 American centers, African Americans are very  
19 segregated, they are racially segregated. They  
20 have also been occupationally disenfranchised.  
21 African American's living conditions in those  
22 areas have been further degenerated by the loss of  
23 manufacturing jobs in urban areas in recent years.



1 This deprived situation creates an extreme form of  
2 concentrated poverty in those areas, and we know  
3 that the underclass reas that they get to live has  
4 been plagued with crime, drug problems, teenage  
5 pregnancy and so on. Under such life conditions,  
6 it's just natural that the rest of them feel  
7 despair and resent white dominated institutions  
8 which are probably, to a great extent, responsible  
9 for their deprived life condition.

10 As these urban ghettos are socially and  
11 economically degenerating, these areas are also  
12 commercially. White store owners left the area,  
13 big chain stores withdraw, and even African  
14 American middle class moved out. As immigrants  
15 without security come into the base in the United  
16 States where immigrants have filled this vacuum,  
17 they took over numerous existing businesses or  
18 create new business in the abandoned area. Korean  
19 stores are not zealous to their African American  
20 customers and employers to their African American  
21 employees. These positions of career store owner  
22 help to create chronic on those areas. The  
23 residents, local residents are now customers and

1 relationships between their local residents often  
2 becomes defenders of economic interest of their  
3 own community. And in this capacity, local  
4 residents are reported to express their complaints  
5 about Korean businesses as follows: Dominance of  
6 businesses in African American communities, store  
7 owner's disrespectful treatment of African  
8 American customer, the unwillingness to hire  
9 African American worker, inferior quality of goods  
10 or higher prices of goods at Korean stores, the  
11 owner no refund policy when the owner either  
12 concerned with the work fair of the African  
13 American community, Korean store owners concede  
14 their relationship with the local residents, with  
15 the perspective of status and employer, from his  
16 perspective, many owners that are reported to be  
17 gravely concerned with some of the local  
18 resident's behavior such as pilfering attempts,  
19 sporadic robbery, attempts or other violent  
20 attempts against Korean stores, unreliable  
21 performance of the African American employees.  
22 Most of these two sets of the issues reveal that  
23 Korean store owners and local residents that their

1 relationship with different perspective that  
2 therefore, with different sets of issues as a  
3 premier study for hope, the understanding of  
4 relations between these two groups, this study,  
5 this paper selected only 4 following issues. 1,  
6 customer's view of Korean stores and Korean store  
7 owner's behavior; 2, local residents as perceived  
8 by store owners and local residents; 3, African  
9 American employee's performance as perceived by  
10 store owners and local residents, particularly  
11 employees themselves; 4, store owner's perception  
12 of a community development.

13 I want to note that robbery attempts  
14 or violent attacks, the physical safety issues of  
15 this Korean store owners is not included in this  
16 paper, but they -- it's pretty small. I mention  
17 this about 60 or so. The cases and the store  
18 owners, I included myself, employ African American  
19 employees of a Korean store and the customers. We  
20 interviewed about six of my students, African  
21 American students at Chicago State University.  
22 The paper speaks of respondents is pretty much  
23 pretty wide known there. The Korean store owners

1 have been hearing about it ten years and so  
2 everyone thinks they have had their college career  
3 before immigration, and most of them are married  
4 and majority of them is living in suburban areas.  
5 They operate five main lines; clothes, shoes, dry  
6 cleaners and beauty supplies and some others, but  
7 virtually the old owners reported that they have a  
8 heavy pressure of competition in their current  
9 business with other Korean small businesses within  
10 their own area, and African American employees of  
11 Korean stores are found a little younger than  
12 owners. They are either single or married. They  
13 are also majority of them have family to support  
14 and customers also have pretty much same as  
15 employees, and the local resident's view of Korean  
16 store owners and store owner's behavior is  
17 somewhat a myth.

18 I mentioned several things about  
19 good things about Korean store in their  
20 neighborhoods such as convenience, such as also  
21 some of it measures low price of goods, good  
22 quality of goods, some have good things and some  
23 other things and some customers report that Korean

1 store owners are politeness and courteous. But if  
2 you also mentioned that some owners -- but the  
3 majority of them customers, about 54.2 percent  
4 majority of them expressed negative views of  
5 Korean store owners. They bitterly complain about  
6 owner's disrespectful treatment of African  
7 customers and also no refund policy. Again, I  
8 repeat the first one, the constant surveillance of  
9 the customers. There was some customers, relative  
10 minority of them also said that they hate the  
11 presence of, simply hate the presence of Korean  
12 stores in their neighborhood. Very few of them  
13 mention also they have high price or low quality,  
14 but a pretty small minority mentioned that.  
15 Korean -- local residents of Korean stores is one  
16 of the issues I think is a very emotional issue.  
17 At the same time, it's very hot topic in a way.  
18 When we asked the customers, employees, and store  
19 owners; do you think that many customers,  
20 sometimes employees, try to take goods from the  
21 store without paying the price? Most of the store  
22 owners, 88.2 percent, and most of the same  
23 percentage African American employees and about

1 2/3rds of customers believe that many customers  
2 are attempting shoplifting at Korean stores. At  
3 the same time, most of the store owners and half  
4 of the employees indicate that many African  
5 American employees also attempt pilfering at  
6 Korean stores. These findings show that it's the  
7 percentage of the same piece of the same pie  
8 though that there's wide recognition that many  
9 local residents, customers and employees, attempt  
10 pilfering at Korean stores. As to why their local  
11 residents attempt shoplifting at Korean store,  
12 many employees and people answer that there are  
13 economically motivated. They want to get, but  
14 don't have the money to pay, and some people say  
15 they want to make money by selling those goods.  
16 Virtually all of the Korean store owners also  
17 think that local residents and employees  
18 economically motivated in their pilfering  
19 attempts. One interesting part, I believe, is  
20 that additionally half of the owners also indicate  
21 that local residents, the race that the residents  
22 of lifestyle as a way of life. These are my topic  
23 contribution, in view of the local residents.

1 Store owners have devised the punishment of those  
2 who will get caught. Some owners believe that  
3 such a attempts should be severly punished and  
4 also owners say put on your minds the punishment.  
5 The rest of the owners do not want punishment  
6 unless the goods are returned undamage. The cost  
7 is relief that when the customers be caught for  
8 pilfering in the store, they should file -- they  
9 would file a statement, a little bit, but some  
10 customers will not file any statement at all.  
11 Interestingly, many customers indicate that  
12 customer are more attempt to pilfer at Korean  
13 stores than any at the white stores or at the  
14 African American stores.

15 Customers offer the following  
16 explanation for such temptation. One is because  
17 some black residents hate Korean, 2, it's easier  
18 to pilfer at Korean stores than at other stores, 3  
19 when customers get caught many Korean store owners  
20 do not severly punish them, and let the customers  
21 go and Korean store owners are less likely to call  
22 police than other community groups. But, the  
23 African American employee of Korean store,

1 contrary to the common perception, almost all the  
2 Korean stores big enough to hire anybody found to  
3 hire black workers, African American workers. I  
4 think this finding also is true with others. The  
5 findings that's done by Great American Community  
6 Organization and you will hear more of those  
7 things I think tomorrow, most of the Korean stores  
8 hiring very few number of African American  
9 employees because they are small in size and also  
10 the majority job African American employees have  
11 been employed by their current force for a short  
12 period of time; about a year or less. But about  
13 35 percent of them have been working in this store  
14 for a long period of time. Last, some employment  
15 stability not a whole lot now. They've been paid  
16 at the time it was about 4 years ago, \$4.25, and  
17 it's more than I think minimum wage, but it was  
18 not that good paying. Regardless of length of  
19 employment and amount of pay, most of the  
20 employees indicated that they wanted to change,  
21 they would like to change their credentials.  
22 Korean store owners are not satisfied with the  
23 performance of their African American employees.



1 Most of the owners acknowledge that in addition to  
2 attempt to pilfer, the employees are generally  
3 unreliable. In sharp contrast, African American  
4 employees generally believe that they do a good  
5 job, particularly so considering the low wage and  
6 hours of work. But the store owner's perception  
7 and community involvement and most of the store  
8 owners do not personally know any African American  
9 community leaders, nor do they remember that any  
10 African American community leader ever visit their  
11 store in community affairs, but half of the store  
12 owners reported that they are attempting some  
13 community relation meetings. Most of the African  
14 American employees and customers do not believe  
15 that their community leaders are capable of  
16 mobilizing people to African American people.  
17 Contrary to this, most of the store owners think  
18 African American communities are incapable of  
19 doing so. They were coming to an ability to hear  
20 the store owners express their desire to do  
21 something for the welfare of the African American  
22 community and in reality however, only two of the  
23 store owners are found to be actually involved in

1 the community activities.

2 For the conclusion, with the  
3 recommendation of two structural resources, I'll  
4 put in there and the study having received only  
5 micro level source of conflict, which means the  
6 conflict occurred in daily contact with Korean  
7 store owners with African American customers and  
8 employees in inner city African American  
9 neighborhoods, thus the conflict is economic in  
10 nature and devoid of any personal or cultural  
11 effects. This data revealed that both Korean  
12 store owners and African American local resident  
13 customers and employees look at each other with  
14 mixed attitudes. Persons of Korean store owners  
15 apparently find some profit making opportunity in  
16 the southside of Chicago. At the same time, they  
17 have a lot of problems, as we discussed before,  
18 and African American customers also recognized  
19 several positive aspects of Koreans businesses in  
20 their community, such as convenience and so on,  
21 that kind of thing. Also, virtually every Korean  
22 store is big enough to hired anybody, hire many  
23 local residents as their employees, thus creating

1 jobs. It is not that big, the impact,  
2 nevertheless, job creation for local residents.  
3 And the, nevertheless, many customers bitterly  
4 complain about the rude way that they were treated  
5 at Korean stores. Many customers feel humiliated  
6 and spread their sense of anger, indignation to  
7 Korean store owners. Some local residents resent  
8 the presence of Korean stores in their own  
9 community.

10 What are the civil rights  
11 implications of these findings? As demonstrated  
12 by Korean and African Americans is chronic in Los  
13 Angeles and within which was open and violent  
14 conflict. This open and violent conflict involves  
15 a gross violation of civil rights of both groups.  
16 The physical safety is threatened, their number of  
17 business transactions is terribly disrupted and  
18 also the local resident's job opportunities is  
19 lost. As a whole, the normal legal and moral  
20 America would regulate the relationship between  
21 store owners and local residents would be broken  
22 down creations of the state. In light of this  
23 reality of urban underclass neighborhoods, African

1 American resident's leaders need to view the  
2 residence of Korean stores and their business  
3 activity with realistic understanding. Since  
4 like the local residents and the community leaders  
5 see Korean stores with some nationalistic  
6 ideological perspective, that's considered Korean  
7 store owners as outside invaders in what might be  
8 called exploitation. This perspective, similar  
9 implausible actions and a pronto action statement  
10 is pronto or violent conflict. With a  
11 relationship between customers and the store  
12 owners is again, I think both sides have hardly  
13 any understanding of their actions violating the  
14 Civil Rights Act. Both sides violated each  
15 others. Korean store owners I think need an  
16 intensive training for these tough issues, help to  
17 lay out their merchandise, help to monitor the  
18 customers without violating their rights and also  
19 how to recognize that the patrons are shoplifters,  
20 you know, if the hand of the customer is caught  
21 from pilferage. The ownership is spread human  
22 dignity or civil rights of customers. At the same  
23 time, the local residents, as well as the leaders

1 have to be trained to respect the civil rights of  
2 the Korean store owners in which case is going to  
3 be conducting the incoming life free of them.  
4 Regarding the employee, with employees of Korean  
5 store owners have little understanding of this  
6 secondary labor market for inferior work habits  
7 and secondary types of worker. They have to be  
8 informed or trained of the American labor law  
9 relating to their small business management and  
10 also they have to need the training. The effect,  
11 how to manage the African American employees in  
12 such a way they can utilize the employees  
13 effectively or to respect the human dignity of  
14 these employees.

15                   The vicious cycle found if both the  
16 national Korean/African American relation between  
17 Korean store owners and customers is what Korean  
18 store owners and the African American employees  
19 need. We will condemn the bad decision of the  
20 African American community for negative  
21 stereotyping by both sides as much as we will  
22 condemn this stereotyping.

23                   Given the racist nature of American

1 society, this stereotyping probably will continue.  
2 What we need is an awareness, raising the training  
3 of each other's civil rights, conduct one's  
4 economic livelihood.

5 I want to mention please in  
6 conclusion that the store owners and community  
7 leaders must also understand that you cannot own a  
8 store in someone else's neighborhood and not be  
9 involved in community affairs. He must be  
10 voluntary, and these suggestions, plus a few other  
11 things I'm pretty sure tomorrow's panelists will  
12 have suggestions concerning whether the issue on  
13 the micro level and the efforts on the micro level  
14 may reduce the occurrence of often or violent  
15 conflict. But it does not deal with the basic  
16 source of the conflict that deprived life  
17 conditions of African American residents and  
18 concentration of Korean small businesses in these  
19 areas. It's necessary for Korean stores and local  
20 residents to develop some common strategies to  
21 improve the county position of local residents and  
22 the welfare of minority groups as a whole. Macro  
23 is not just a summation of micro; therefore, the

1 micro macro level solutions must be carried out  
2 simultaneously and continuously, otherwise it's  
3 conflict between these two racial groups will  
4 never be solved. Thank you.

5 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Any questions from  
6 panelists?

7 MS. PORTELA: Gloria Portela. I have a  
8 question for Dr. Kim. As I sat here and listened  
9 to you, it seemed to me that part of what you were  
10 describing could be the immigrant experience of  
11 any ethnic group. The desire to own your own  
12 business rather than to work for someone else, the  
13 desire to prosper, the fact that because you're a  
14 small business owner things like pilferage,  
15 shoplifting, et cetera, impacts you much more  
16 adversely than if you're Bloomingdale's. The  
17 question that I'm struggling with I guess is what  
18 is it that makes this particular conflict unique  
19 or what are the antecedents of this conflict, real  
20 or perceived, between these two communities  
21 because it seemed to me that until we isolate  
22 whether, in fact, there is anything specific about  
23 this conflict we will be limited in our ability to

1 solve it.

2 DR. KIM: I believe that the contrary to  
3 other immigration experiences, we have the  
4 conflict between Korean and African Americans is  
5 interminority conflict, that's one specific about  
6 it, for example, between us and African Americans.  
7 So this interminority conflict meaning that both  
8 groups are minorities in terms of their  
9 relationship with dominant groups, and they do  
10 not, some of them do not perceive or do not  
11 understand that we are forced into this position  
12 of being a conflict. We shouldn't have conflict  
13 between us. We should have more cooperation of  
14 conflict between these two groups, but  
15 nevertheless we are in a way forced in, both  
16 groups are forced into this conflict position. So  
17 we have to be very -- this isn't about the  
18 mainstream or mass media attempt to portray, to  
19 the L.A. riots or disturbance as Korean and black  
20 and conflict. That's one thing I can be specific  
21 about this one.

22 Another thing, specific about this  
23 one Korean/African American conflict, I'm pretty

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1 sure it also like the pride to other Asians and  
2 African Americans or hispanic conflict which is  
3 that there is underlying current among the African  
4 Americans, for example, feel that Asians who are  
5 late comers, new comers and late comers and they  
6 do not know much about Asian. They're not  
7 American citizens, but nevertheless, they are able  
8 to open up their own business in their community  
9 areas, meaning there must be some government or  
10 mainstream society support for these groups;  
11 therefore, they resent these Koreans. For  
12 example, Korean store owners with a much more  
13 higher degree because they feel it's support from  
14 the white mainstream society which is not true.

15 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: Dr. Kim, I want to  
16 recognize this is a micro analysis. Is there  
17 anything you've come across, anecdotal, that  
18 suggests any difference in the responses between  
19 a Korean grocer in an African American community  
20 and a Palestinian grocer in an African American  
21 community?

22 DR. KIM: I frankly don't know a whole  
23 lot about it. I really cannot answer.

1           MR. SMITH:    It's a good question though  
2 because if you go back 15 years, this conflict  
3 centered between African Americans and Arab  
4 stores.  So it's a good question.

5           DR. KIM:     Even now some areas and also  
6 there is some areas that Korean store owners who  
7 are out and other Asian groups are taking over  
8 like Pakistanians.

9           MR. EWING:   Let me ask this question.  
10 Has there been any data on the average age of  
11 shoplifters, people suspected of shoplifting?

12          DR. KIM:     I don't think so, but I think  
13 the average age of a customer about 30.

14          MR. EWING:   Well, the reason I ask that  
15 question, you see this story brought back some  
16 memories to me.  I grew up in a small town and  
17 within two corners there was a black store, small  
18 black, there was a Syrian and there was a Chinese,  
19 and from time to time some of my schoolmates, I  
20 knew they did shoplifting, in fact, I found myself  
21 in the store with them at sometime and they tended  
22 to not shoplift from the black store, not because  
23 it was black, but because the owner might be able

1 to identify them and knew their parents, and they  
2 tended to, between the Chinese store and the  
3 Syrian store, determine which was the most  
4 vulnerable at a given time, based upon the number  
5 of people in the store and the number of youths  
6 that would go into the store to create a  
7 diversion. So that's why I was raising the  
8 question and I think that's what they were  
9 pursuing is that whoever is there, no matter what  
10 ethnic identification they have, they tend to be  
11 the target of some of those.

12 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Very good. I'm going  
13 to have to have just one more.

14 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: I'd just like to  
15 comment. The fact that we're asking no questions  
16 of Ngoan Le simply from my point of view, simply  
17 serves as recognition that whenever I have a  
18 preparation paper, it answers all of the questions  
19 clearly and concisely and we thank you once again  
20 and we thank Shin Kim.

21 CHAIRPERSON LYON: I want to take a five  
22 minute recess and reconvene at about 3:25.

23 (A brief recess was taken.)

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AFTER RECESS

CHAIRPERSON LYON: We're going to have three speakers; Sandra Yamate, Yvonne Lau and Edwin Silverman. We will start with Sandra Yamate.

SANDRA YAMATE

Asian American Bar Association  
(Asian Americans in the Legal Profession: An Exclusion from Power)

Thank you. My name is Sandra Yamate and just by way of background, I have been a practicing attorney for about ten years and I'm the immediate past president of the Asian American Bar Association of the greater Chicago area. We don't generally perceive attorneys as necessarily needing to have any particular attention or concern thrown their way, but this afternoon I would like to raise some points of problems that do face Asian American and sometimes other minority attorneys as well.

There are a growing number of Asian Americans entering the legal profession and it's a rather rapid growth which suggests to the casual

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1 glance that law may be a field that's offering  
2 limitless opportunities for Asian Americans. The  
3 reality, however, is very far from that. Much of  
4 the information that I shall be presenting to you  
5 this afternoon comes from the Asian American Bar  
6 Association which was organized in the latter part  
7 of 1986 and the early part of 1987. It was  
8 formerly incorporated in August of 1987. There is  
9 little demographic information about the status of  
10 Asian American attorneys in Illinois prior to the  
11 Bar Association's formation. So that most of the  
12 data I shall be discussing comes from this 8 year  
13 period.

14 There's no precise count as to the  
15 number of Asian American attorneys licensed to  
16 practice law within the State of Illinois. Rough  
17 estimates can be made based upon the U.S. census  
18 data and the number of Asian surnames listed in  
19 comprehensive directories such as Sullivan's Law  
20 Directory and Martindale-Hubbell as well as  
21 listings of new admittees to the bar. This, of  
22 course, has its obvious flaws. It overlooks Asian  
23 American women who are married and taken the name

1 of a non Asian spouse and by a multi racial Asian  
2 Americans who have non Asian surnames and who,  
3 according to Professor Larry Hagemi Shiogawa of  
4 Sinoma State University in California are  
5 statistically more likely not to identify  
6 themselves as Asian American. Publicity about the  
7 Bar Association's existence and it's various  
8 programs and projects in addition to word of mouth  
9 within the legal profession and the Asian American  
10 community has served to attract additional numbers  
11 of Asian American attorneys into the Bar  
12 Association's membership or at least it serves to  
13 advise us of members of the Asian American  
14 community who are also members of the profession,  
15 regardless whether they choose to actually become  
16 members of the organization. While not perfect,  
17 the process has allowed us to identify many, if  
18 not all, Asian American attorneys in the State of  
19 Illinois. although the U.S. Census Bureau  
20 statistics don't offer complete information about  
21 the number of Asian American attorneys, they do  
22 offer a convenient frame of reference as to those  
23 who do identify themselves as Asian American.

1 According to the census between 1980 and 1990, the  
2 number of Asian American attorneys nationwide  
3 tripled, from approximately 3,650 in 1980 to  
4 10,500 in 1990. In the six county metropolitan  
5 area of Chicago where the majority of Asian  
6 American population in Illinois resides, census  
7 statistics reports that in 1980 the Asian American  
8 population was approximately 141,000 with 138  
9 Asian American attorneys, 106 males and 32  
10 females. In 1990 the Asian American population in  
11 the same area grew to approximately 250,000 with  
12 374 attorneys, 239 of whom were male, 135 who were  
13 female. While this increase in numbers may be  
14 interpreted to suggest a natural growth  
15 progression, it does ignore accompanying growth in  
16 many of the underlying problems that face Asian  
17 American attorneys and prevent them from fully  
18 realizing their potential.

19 Private practice and it's oft  
20 proported numbers of attorneys in a variety of  
21 statistical breakdowns is certainly one of the  
22 easiest areas within the legal profession from  
23 which to illustrate some of most obvious problems

1 facing Asian American attorneys. Begin by  
2 considering large law firms of 40 or more  
3 attorneys. Statistical information about such  
4 firms is published in a variety of forms and by a  
5 variety of sources. Although a firm of 40 or 50  
6 attorney is considered a large law firm, please  
7 bear in mind that here in Illinois many of these  
8 so callwd large firms have well over a hundred  
9 attorneys. Indeed at least ten of them have over  
10 200 and three of them have over 300 attorneys, one  
11 coming close to 400. Success within these firms  
12 is considered important by many within the legal  
13 profession because these law firms wield power at  
14 any number of levels, including the highest  
15 salaries, the highest fees, the largest wealthies,  
16 and most influential clients, high impact cases  
17 and projects, high visibility, strong support  
18 services, and impressive networking opportunities.  
19 Partnership at such a law firm, while not a  
20 guarantee of anything, nevertheless, offers untold  
21 opportunities. According to the 1994 Chicago  
22 Lawyer Diversity Survey which was reported in the  
23 May, 1994 issue of Chicago Lawyer, partners at



1 large law firms numbered 3,279. Of that number  
2 3,224 were European American, only ten were Asian  
3 American. At the associate level the survey found  
4 2,901 attorneys, 2,709 of whom were European  
5 American, Asian American attorneys numbered 535.  
6 What that means that in these large law firms,  
7 including those with over 200 attorneys, they  
8 generally employ only one or two Asian American  
9 attorneys. That is an average. Certainly some  
10 firms have far better records than that, but many  
11 more have worse ones. Some might attempt to argue  
12 that these numbers will improve overtime on their  
13 own. They suggest that as increasing numbers of  
14 Asian Americans graduate from law school  
15 increasing numbers will find their ways into these  
16 large law firms. Recent history however suggests  
17 otherwise. In 1986 when we were organizing the  
18 Asian American Bar Association, we started with  
19 approximately 50 members, of that 50 there were  
20 two males and one female who were already partners  
21 in large law firms. At least a quarter of this  
22 initial membership was comprised of women working  
23 as associates in large law firms. Interestingly,

1 eight years later, all except one of those women  
2 have left the large law firms with which they  
3 work. Indeed during their eight year history, the  
4 pattern has continued to repeat itself as we see  
5 many members obtaining entry level opportunities  
6 in large law firms, but very little retention at  
7 senior levels. One might put forward to excuse  
8 these dismal statistic is that of the search for  
9 the qualified minority. According to this myth,  
10 everyone would like to hire or promote more  
11 minorities, but they must be the so-call qualified  
12 minority. Now, no one is suggesting someone  
13 incompetent be hired or promoted, yet if you seem  
14 willing or able to question whether by virtue of  
15 the definition being implied, they very definition  
16 of what indeed is qualified. We have  
17 predetermined of course a course of failure fore  
18 most minorities. Furthermore, even when we are  
19 able to satisfy a European American standard as to  
20 what is qualified, there is no guarantee that a  
21 European American dominated mainstream will feel  
22 comfortable or relate to or work well with, much  
23 less hire those whom they perceive to be unlike

1 themselves.

2 For instance, during my own tenure  
3 at a large law firm, I had the opportunity to  
4 participate in the firm's recruitment program for  
5 law students. I recall one law student who was  
6 interviewed with the firm. This young man ranked  
7 3rd in his class at a top ten law school. The  
8 firm was impressed by his credentials and  
9 anxiously planned which prized associate attorney  
10 will be delegated to take the young man to lunch  
11 and woo him to the firm. The young man appeared  
12 for his interview at the appointed time, and lo  
13 and behold, he happened to be of Indian ancestry.  
14 Not only that, he happened to be a very dark  
15 complexed man. That upset the firm's plans. Not  
16 that they didn't want to still hire him because he  
17 was, after all, obviously one of the rare  
18 qualified minorities, the firm presumed, however,  
19 that because he was different from the young  
20 European men they had planned to have wine and  
21 dine him that they would not be compatible. The  
22 firm projected it's own discomfort with his  
23 difference onto him and they quickly assigned an

1 African American associate to take him to lunch  
2 figuring that both being dark skinned and male  
3 they would certainly have something in common.  
4 Indeed, that attitude of unwillingness to see  
5 minority and Asian American attorneys as  
6 individuals compounds the frustration, the  
7 dissatisfaction and the demoralization that many  
8 Asian American attorneys experience and that might  
9 be characterized as normal within many large law  
10 firms.

11 Another case in point occurred while  
12 I was still practicing with a large law firm. I  
13 was one of two Asian American female attorney at  
14 the firm. while I was Japanese and wore my hair  
15 long and curled, and the other was Chinese  
16 American with shorter straight hair and glasses,  
17 my Chinese American colleague's last name was her  
18 husband's surname, Peterson, and before long the  
19 firm had confused us and created a third attorney  
20 named Sandra Peterson. Sandra Peterson started to  
21 get firm memoranda, she got interoffice mail and  
22 sometimes my friend and I would get telephone  
23 calls looking for Sandra Peterson. Even after I

1 left the firm I understand that it was sometime  
2 before Sandra Peterson disappeared.

3 There are many more stories about  
4 life as an Asian American in a large law firm that  
5 I can relate. Stories about lack of mentors,  
6 limited light exposure, except for in room  
7 license, of course, limited opportunity to excell  
8 and a consistent struggle to dispell stereotypes  
9 and reassure the powers that be that one is not  
10 that terribly differet from them. But given the  
11 limited time that we have today, I shall not, but  
12 suffice it to say that for Asian American  
13 attorney's survival within a large law firm  
14 environment, much less attaining partnership has  
15 been made far more difficult for them than for  
16 their average European American counterpart.

17 The American Bar Association has  
18 attempted to address some of these problems  
19 through programs such as it's Minority  
20 Demonstration Program where large corporations  
21 commit to using minority owned law firms for some  
22 percentage of their legal work, and small minority  
23 owned firms are paired with large firms so as to



1 these programs point out that the actual number of  
2 cases or projects that actually end up being  
3 served by them are very low. Minority ownership  
4 in itself may not be sufficient to determine or  
5 direct opportunities intended to assist minority  
6 attorneys in advancing within the legal  
7 profession. At one minority owned firm, for  
8 example, at least half the attorneys were European  
9 American males or hispanic surnamed attorneys who  
10 did not care to identify themselves as hispanic.  
11 Yet this firm was quite successful in attracting  
12 business through the program. When the firms had  
13 an opportunity to select an attorney to learn  
14 financial bond work, although a minority attorney  
15 requested the opportunity, it was given to a  
16 European American male.

17 Working as inhouse counsel has  
18 always been an alternative to private practice,  
19 but has proven an illusive opportunity for Asian  
20 American attorneys. Only a handful have succeeded  
21 finding inhouse positions. While most seem to  
22 find it satisfactory, they feel they have limited  
23 opportunities to choose local counsel or promote

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1 the use of other Asian American or minority  
2 attorneys by their respective corporations. Many  
3 feel that they are slotted into areas focusing on  
4 dealing with specific groups. Indeed, one  
5 tenuously retains a position as in-house counsel  
6 by virtue of the threat of filing a race  
7 discrimination lawsuit against his employer. If  
8 partnership in a law firm represent the pinnacle  
9 of success in one model of the legal profession,  
10 then perhaps the accession to the bench represents  
11 another. Yet here too Asian American attorneys  
12 have faced a very low glass ceiling. During the  
13 early years of the Asian American Bar  
14 Association's existence, for instance, when the  
15 Chicago Bar Association compiled a survey of  
16 judges in Illinois based upon their gender and  
17 race or ethnicity. The notion of judges of Asian  
18 ancestry was so foreign, Asian Americans were not  
19 even included as a category. the first and only  
20 Asian American judge in Illinois was sworn into  
21 office in February, 1991 and that came only after  
22 an intensive two year long lobbying effort by the  
23 Bar Association. Still an associate judge of the



1 Circuit Court of Cook County, this sole judge in  
2 the state serves at the very lowest level in the  
3 Illinois judiciary. Asian Americans who have run  
4 in elections for positions as judges have been  
5 defeated each time. The situation is not much  
6 better at the federal level. There the sole Asian  
7 serves as an immigration judge. The lack of Asian  
8 Americans in the judiciary in Illinois does not  
9 simply reflect the small population. Indeed,  
10 states with much smaller Asian American  
11 populations, both by percentage of a population  
12 and sheer numbers have more Asian American judges.  
13 Arizona, for instance, has four judges of Asian  
14 American ancestry, including the Honorable Thomas  
15 Tang of the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. Texas  
16 has eight judges of Asian American Ancestry,  
17 Washington has 14 and Utah and Pennsylvania have  
18 12 each.

19 Recent debate over judicial election  
20 methods have served to underscore Asian Americans  
21 and their lack of representation in the judiciary.  
22 Appointive selection proponents point to poor  
23 voter turn out and lack of voter education

1 regarding judicial election, yet Asian Americans  
2 have not seen appointive selection likely to  
3 increase opportunities for them to serve on the  
4 bench, especially given some of the same concerns  
5 about the so called qualified minority.

6 Judicial sub districts on the other  
7 hand, which was promoted as a means of increasing  
8 minority representation on the bench has been  
9 successful for African Americans, Hispanic  
10 Colleagues. Politics has prevented any sub  
11 district from having an Asian majority. Indeed  
12 those areas where an Asian subdistrict could  
13 conceivably exist, those places have been split  
14 to satisfactory other interests. Thus neither  
15 approaches realistically enhances opportunities  
16 for Asian Americans to reach the bench.

17 The lack of Asian American judges  
18 may be tied to some degree to glass ceiling issues  
19 both in private practice and also in government  
20 work. Regrettably, Asian American attorneys who  
21 seek a career in government service may not fair  
22 much better than their colleagues in private  
23 practice. Hiring is certainly one problem. When

1 the Asian American bar Association was solicited  
2 for names of Asian American attorneys who might be  
3 interested in being considered for a vacancy in  
4 the Northern District of Illinois, we had to  
5 evaluate our own membership to determine who, if  
6 anyone, had the requisite skills and experience.  
7 We were forced to acknowledge that few had the  
8 federal trial experience to match other potential  
9 candidates. Yet, this was not simply just a cause  
10 of lack of interest or youth resulting in limited  
11 experience. If an attorney wishes to be a viable  
12 candidate for the federal bench, politics aside,  
13 the attorney would do well to seek federal court  
14 and trial experience. And the best sources for  
15 such experience are large law firms that have  
16 clients likely to be involved with other large  
17 business partners in deals or arrangements in  
18 excess of the jurisdictional minimum or while age  
19 Asian American attorneys seem to be able to  
20 acquire entry level positions in the firms, we  
21 have already discussed some of the obstacles  
22 making it unlikely that they will remain there.  
23 Another source of federal trial will be working

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1 for government. Yet government hiring has been  
2 spotty at best and the working conditions  
3 sometimes painful. For instance the U.S.  
4 Attorney's office for the Northern District of  
5 Illinois which offers significant opportunity for  
6 federal trial experience, employs 130 attorneys,  
7 yet in the entire history of the office, it has  
8 hired only one Asian American attorney. The  
9 Federal Defenders have not hired any. And  
10 certainly it varies from agency to agency. While  
11 we have here some very good reports from the Asian  
12 American attorneys working for the Environmental  
13 Protection Agency, by contrast, however, we  
14 understand that an Asian American attorney who was  
15 working for the Department of Health and Human  
16 Services was instructed by a superior to arrive at  
17 the office before anyone else in order to make the  
18 coffee.

19 At state and local level, government  
20 opportunities for attorneys who are Asian  
21 Americans have been more frequent than at federal  
22 level, but still rather limited. According to the  
23 Chicago lawyer, the office of the Illinois

1 Attorney General employs 256 attorneys, 5 of whom  
2 are Asian American. The Cook County State  
3 Attorney employs 888 attorneys, 24 of whom are  
4 Asian Americans. The Cook County Public Defender  
5 employs 490 attorneys, 9 of whom are Asian  
6 Americans. The City of Chicago Corporation  
7 Counsel employs 246 attorneys, 4 of whom are  
8 Asian American. With the exception of the Cook  
9 County State Attorneys office where a few Asian  
10 Americans have reached supervisory positions, most  
11 of these other positions held by Asian American  
12 attorneys are at or near entry level.

13 Since many of the positions of both  
14 government and private practice entail trial work,  
15 Asian American attorneys interested in pursuing  
16 such jobs are put in disadvantage by stereotypes  
17 and other false perceptions about Asian Americans.  
18 For example, common stereotype qualities for Asian  
19 American include being quiet, passive, docile,  
20 meek, mild mannered, inscrutable, traits one would  
21 not necessarily want in an attorney. Part  
22 of the problem stems from the lack of Asian  
23 American role models for young lawyers and law

1 students for both Asian and non Asian students.  
2 They have few opportunities to discover firsthand  
3 the fallacies of these stereotypes. Although the  
4 number of Asian Americans enrolled in law schools  
5 are growing, both Asian American and non Asian  
6 American law students and lawyers need to see  
7 Asian American role models. Asian Americans as  
8 partners in law firms, as judges, as trial  
9 attorneys, as Corporation Counsel and certainly as  
10 law school professors. Especially in the  
11 classroom where a teacher or professor is presumed  
12 to command some modicum of respect, one would hope  
13 to find opportunities to challenge respect and  
14 expand expectations as to who can be successful in  
15 the legal profession.

16                   Despite growing Asian American  
17 enrollment, however, law schools are not providing  
18 these models. According to Bruce Schulte,  
19 Assistant Dean of IIT Kent College School of Law  
20 approximately one third of his school's entering  
21 class this fall was Asian American. At  
22 Northwestern University School of Law the  
23 enrollment was approximately 18 percent. In spite

1 of growing Asian American enrollment, however, of  
2 the six law schools in the metropolitan Chicago  
3 area, only one has an Asian American employed full  
4 time on tenure track. Two others share an Asian  
5 American action professors. Furthermore, we  
6 should exercise caution when discussing the  
7 growing Asian American enrollment in these law  
8 schools. While record numbers of Japanese,  
9 Chinese, Korean, Indian, Pakistanian, Philippino  
10 American students are entering law schools, some  
11 part of the Asian American community are still  
12 grossly underrepresented in the legal profession.  
13 In Illinois, for instance, there's only one  
14 licensed attorney of Vietnamese ancestry, two of  
15 Indonesian ancestry. To the best of our  
16 knowledge, there are none from the Thai, Cambodian  
17 or Laotian community. Model minority myths aside,  
18 while these record numbers of Asian Americans are  
19 pursuing a legal education and a career in law,  
20 increasing law school admissions and entry level  
21 hiring may be creating a false perception that the  
22 legal profession may offer limitless opportunities  
23 to a bright, energetic, ambitious young person.

1 In reality if that person is an Asian American,  
2 they face a rather low and thick glass ceiling  
3 based upon and re-enforced by stereotypes and  
4 culturally modified behaviors that are almost a  
5 complete opposite to the traits that are desired  
6 an attorney. The limited or non existent  
7 political power, limited or no access to control  
8 corporate clients, and limited or narrowly  
9 conflined areas of expertise.

10 In order to make this a reality, to  
11 give Asian American attorneys access to real  
12 opportunities within and without the profession, I  
13 suggest the following: The need to expand  
14 affirmative action admissions policies for law  
15 schools so as to include underrepresented segments  
16 of the Asian American community. The need to  
17 implement programs to hire and retain Asian  
18 Americans in law school faculty where students of  
19 all races and ethnic background can become used to  
20 the notion of Asian Americans holding positions of  
21 authority, respected in the profession. Programs  
22 to encourage the hiring and retention of Asian  
23 Americans as government attorneys and in private



1 practice. The encouragement of the appointment of  
2 Asian Americans and other minorities to the bench.  
3 The publicity and promotion of Asian American  
4 attorneys as role models encouraging stimulating  
5 open discussion about the problems facing Asian  
6 American attorneys and encouraging community and  
7 business support for Asian American attorneys as  
8 well as educating judges, attorneys, and the  
9 public as to the many different ways and styles by  
10 which one can be an effective and excellent  
11 attorney. Lastly, we need to re-examine, redefine  
12 the attributes of what a good attorney should be.  
13 Thank you.

14 DR. YVONNE LAU

15 Asian American Institute

16 (Asian Americans on Chicago Area Campuses:  
17 Profiles and Trends)

18 Hi, I'm Yvonne Lau and I would like  
19 to thank all the members of the committee to  
20 committing their day here. I know it's a very  
21 intense process, but it's been really great to  
22 meet all of you. I guess I'm the Assistant Dean  
23 of the Loyola University of Chicago and I'm also

1 the other hat I wear is President of the Governing  
2 Board of the Asian American Institute. I would  
3 like to mention my report today reflects my  
4 personal commentary and not necessarily my two  
5 institutions, though I would regard my work  
6 following the mission of the Asian American  
7 Institute in advancing Asian Americans and their  
8 communities through research, identification,  
9 advocacy.

10 I'm going to be talking today about  
11 Asian Americans on select Illinois college  
12 campuses, the profiles and the trends. I guess  
13 -- Asian Americans, as many other articulate folks  
14 have mentioned today, Asian Americans have been  
15 historically shrouded I think in mystery and  
16 misrepresentation and they continue to be viewed  
17 with some confusion. Burdened by general  
18 admissibility I believe that Asian Americans are  
19 often excluded whether from conversation on race  
20 relations in the United States or from institution  
21 policy makers. Touted as the fastest growing  
22 group, the dramatic increase of various Asian  
23 American constitutancies have not necessarily

1 brought recognition or representation. Nowhere is  
2 this more apparent I believe than in higher  
3 education. In 1976, 198,000 Asian Americans were  
4 involved in higher ed. By 1988 the number had  
5 climbed to 497,000 or 4 percent of the higher ed  
6 population. Today it is estimated that Asian  
7 American enrollment is hovering around 650,000.

8           While Asian Americans represent over  
9 3 percent of the population on some midwest  
10 college campuses, student enrollments are ranking  
11 from 10 to 20 to 35 percent. In some California  
12 campuses, Asian American students are close to 30  
13 to 35 percent. These students enrollments however  
14 need to be understood in the context not only of  
15 admissions, as a popular debate has focused on,  
16 but in terms of quality of life on campus. The  
17 issues including campus climate, access to  
18 services and institutional resources, interethnic  
19 differences, student retention, minority status,  
20 curriculum, must be considered in their developing  
21 a status report on Asian American students.

22           Another critical area for analysis, I  
23 believe, focuses on the status impact of Asian

1 American administrators. Despite the major  
2 increases in student enrollments, faculty and  
3 professional staff positions have not risen at the  
4 same rate. The gains that have occurred were in  
5 full time faculty slot have been  
6 disproportionately in non tenure track positions  
7 than the tenure track posts. Typically such  
8 positions are less secure, less prestigious, and  
9 lower pay. Nationally Asian American faculty in  
10 '91 numbered about 26,000 or 5 percent of all full  
11 time faculty. Similarly to minorities, student  
12 ratio, Asian American faculty now are often the  
13 largest so call minority faculty. As recent  
14 studies show, it is important to aggregate the  
15 data for Asian Americans because of fast  
16 intergroup differences by ethnicity, nativity,  
17 generation, language, gender, and class.  
18 Evidence of this need for sub group distinctions  
19 comes from noting that among full time Asian  
20 faculty, foreign nationals constituted 42 percent.  
21 Only 2.8 percent of all higher education faculty  
22 are Asian Americans with U.S. citizenship. Most  
23 of these faculties are in engineering and science.

1 Data from a study of minority doctorates indicates  
2 that disproportionately fewer doctorates are  
3 awarded to Asian Americans in a social sciences,  
4 humanities and education. This vast under  
5 representation of Asian American faculty in the  
6 College of Arts and Science poses serious problems  
7 for the rising constituencies of Asian American  
8 undergraduates. The possibility of role model and  
9 mentors in select disciplines contributes to the  
10 severe occupational segregation facing Asian  
11 Americans in the workplace. In this study's  
12 limited survey of five Illinois institutions,  
13 efforts were made, given the available data, to  
14 address this concern and this aggregates some  
15 institutional data.

16 Another issues centers on the severe  
17 under representation of Asian American  
18 administrators. several studies have found that  
19 only one percent executives and managerial  
20 positions in higher ed are held by Asian  
21 Americans. This lack of presence in upper  
22 administration contributes to the omission of  
23 Asian Americans of institutional policy, more

1 strategic planning endeavors, and from the absence  
2 of Asian American and general dialogue on race  
3 relations on campus. A majority of the requested  
4 institutional data was received recently, I feel I  
5 can only outline some of the projects parameters  
6 and present the data in preliminary form. This is  
7 a draft outline. I'll present some of this in  
8 summary form.

9                   Basically my goal was to provide  
10 American profiles on select Illinois higher  
11 institutions addressing possible non inclusion of  
12 Asian Americans from a minority status or  
13 protected classes and affirmative action policies.  
14 My method was to obtain student enrollment of  
15 undergraduates by race and ethnicity and faculty  
16 staff members by race, ethnicity, rank, condition,  
17 and gender. Status report. Of the six  
18 institutions that I requested from, UIC,  
19 University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign,  
20 University of Chicago, Northwestern, DePaul,  
21 Loyola, the UIC has not yet responded. Of the  
22 five, due to variation of reporting parameters,  
23 format, not all the data has been readily

1 accessible. For example, only Northwestern  
2 provided faculty data by rank, gender and only U  
3 of I provided aggregate data detailing tenure  
4 track and non tenure track by race. So I do have  
5 some charts and tables about it. I guess some of  
6 the highlights of the data insofar is that with  
7 the exception of DePaul, Asian American  
8 undergraduates constitutes the largest minority  
9 group on these campuses. DePaul's enrollment is  
10 about 5.4 percent Asian American goes to 11  
11 percent for Loyola, 13.6 percent at Northwestern,  
12 11.9 percent at the University of Illinois at  
13 Champaign, and 24.5 for ther University of  
14 Chicago.

15 Another table that I have here talks  
16 about Asian American faculty. Asian American  
17 faculties are not entering these five Illinois  
18 campuses at the same rate as Asian American  
19 undergraduates. While they do outnumber other  
20 minority faculty, they remain vastly under  
21 represented in undergraduate divisions of the  
22 College of Arts and Science. For instance,  
23 besides Loyola's small percentages on the Chicago

1 campuses of Water Tower and Lake Shore which is  
2 2.6 percent faculty, Northwestern's charts  
3 indicates that about 5 percent of the College of  
4 Arts and Science faculty Asian American, and also  
5 these two institutions in particular have medical  
6 centers. I feel that we have to break down the  
7 faculty data in terms of divisions because as you  
8 can see from the charts later on, a vast majority  
9 of the Asian faculty are centered at the medical  
10 schools and downtown campuses. So, and then  
11 another chart gives a close look at one  
12 institution, my institution, Loyola, and sort of  
13 the history of freshman enrollment. Given the  
14 political context of race relations on college  
15 campuses, I feel it important to review the  
16 changing demographics of the entire campus  
17 population and the varying history. Since tenure  
18 rate data was sent by only one U of I, tenure  
19 rates have yet to be charted. So far, Asian  
20 Americans share the following distribution. They  
21 have basically the lowest rates among all the  
22 groups charted. Their tenure rate is about 32.9  
23 percent, 12.5 percent tenure track, but not



1 tenured, and 4.6 percent on non tenure track  
2 positions. This compares to whites at U of I,  
3 55.2 percent tenured, 13.9 percent tenured track,  
4 not tenured and 31 percent on non tenure track.  
5 The African American faculties show, for instance,  
6 41.8 percent tenured, 28.4 percent tenure track,  
7 not tenured, and about 30 percent are non tenure  
8 track. These are troubling statistics for the  
9 Illinois State institutions, raising concerns with  
10 how the private schools compared. Tenure status  
11 is a strong indicator of institutional  
12 committment. As researchers has discussed for all  
13 faculty, but for the faculty of color especially a  
14 disproportionately large increases in non tenure  
15 track positions can negatively impact on faculty  
16 retention. EEOC data indicates that during the  
17 1980s the number of non tenure track positions  
18 could grew at a much faster rate than tenure  
19 positions. For Asian Americans, the percent  
20 changed from '81 to '91, and tenure track  
21 positions was 62 percent. The percent change in  
22 non tenure track was slots 142 percent. If we  
23 breakdown this latest figure by gender, you can

1 see a major gender gap, while Asian American men  
2 experienced 124 percent increase in non tenure  
3 track positions, Asian American women showed a 197  
4 percent increase, almost 200 percent. For whites  
5 the gender gap was 23 percent to 59 percent. The  
6 total faculty of color, the gender gap was 83  
7 percent and 89 percent.

8 I'm going to now talk about  
9 affirmative action practices and why I don't  
10 believe they include Asian Americans in higher ed.  
11 Affirmative action, we should understand it has  
12 nothing to do with preferential hiring, but with  
13 targeted recruitment. I think that affirmative  
14 action really when we talk about affirmative  
15 action, it really depends on availability. It has  
16 nothing to do with population percentages.  
17 Affirmative action mandates that the employer  
18 looks at what's available and compares that to  
19 what they have. So that if utilization is less  
20 than availability, yes, the institution or the  
21 employer is supposed to make goals. They're  
22 supposed to open up the net and bring those who  
23 are underutilized in. I think that in terms of

1 understanding the whole dynamics of affirmative  
2 action and how it impacts on Asian Americans, I  
3 should also mention that since we're talking about  
4 availability, that I think that faculty of color  
5 are widely available. Just to mention that in '81  
6 to '91 faculty of color rose 49 percent. All  
7 faculty rose about 11 percent in that period. And  
8 in terms of how most higher ed administrators  
9 point to the low supply of minority doctorates to  
10 explain why percentages of a faculty of color have  
11 not increased much, yet more researchers, myself  
12 included, would argue that the lack of momentum in  
13 hiring minority faculty can't be explained by  
14 arguments about the availability pool. There's  
15 more evidence to demonstrate that minority  
16 doctorates, including Asian Americans, have not  
17 received faculty positions in proportion to the  
18 number and the Ph.D pool, despite the average  
19 rising number of minority doctorates and the  
20 favorable climate for minority doctorates. I  
21 mentioned minority doctorates with an overarching  
22 caveat. From my preliminary survey and anecdotal  
23 information, Asian Americans by and large are not

1 considered as part of the targeted group for  
2 faculty hiring. For instance, at UIC they offer a  
3 special incentive program targeting African  
4 American and hispanic Ph.D.s with special funding  
5 and special release time. While UIC doesn't offer  
6 an official definition of host minority, in  
7 reviewing major university wide programs or  
8 initiatives, UIC administrators agree that the  
9 University attribute minority status to Native  
10 Americans, Latinos, and African Americans. In my  
11 interviews with University of Chicago officials  
12 responsible for the Committee on Minority Issues,  
13 while acknowledging that Asian Americans are  
14 included in federal categories, they pointed out  
15 that such categories belonged to the government  
16 and that those distinctions are not meaningful to  
17 the University of Chicago. The committee deserves  
18 to "collect and disseminate information about the  
19 university's efforts to increase participation in  
20 it's programs by members of all targeted minority  
21 groups, they're also concerned about the numbers  
22 of minority faculty and have worked in finding  
23 ways to encourage departmental search committees

1 to search as widely as possible for possible  
2 candidates from minority groups."

3           While Asian numbers are included in  
4 the chart contained in this report, the term Asian  
5 American or the mention of Asian American is  
6 seldom found in the text. I could give you many  
7 other examples of how Asian Americans are not  
8 actively recruited. But getting back to the  
9 argument of the wide availability as far as Asian  
10 Americans are concerned, I would share with you  
11 that Asian Americans experience the largest  
12 increase in terms of the number of Ph.D.s, 46  
13 percent in the number of Ph.D.s earned between  
14 1979 and '89. The gain was simultaneous with a  
15 doubling of doctorates earned by Asian who are not  
16 U.S. citizens. About 5 percent of all full time  
17 faculty at the U.S. colleges and universities are  
18 Asian American. As I mentioned before, 42 percent  
19 of Asian faculty are foreign nationals. About 67  
20 percent are on tenure track positions and 33  
21 percent are on non tenure track positions. That's  
22 nationally in '91. In 1991 doctorates awarded to  
23 Asian Americans rose 64 percent. So I think it's

1 safe to say, given the rise in undergraduates that  
2 Ph.D. production for Asian Americans will continue  
3 to rise. Another indicator that Asian Americans  
4 are being admitted passively, not included or at  
5 worse actively excluded from recruitment compared  
6 to other doctorates of color is that only 38  
7 percent of Asian American doctorates reported  
8 plans to enter academic positions in 1991. For  
9 African Americans, for instance, 59 percent had  
10 definite commitments to academic positions, and  
11 64 percent of Hispanics Ph.D.s made a commitment  
12 to academic employment. About 51 percent of  
13 whites had academic offers. In 89 the faculty  
14 survey showed that African Americans, Hispanic and  
15 female faculty in general reported at a higher  
16 rate receiving firm job offers, whereas Asian  
17 American men and white men were the least likely  
18 to receive firm job offers.

19 So these are some of the issues  
20 facing Asian Americans concerning their non  
21 participation in affirmative action programs.  
22 While I would argue for a systematic analysis of  
23 where Asian American utilization rates fall below

1 availability, I would suggest that reviews must be  
2 done department by department or at a minimal,  
3 division by division. Because of the severe under  
4 representation of Asian Americans in the social  
5 science, arts and humanities and education, it  
6 would be easy for institutions to mask these gaps  
7 for using aggregate numbers, particularly where  
8 there are medical schools or engineering schools.

9 Finally, on the staff side of affirmative  
10 action; though I don't have all the data in yet, I  
11 would guess that with the 1 percent national  
12 ceiling that I mentioned before, affirmative  
13 action is not working for Asian Americans in the  
14 staff positions. While the number of minority  
15 faculty rose, minority full time administrators  
16 increased by almost 7,000 during the '80s. Many  
17 of these folks were likely to be faculty levels  
18 before they were administrators, and since faculty  
19 of color are more concentrated in non tenure track  
20 positions, the pool of faculty members from where  
21 administrative appointments are made is quite  
22 small, particularly for Asian Americans who are  
23 severly under represented in the graduate school

1 of education, the pool of qualified candidates  
2 would be severely limited.

3 In terms of some preliminary policy  
4 issues, I guess I see that certainly there's a  
5 need for additional data to be disaggregated by  
6 Asian ethnic group, by citizenship, by generation,  
7 by language skills, et cetera. Certainly other  
8 people have talked about the many differences that  
9 exists between ethnicity in terms of their target  
10 demographics and their needs and just what their  
11 major concerns are today. I would also argue for  
12 the inclusion of Asian Americans in the so called  
13 minority reports, including retention studies,  
14 needs assessment, curriculum, agendas because  
15 often when you look at minority reports, Asian  
16 Americans are rarely mentioned. I would say that  
17 we need clarification on the eligiblity of Asian  
18 American for affirmative action programs and  
19 practices; including faculty and staff hires and  
20 graduate training. That we should do more  
21 research on the gender gap for Asian Americans in  
22 the production of doctorates and faculty hires.  
23 And that we should certainly review tenure and



1 promotional practices to determine causes for low  
2 tenure rate in Asian American faculty and  
3 concentrate on non tenure track positions and  
4 finally, that we should review hiring practices to  
5 assess the causes for severe underrepresentation  
6 of Asian Americans among higher ed administrators.

7 In conclusion, as Nancy Chen  
8 mentioned this morning, the status and outlook for  
9 Asian Americans presents numerous contradictory  
10 patterns. While Asian Americans have entered  
11 higher ed in large numbers because the basic  
12 demographics, immigration trends and the  
13 disproportionate investments made in education by  
14 Asian American families, the return on their  
15 investments are problematic. Their lack of access  
16 to role models, mentors and advocates places them  
17 in a disadvantage position when it comes to  
18 institutional resources and disability. The  
19 impact of not having a critical mass of faculty  
20 evenly distributed across disciplines and  
21 administrators who are attendant to their needs  
22 and career interests contribute to an acute  
23 occupational seggregation.

1                                   I can share many stories about Asian  
2 American students at campuses all around the U.S.  
3 that have become disenfranchised and  
4 disillusioned, particularly recently with students  
5 who are needs and concern that are rarely  
6 legitimized. Some of my southeast Asian  
7 students, for instance, who have survived wars,  
8 camps and relocation feel especially invisible on  
9 college campuses and prohibited from entering  
10 graduate college because of a lack of funding.  
11 That's generally excluded, and there's another  
12 instance I think this is just another instance of  
13 Asian Americans being homogenized where all Asians  
14 are viewed, as in this case, model minority  
15 students. If most of the working Asian Americans  
16 that students see on college campuses are  
17 disproportionately segregated into a various set  
18 of discipline, predominantly into non tenure track  
19 positions that are lower paying, less prestigious  
20 positions, if they see very few people who are  
21 actually in decision making positions and policy  
22 making areas, how are they going to feel about  
23 themselves. We are unfortunately telling them to

1 disinvest in themselves. Already some of the  
2 repercussions of this are evident, a higher  
3 suicide rate among Asian American college  
4 students, a higher drop out rate and in later  
5 years, an overtrained, overeducated group of  
6 professionals who are underemployed and  
7 dissatisfied.

8 I would ask the committee and all  
9 those concerned about our children, about our  
10 future generation of leaders, scholars, artists,  
11 writers, to help combat the serious systemic  
12 barriers to the education of career advancement of  
13 Asian Americans. Thank you.

14 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Thank you, and our  
15 final speaker, Mr. Silverman.

16 DR. EDWIN SILVERMAN

17 Illinois Department of Public Aid  
18 (The Health Care Crises facing Asian American  
19 Immigrants and Refugees)

20 Madam Chair, thank you very much for  
21 this opportunity. I'm very pleased to be here. I  
22 commend you on your perserverance, your capacity  
23 to absorb statistic, and mostly for your

1           commitment to exploring the issues facing Asian  
2           Americans. The fact is that the civil rights is  
3           not working for Asian Americans. In fact, it's  
4           probably a good estimate that it's not working --  
5           that it's working for no one.

6                           I have coordinated the Southeast  
7           Asian Refugee settlement for the State of Illinois  
8           since 1976. In that time we've resettled about  
9           40,000 people, mainly from southeast Asia. I'm  
10          here as sort of out of place and the only way I  
11          can explain it is that I have friends who are  
12          cocoanut brown on the outside and white inside. I  
13          have friends who are bananas and I'd like to think  
14          of myself as a hard boiled egg. I've had the  
15          opportunity of working not only with the southeast  
16          Asian Community, but with the greater Asian  
17          American community, and it's been an enormous  
18          sense of gratification to see the flowering of  
19          Asian Americans in the period from 1975 until  
20          today. And, as quite clear from the testimonies,  
21          we still have, those communities have a long way  
22          to go. In addition, Illinois had the first  
23          bilingual refugee health screening program in the

1 nation and for the last three years I have chaired  
2 a national committee on refugee health in an  
3 effort to promote sound federal policy in this  
4 area, despite the challenge. You know, you've  
5 already heard it from the very beginning, the  
6 wonderful presentation by Nancy Chen, that this is  
7 the largest, most rapidly growing minority  
8 population. More than 40 percent of immigration  
9 to the United States since 1970 has been Asian and  
10 it's high time I believe that our institutions  
11 better address the needs of this growing  
12 population as well as those of other limited  
13 English speaking immigrant groups. The demography  
14 of the United States is changing. The white  
15 population, which was 86 percent in 1970 is now 75  
16 percent and by 2020 will probably be 50 percent  
17 and that, in my mind, is the challenge we have  
18 before us.

19 I will not dwell on the myth of  
20 model minority, I'd like to give it a slightly  
21 different spin. A recent study indicated that in  
22 addition to the model minority, and the growing  
23 numbers of professionals, it's true, nevertheless,

1 that Asians live below the poverty level at one  
2 and a half times the rate of white people, and in  
3 the major concentrations of New York, Los Angeles  
4 and San Francisco, they are twice likely to be  
5 living below the poverty level; twice the rate.  
6 The issue being, and this for all minorities,  
7 poverty results in poor nutrition, poor health,  
8 lack of access to preventative and primary health  
9 care, and the data indicates that large numbers of  
10 Asians have not escaped the inevitable.

11 Also, I'm here to help dispel the  
12 illusion that Asian American exists only on the  
13 east and west coast and that's why I think your  
14 activities in particular are so important. I've  
15 seen time and time again discussions in Washington  
16 that focus on Asians in San Francisco, Asians in  
17 New York and no one every thinks about the Asians  
18 in the Midwest. And, in fact, although this is  
19 the largest urban concentration of Asians in the  
20 Chicago metropolitan area, I know from this  
21 experience that there are Asians in Missouri,  
22 Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio,  
23 Kentucky, and Tennessee, and these are significant

1 communities. Moreover, there are Asian living in  
2 59 out of 102 counties in the State of Illinois as  
3 well. I would like to emphasize that we have a  
4 fair share of the problems, that relations,  
5 experience, and as demonstrated today by this  
6 suburb agenda, we certainly have more of the fair  
7 share of the expertise to help solve the problems.  
8 Given that very long-winded preface, I realize I  
9 have only two, really I have only two major points  
10 to pick. One is that Asians do have significant  
11 health care needs; and two that overt  
12 discrimination and benign neglect impedes  
13 licensure preventative health care. Access to  
14 primary care and health care research.

15                   Based on those observations, I have  
16 three simple recommendations for you. Over 90  
17 percent of the refugees who have resettled from  
18 southeast Asia have been screened by our refugees  
19 health screening program, and there is limited  
20 data nationwide, but I have been able to compare  
21 it with data from other states, most  
22 significantly, California on one end and Georgia  
23 on the other end. But the mythology is remarkably

1 similar. Over 40 percent of the south Asian  
2 arrivals carry tuberculosis, ten percent of those  
3 people will become active cases. In 1992,  
4 nationwide although Asians are only 3 percent of  
5 the national population, 40.7 percent of all TB  
6 cases were Asian pacific islanders. The CDC, The  
7 Center for Disease Control, estimates that  
8 3/10ths of one percent of the United States  
9 population carries Hepatitis B. The limited  
10 national data seems to indicate 4 percent among  
11 southeast Asians. In Illinois it has been  
12 consistently between 12 and 14 percent carrying  
13 Hepatitis B, which, beyond it being dangerous,  
14 leads to all kinds of further catastrophic  
15 situations. The huge cancer rate is 18 percent  
16 higher among southeast Asian men than white.  
17 Liver cancer rates is two times higher. I could  
18 go on with that, but I won't.

19                   Regretfully, a major barrier in  
20 developing the understanding of the broader Asian  
21 population is the lack of widespread and uniform  
22 data collection. Nevertheless, the data does  
23 exist that does sound an alarm and at least



1 present a call for serious data collection  
2 efforts. TB is growing among Asian Pacific  
3 Islanders 5 times faster than the general  
4 population. Falasemia (phonetic), a congenital  
5 blood disorder affects 3 to 7 percent of Chinese  
6 Americans and up to 36 percent of southeast Asians  
7 carry the genetic trait. Nearly 50 percent of the  
8 Asian immigrants carry some kind of intestinal  
9 parasite. Southeast Asian refugees are often  
10 found with multiple parasites which lead to  
11 further disorders and sometimes death.

12 Mental health crosses it's next  
13 line. According to the 1992 study, elderly  
14 Chinese and Japanese American women have the  
15 highest suicide rate of all racial and ethnic  
16 groups. The study further indicated that there  
17 was 300 percent increase in suicide among Asian  
18 American children. Although HIV cases are low  
19 among Asian Americans, and that maybe a reporting  
20 problem as much as anything else, the Asian  
21 American health forum found 150 percent increase  
22 between 1989 and 1991.

23 The evidence that has begun to

1           approve was heavily towards the need for research  
2           and action in particular the need for  
3           comprehensive health assessment to minimize  
4           primary and catastrophic care. Preventative  
5           measures are all the more important for Asian  
6           Americans because in addition to the health  
7           problems, they encounter a number of payers and  
8           possess a behavioral pattern that exacerbates  
9           their needs. Unfamiliar with the western medical  
10          scene, many Asians failed to pursue primary care.  
11          One study indicated that only ten percent of  
12          affected Asians actually sought medical care,  
13          otherwise they tried to care for themselves.  
14          Another study indicated that Asians are reluctant  
15          to provide immunizations for their children.  
16          There's a cultural perception that many American  
17          diseases as such as HIV, Alcoholism, and substance  
18          abuse are not applicable. There is also the  
19          reluctance on the part of Asian Americans to  
20          discuss some problems with strangers.

21                            When Asian Americans endeavor to  
22          access health care and if they are limited English  
23          speaking, they are not apt to find professional

1 interpretation and information in their native  
2 language. Often they are not treated with  
3 cultural sensitivity and respect. At root in many  
4 health care related problems is the failure of  
5 the Office of Civil Rights to carefully define  
6 discrimination based on national origin, and to  
7 clarify, prevention or remediation procedures.  
8 And this carries over into two levels. At one  
9 level there's often insurmountable barriers for  
10 Korean pharmacists, Philippino nurses, or  
11 Pakistanian doctors who immigrants they are needed  
12 and yet they are impeded and often not utilized.  
13 Remedial education through Americanized  
14 credentials, is often non-existent. Often the  
15 choice is to go back home, abandon medicine as a  
16 career or start education over again. Foreign  
17 doctors who pass the ECFMG fine have few  
18 internship opportunities. State licensing  
19 regulation often discriminates against foreign  
20 education in the health care field. There is a  
21 clear need to examine the barriers to  
22 professional careers in particular. There must be  
23 vigilance within the current movement toward

1 health care reforms. If dependency on health care  
2 alliances is the corp of reforms, yet we will need  
3 to be a mechanism to guard against discrimination,  
4 or in this case a mechanism to make sure that  
5 Asian Americans and other immigrants or language  
6 minorities are allowed equitable participation in  
7 those alliances. In addition, they must be  
8 assured if they are professionals, that they can  
9 receive hospital affiliations on an equitable  
10 basis. Moreover, health care reform must take  
11 into account the need for and growing number of  
12 native healers in this case in particular,  
13 acupuncturists. Acupuncturists have not received  
14 equitable recognition by the medical profession.  
15 The current practice of acupuncture, which is  
16 thousands of years old, has proven effective in  
17 treating a whole range of chronic disorders. If  
18 it's true that Asians coming to America must come  
19 to understand western health care practice in  
20 order to be assured benefits. It's also true that  
21 western medicine should develop more attention and  
22 respect for acupuncture and other holistic  
23 approaches to health care.

1                   At a second level of concern there  
2                   is a lack of appropriate attention to the absence  
3                   of trained health care interpreters, and that's  
4                   for all language minorities. If discrimination  
5                   based on national origin is to be avoided, there  
6                   must be a concerted effort to train license and  
7                   diploma interpreters for American's growing  
8                   limited English speaking population. The need for  
9                   reliable interpretation in preventative care,  
10                  primary care and catastrophic care situations is  
11                  too obvious to belabor. Think about it. 58  
12                  percent of the community in this City of Chicago  
13                  have significant percentages of foreign born.  
14                  Four of our communities have more than 40 percent  
15                  foreign born. Six of our communities have more  
16                  than 30 percent foreign born. 16 communities have  
17                  more than 20 percent foreign born, 15 have more  
18                  than ten percent foreign born. Those people are  
19                  entitled to equitable and accessible health care,  
20                  and I submit that they are being denied that  
21                  opportunity if they're not trained interpreters  
22                  available.

23                                   A recent study by the Chicago

1 Reporter, it's estimated that 20 percent to 25  
2 percent of Chicago residents needed translation  
3 assistance. Now, the Reporter surveyed 177  
4 hospitals and clinics, only 84 responded. Of the  
5 84, only 10 have at any time hired interpreters.  
6 Suburban areas, 2 out of 34 hospitals. Only 42  
7 hospitals in Chicago and 21 suburban facilities  
8 have translated materials. Those materials are  
9 limited and they're generally in Spanish. What  
10 I'm asking is that this Advisory Committee be  
11 aggressive in it's leadership before the  
12 Commission on Civil Rights. With the ever  
13 increasing demographic change which is  
14 irreversible, it's imperative that our  
15 institutions and the health care industry in  
16 particular deal responsibly with that reality. A  
17 proposed result clarifying the roles and  
18 responsibilities of agencies receiving federal  
19 funds and providing services for limited English  
20 speaking person. It was, in fact, drafted. It's  
21 a marvelous document. I saw a pirated copy in  
22 August of 1993. It's still sitting on somebody's  
23 desk and it should at least be published so that

1 there can be discussion, there can be debate and  
2 hopefully there can be the raising of  
3 institutional awareness. This body could seek  
4 answers as to why the EEOC and the Department of  
5 Health and Human Services has not released this  
6 document.

7                   Second, the Commission on Civil  
8 Rights should address a letter to the White House  
9 seeking assurance that health care reform will not  
10 promote discrimination based on national origin,  
11 either against medical practitioners or the  
12 consumers that serve us. You know there have been  
13 any number of testimonials in the very lengthy and  
14 elaborate testimonies collected by the White House  
15 in the formulation of the health care reform  
16 policy. Time and again people have raised the  
17 issue of the needs of limited English language  
18 minority people and there has been absolutely no  
19 response. Recently, I believe three weeks ago,  
20 the White House had a special session just for  
21 Asian American health care concerns, and they  
22 listened all day, but there was no result and  
23 there is no promise of any results. And there was

1 no evidence that they've heard the message.

2 The Commission, third, should urge  
3 the Office of Minority Health and the Department  
4 of Health and Human Services to draft language  
5 minority guidelines for state governments that  
6 would provide for needs assessments, coordination  
7 of resources, interpreter training, curricula and  
8 an interpreter's pool.

9 Models. All of this information is  
10 floating out here and it's not going to come home  
11 and come into use unless the federal government  
12 codifies it in some way. Thank you very much for  
13 the opportunity to share my observations. In  
14 closing, I again want to urge the Advisory  
15 Committee and the Commission to pursue a very  
16 courageous and aggressive strategy, not only to  
17 respond to discrimination, not only to express  
18 horror as we all must against the number of  
19 growing crimes against Asian Americans, especially  
20 on the West Coast. This body needs to promote,  
21 enhanced group relations and responsive services  
22 to language minorities. The expression of the  
23 xenophobia captured by the media, the effort by



1 the Congress to deny benefits to non citizens are  
2 very disturbed symptoms of a growing social  
3 insecurities, and in an unsettled inclination to  
4 lay blame on immigrants just because they are  
5 different. The Commission on Civil Rights must  
6 help turn that around. Thank you.

7 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Thank you. Any  
8 questions from the panel?

9 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: Dr. Silverman, during  
10 the course of the morning I raised a number of  
11 questions where panel participants suggested I  
12 should at least direct such a question to you when  
13 you appeared. Now, as you know, I might have come  
14 to that same conclusion without it. I'd like to  
15 discuss, therefore, something with you that is not  
16 health care crises on point. It's proposed that  
17 all of our welfare payments cease with respect to  
18 non citizens. We've heard several times during  
19 the course of the day that for a variety of  
20 reasons a substantial portions of the Asian  
21 population never acquire citizenship and other  
22 substantial portions are awaiting citizenship.  
23 What will the effect be in the State of Illinois

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1 in terms of clarity in terms of our non public  
2 needs in health and otherwise if, in fact, the  
3 Congress of the United States passes that kind of  
4 a legislation, what will happen? What does it  
5 mean to the Asian community? What will it mean to  
6 the State of Illinois and what will it mean to the  
7 country as a whole?

8 DR. SILVERMAN: Well, I suppose one is  
9 that our tax dollars will go up because the  
10 federal government in denying benefits are simply  
11 promoting transfer of costs to state and local  
12 governments. Over the past 14 years we have seen a  
13 steady eroding in the refugee program. As a small  
14 example. Since 1987 our costs per refugees  
15 arrival has been cut by 50 percent at the same  
16 time the numbers of new arrivals have increased at  
17 the same time the differences in ethnic groups  
18 have increased.

19 Currently, nationwide there have  
20 been 11 million people who have not accessed or  
21 have not naturalized. Now if these people have  
22 been here for more than ten years, a large  
23 percentage,, and I can't recall the exact, so I

1 won't even guess. A large percentage are elderly.  
2 Elderly immigrant arrivals have a great deal of  
3 difficulty mastering the English language, one;  
4 two, we have and unfortunate situation with  
5 perhaps the exception of the City of Chicago,  
6 where INS is wearing two hats, one is law  
7 enforcement officer, and the other is an public  
8 service agency. Only in Chicago have they worn  
9 that hat of public service agency. Outside of  
10 Chicago there's tremendous fear on the part of the  
11 immigrant community to even deal with INS. So  
12 that certainly presents a barrier to accessing  
13 naturalization. In addition -- well, that's part  
14 of the answer to one of your questions. In the  
15 State of Illinois 18 percent of Medicaid costs are  
16 for foreign born and so what they are proposing in  
17 Washington is that the State of Illinois pick up a  
18 hundred percent of those costs. As it is there  
19 are a whole range of unreimbursed costs. We have,  
20 over the last six years, lost, I don't know, more  
21 than two hospitals. We have hositals today who --  
22 Mt. Sinai Hospital has a 48 hours cash flow.  
23 That's no way to run a multi million dollar

1 business, and the business devoted to helping  
2 indigent people. So, we must make a  
3 committment --

4 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: You've indicated the  
5 responses within the State of Illinois are, cost  
6 of Medicaid will be born by the State. What else  
7 is the effect here? What's the effect on the  
8 Asian community?

9 DR. SILVERMAN: We already have the  
10 insufficient resources to provide adequate health  
11 care. The whole movement of community-based  
12 health has not received very great support from  
13 the public sector in part because this whole  
14 network is begun to really flourish in a period in  
15 which federal resources were being diminished in  
16 all other directions. But there are important  
17 resources in the Hispanic community, in the Asian  
18 community, and in the African American community  
19 that needs to be supported.

20 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: You've answered this  
21 in terms of health care, and I appreciate that  
22 that's the topic that you were asked to address,  
23 and if you broaden it beyond health care, what

1 happens to the Asian American Community if this  
2 passes?

3 DR. SILVERMAN: Help me.

4 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: I see Ngoan Le has a  
5 comment in the rear.

6 MS. LE: I think the specific proposals  
7 are being considered in Congress today talk about  
8 the elimination of the SSI program for immigrants,  
9 for legal immigrants who are not citizens and the  
10 significant percentage of those are from Asia.  
11 So, assuming that the legislation is passed, what  
12 it would mean that the immigrant's family would  
13 have to bear the burden of supporting the families  
14 and, actually most of the cost associated is  
15 associated with medical costs and that's where  
16 dependence on SSI or SSA would be the most severely  
17 impacted.

18 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: What happens to maybe  
19 other people are seeing it differently. What  
20 happens to the old Asian couple who are living  
21 three blocks off of Argyle where the only thing  
22 they've got to live on are those payments?

23 DR. SILVERMAN: They're disenfranchised.

1 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: Forget about  
2 disenfranchised, what do they live on?

3 DR. SILVERMAN: Nothing. They become  
4 homeless.

5 MR. SCHWARTZBERG: How many of them are  
6 there? How many new homeless are we talking about  
7 creating by this piece of legislation?

8 DR. SILVERMAN: I wouldn't know where to  
9 begin to estimate. I know that there are 60,000  
10 foreign born dependents on SSI. One of the  
11 confusion things in Congress which is very  
12 disturbing to me SSI is a payment not only for the  
13 aged, but for the disabled. So potentially you  
14 have an immigrant. The immigrant comes here, is  
15 working in counters, unfortunately an accident in  
16 the work place where otherwise, because of  
17 disability is no longer able to provide assistance  
18 to his family, become eligible for SSI. Congress  
19 is talking as though SSI is only for the aged.  
20 That's one. Congress is also disregarding the  
21 fact that the real cost for SSI recipients are  
22 medical costs, as Ngoan pointed out. According to  
23 Business Week immigrants produced \$90 billion in

1 federal taxes in 1992 and they also estimated \$5  
2 billion repayment in public benefits. Who here  
3 wouldn't invest a dollar to get \$18 back, you  
4 know? Even a more recent study done by the Urban  
5 Institute indicates that very conservatively and  
6 they disregarded the whole range of other positive  
7 asset calculations. According to their  
8 calculations, immigrants pay more than \$30 billion  
9 in taxes, then they retrieve in services. Now,  
10 the situation is that the taxes are paid to the  
11 federal government and the cost for education, for  
12 health care, for infrastructure, they're all state  
13 and local. So they want to show even further the  
14 cost for those services to state and local  
15 governments. Governor Edgar has very strongly  
16 opposed that and will continue to. Recently,  
17 however, in the Ways and Means Committee the SSI  
18 proposal that Ngoan was speaking about lost by 35  
19 to 4. And I guess from the newspaper today next  
20 week it could be a tight score.

21 CHAIRPERSON LYON: Any further questions?

22 There being no other questions, I  
23 guess we will adjourn for the day and reconvene

1 tomorrow at 9:30.

2 I want to thank our panelists for  
3 joining us and making their presentations. Thank  
4 you.

5 (The meeting was concluded for the day at 4:45  
6 to reconvened at 9:30 May 26th, 1994.)

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I, VERNITA HALSELL-POWELL, a Certified Shorthand Reporter and Notary Public within and for the County of cook, State of Illinois, hereby state that I reported in shorthand the testimony given at the above-entitled cause, and state that this is a true and accurate transcription of my shorthand notes so taken as aforesaid.

*Vernita Halsell Powell*

VERNITA HALSELL-POWELL, CSR No. 084-001831  
Notary Public, Cook County, Illinois

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