

Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in Metropolitan Chicago

**Illinois Advisory Committee to the
United States Commission on Civil Rights**

May 1995

These papers presented at a consultation conducted by the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights were prepared for the information and consideration of the Commission. Statements and viewpoints in the papers should not be attributed to the Committee or the Commission, but only to the individual authors.

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Letter of Transmittal

Illinois Advisory Committee to the
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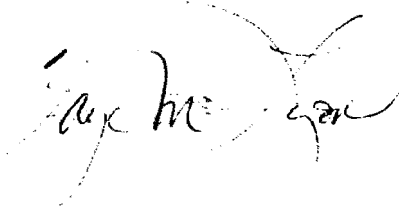
The Illinois Advisory Committee, by a unanimous 14-0 vote, submits this document, *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in Metropolitan Chicago*. The Committee is indebted to the Midwestern Regional Office staff for their assistance in organizing the consultation and editing the submitted papers.

Illinois has the fifth largest Asian American population in the nation, and the Asian American community in the Chicago area is diverse and growing rapidly. The Committee held a consultation in Chicago on May 25 and 26, 1994, to learn about different aspects of the Asian American experience in greater Chicago. Papers were presented by experts with varying perspectives on the subjects of: (1) political empowerment, (2) employment, education, and health, and (3) intergroup relations. All of those making presentations live and work in the greater Chicago area.

The information provided is not considered a comprehensive review of all aspects of civil rights issues facing Asian Americans in greater

Chicago, but as one source of information for those seeking to better understand some of the issues facing this diverse community as the nation approaches the 21st century.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Faye Lyon". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, sweeping "F" and a long, trailing "y".

Faye Lyon, Chairperson
Illinois Advisory Committee

Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

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Introduction

Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in Metropolitan Chicago

In the spring of 1991 the *Wall Street Journal* and NBC News conducted a national poll of voters' opinions about a variety of social and economic issues. The poll revealed that the majority of American voters did not believe that Asian Americans suffered from racial discrimination in the United States. Some of those surveyed even believed that Asian Americans receive "too many special advantages."

The National Conference commissioned pollster Louis Harris to conduct a nationwide survey of intergroup relations focusing on the attitudes of minorities toward whites. Fifty-four percent of Asian Americans answered affirmatively when asked whether whites were insensitive to other people and have a long history of bigotry. Fifty-seven percent of Asian Americans also felt that their opportunities were not equal to those enjoyed by whites, and most were critical of their opportunities to receive managerial promotions and the same pay for the same work. Most Asian Americans surveyed also felt Asians received biased treatment from the police and a biased portrayal in the media.¹

The *Wall Street Journal* poll plainly shows that the general public is largely unaware of any problems confronting Asian Americans, while the National Conference poll reveals a portrait of the Asian American population unimpressed with the climate of racial tolerance in America. These findings are not surprising to the Illinois Advisory Committee. Participants at the 1990 U.S. Commission's roundtable conferences in Houston, San Francisco, and New York recounted numerous incidents of anti-Asian prejudice and discrimination. Statements at these conferences made evident that, contrary to the widespread belief reported in the *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll, Asian Americans encounter many discriminatory barriers to equal opportunity and full participation in this society.²

¹ The National Conference, "Taking America's Pulse: A Summary Report of the National Conference Survey on Inter-Group Relations," 1994, pp. 2 and 3.

² As reported by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s*, February 1992.

Asian Americans in Metropolitan Chicago

In 1990 Illinois ranked fifth among the States in Asian American population. Chicago and its surrounding metropolitan area is home for most of these residents. The 1990 census lists the population for the City of Chicago at 2,783,726; the Asian American population is 98,777 (3.5 percent). In Cook County, Illinois, there are 181,285 Asian Americans, 3.6 percent of the county's total population. Moreover, there is remarkable heterogeneity among residents of Asian ancestry, with the Chinese, Filipinos, Indians, Japanese, and Koreans the largest ethnic groups.

The Asian American community is the fastest growing racial or ethnic group in the Chicago area, increasing 39.2 percent since 1980.³ This population growth is attributable to two major factors: (1) a change in the immigration laws, and (2) refugee resettlement. In 1965 the Immigration and Naturalization Act was changed to abolish the national origins system for immigration, which limited immigration from certain nations to a fixed percent of United States residents of a nationality living in the country. The 1965 amendments to the Immigration and Naturalization Act allowed for a limit of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere, and for the first time a limit was placed on Western Hemisphere immigration at 120,000.⁴

The second factor that led to the dramatic growth in population was the aftermath of the war in Vietnam and the plight of Southeast Asian refugees fleeing persecution. These events led to the passage of a series of Federal laws beginning in 1975 to allow for the resettlement of thousands of Southeast Asian refugees in the United States.⁵

Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans

Recognizing the growing Asian American presence in the Chicago area, and anticipating that Chicago will continue to be a magnet for Asian immigrants, the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held a consultation to gather information from researchers on civil rights issues facing Asian Americans in metropolitan Chicago. Papers were received on three major topics: (1) political empowerment, (2) employment, education, and health, and (3) inter-group relations.

Persons invited to make presentations were chosen by the Advisory Committee membership, which reflects the bipartisanship of the

³ City of Chicago, U.S. Census of Chicago, February 1991.

⁴ Asian American Institute, *Asian American Political Empowerment in Illinois*, Chicago, Illinois, 1994, p. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

TABLE 1

Asian American Population for Cook County and Chicago

	Cook County		Chicago	
Cambodian	2,086	(1.1%)	1,920	(1.8%)
Chinese	33,376	(17.7%)	22,295	(21.4%)
Filipino	45,071	(23.9%)	27,443	(26.4%)
Hmong & Laotian	1,734	(1.0%)	805	(0.8%)
Indian	39,225	(20.8%)	16,386	(15.7%)
Japanese	15,725	(8.3%)	6,696	(6.4%)
Korean	29,687	(15.7%)	13,863	(13.3%)
Pacific Islander	1,613	(0.8%)	1,180	(1.1%)
Thai	3,423	(1.8%)	1,880	(1.8%)
Vietnamese	6,073	(3.2%)	4,640	(4.5%)

Key: Percent is total of Asian American population.

Source: 1990 U.S. Census.

Commission. Specific policy recommendations included at the end of the publication are recommendations offered to the Committee by selected presenters.

The first chapter of the report deals with political empowerment of the Asian American community. In Illinois there is no voting district where Asian Americans hold a plurality. Therefore, the election of Asian Americans must rely on factors other than a population concentration of Asian Americans. In addition, political pressure on elected officials to address issues specific to the Asian American communities is similarly limited.

Calvin Manshio discusses the model minority myth and how this translated into political meekness for the Asian American residents in Cook County. He talks of recent efforts by the Asian American community in Chicago to form a united political and cultural front and argues that only a united political front that is inclusive of all Asian ethnic groups has the potential to give the Asian American community some measure of real political power.

Tom Corfman analyzes the impact of recent redistricting on the Asian American community. His first article on this topic, "Asian Americans Buck the Odds for Political Power," published in the

Chicago Reporter, analyzed the political dissection of the Asian American population in greater Chicago. That article is reproduced in this publication, and is adjoined with the observation that the Asian American community has been excluded from the process of redistricting. As a result, potential voting bloc strength of Asian American communities in both the city and county have been diluted.

Ping Tom relates the difficulties encountered by the Chinese American community of Chicago's southside Chinatown during the 1990s redistricting process. The first proposed redistricting plans of aldermanic wards after the 1990 census divided Chinatown among several wards. Community leaders in Chinatown engaged in political action to prevent the ethnically distinct enclave from being divided, but the effort was unsuccessful and the 20,000 Chinatown residents are now divided between two wards.

Writing on voting rights, James H. Lewis states that the creation of electoral districts at any level of jurisdiction is the most closely guarded and most competitive of all political processes. The dispersal of Asian Americans throughout the greater Chicago area has abetted the ability of political power brokers to divide Asian American communities. Lewis discusses the Voting Rights Act and its probative application to the creation of an Asian American voting district in the Chicago area under the standards of two recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions, *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986) and *Shaw v. Reno* (1993).

Ross Harano writes that all Asian Americans should acknowledge their Eastern Hemisphere identity and its concomitant minority status in the United States and unify to gather political power. Addressing the notion that Asian Americans are viewed as foreigners by many non-Asian Americans, and that this plays a role in limiting Asian political power, Harano argues that American history should be taught from an immigration perspective, rather than a "war" basis. Studied in that framework, Asians coming to America would be viewed more as another immigrant group, and less as a foreign group; as a result, Asian political empowerment would be less threatening to the non-Asian communities.

Access to political empowerment in the judiciary is the theme of Sandra Otaka. Judges in Illinois are both elected and appointed. She argues that to win an election in Chicago and Cook County, it is essential that a candidate be slated by a major political party; to be appointed to a judicial position, it is essential that a candidate have access to power. She contends neither of these developments will take place for Asian Americans in Illinois until they register and vote in greater numbers, become monetary contributors to the political parties, and become active players of party politics.

The second chapter deals with issues of employment, education, and health care. In 1983 the Illinois Department of Human Rights, working with Asian Americans, held hearings on discrimination and racism directed at the Asian American community.⁶ Speakers testified on aspects of discrimination against Asian Americans in education, employment, and licensing, as well as problems facing the Asian American communities in social service delivery and health care.

Kwang Kim authors the first paper in this section, discussing the model minority myth. He writes that a century of negative prejudice gradually gave way in the early 1960s to a media portrayal of Asian Americans as the "successful minority." He argues that two factors drove the origination of the myth, the first, a focus on socioeconomic factors and, the second, the black-white racial tension observed in the United States at that time. The author confronts some of the problems that this myth imposes on the Asian American community.

Kishore Thampy examines specific discrimination practices directed at international physicians attempting to practice medicine in the United States. He specifically addresses emigration barriers and licensure requirements, and notes that international medical graduates (IMGs) are held to higher standards than domestic medical graduates (DMGs) for the same license. These problems are compounded by overt employment discrimination directed at the IMGs who do manage to obtain medical licensing in this country, despite evidence that the standard of care from IMGs is equivalent to that provided by DMGs.

Layton Olson presents a similar theme and provides background information for further research on discrimination against international physicians by the United States medical community. He views several areas as potential areas for further study including (1) the racial and ethnic impact of State medical licensing statutes, (2) the impact in changes in recognizing the "residence-entry" examination by the Federation of State Medical Licensing Boards, (3) physician privileges to treat patients in a hospital, and (4) hospital and health organization exclusion of physicians for factors other than medical qualification factors.

Another dimension of medical care, the provision of health services to Asian American immigrants and refugees, is discussed by Edwin Silverman. He states that Asian Americans have significant health care needs that are not being met because there is little knowledge or acknowledgment of the problem, and the Asian American community itself often encounters language difficulties and misunderstanding about health care options. He reproves the Office for Civil Rights of the

⁶ The hearing was held on Nov. 9, 1983, at Truman College.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services for failing to define discrimination based on national origin, and for not clarifying prevention or remediation procedures.

Ngoan Le writes on the specific health and welfare problems confronting Southeast Asian refugees in Chicago. She observes that the majority of Southeast Asian refugees have been in the United States less than 15 years, and that many of these later arriving individuals have been exposed to extreme trauma before emigrating to this country resulting in forms of depression and other psychological problems. She notes that many Southeast refugees are discouraged from applying for public assistance, and those in the work force have extremely low wage rates. Although some refugees have overcome initial barriers and achieved extraordinary successes, such stories should not be used to lump all Southeast Asian refugees together and dismiss the harsh problems facing this diverse community.

Ngoc-Diep Thi Nguyen discusses Asian American language minority education issues. She asserts that educators, when dealing with the needs of minority students, often mention the needs of Asian Americans last. Nguyen writes that there have been virtually no studies on the most appropriate educational approaches for Asian American students for whom English is a second language, and that many teachers are inadequately prepared to teach in a truly multicultural classroom. Both of these factors further handicap the educational opportunities of recent Asian American immigrants.

Sandra Yamate examines equal employment opportunity in the legal profession. She notes that even though there are growing numbers of Asian Americans entering the legal profession, the field is far from a limitless opportunity. She gives evidence that large law firms employ few Asian American attorneys, and this tendency is not changing. She points out that there has only been one Asian American judge in Illinois, and this lack of Asian Americans in the judiciary in Illinois is not simply a reflection of the small Asian population. She also asserts that employment opportunities for Asian Americans are restricted in government service and in academia.

Ashish Sen and Yvonne Lau, in separate papers, address employment issues of Asian Americans on Chicago area college campuses. Sen relates personal encounters of discrimination and prejudice in his professional career as a professor and administrator. Lau discusses the challenges facing both Asian American students and faculty in obtaining equal opportunity in colleges' equal employment opportunity programs.

The third chapter is devoted to intergroup relations. Clarence Wood is the first writer in the chapter, and stresses a dual theme to alleviate intergroup tensions. The first is integrated housing. In integrated

neighborhoods, residents shop together, go to school together, and interact with each other, breaking down social barriers in the process. The second theme is political empowerment. Groups that feel empowered politically are more supportive of community goals, and more able to be open to those from other groups and cultures.

William Yoshino writes about anti-Asian hate crime. Although reported hate crime against Asian Americans in Illinois appears to be minimal, Yoshino argues hate crimes do exist and often go unreported. He asserts that a substantial anti-Asian sentiment is still pervasive in Illinois and in greater Chicago.

Two authors discuss Korean-African American conflict. Shin Kim advances that critical to understanding the issue is understanding the history of the relationship between whites and African Americans. In the aftermath of desegregation, urban black areas deteriorated in the wake of new forms of white separation. In this environment, African Americans assume three coincident roles in their relationship with Korean merchants: customers, employees, and defenders of community economic interests. Korean store owners, however, see their relationship with local residents from just the dual economic perspectives of employers and sellers.

InChul Choi looks at the issue, examining reasons the conflict in Chicago has remained calm. He notes that in the past 4 years, there have been three boycotts staged by African Americans in Korean American shopping strips in Chicago; all were relatively contained in terms of racial tension. He cites several reasons for this, most importantly concerted mediation efforts and genuine outreach from both communities to each other and to their peers. Choi also discusses specific employment practices of Korean merchants in Chicago, and relations between Korean merchants and the police.

Ann Kalayil writes on the changing demographic profile of Chicago's Devon Avenue, and how its peaceful transformation from a white enclave on the city's northside to a multiracial, multiethnic community exemplifies how ethnic economic specialization can set the pace for improved interethnic relations. Tracing the history of ethnic changes in the area, Kalayil notes that the need to commercially represent one's own culture has had a positive economic effect in the area. Though ethnic clubs and service centers remain the focal point of social association, the economic specialization and its resultant interdependency has set the course for harmonious interethnic relations.

Juanita Burris defines racism as the domination of one racial group over many others, perpetuated by an economic system with little accountability for the inequalities in wealth. She argues that though it is beneficial for Asian Americans to form coalitions to advance group interests and fight racism, it is more important for Asian Americans

and all citizens to develop a sense of community and commonality. This spirit of citizenship is loyal to a community of people rather than a territory, and responsible for the common welfare despite economic inequalities.

Keynote Address

Civil Rights and the Asian American Community

By Nancy Chen*

The Asian American community is the fastest growing ethnic group in America. Its population is projected to reach 20 million by the year 2020. The social, economic, and political impact of Asian Americans in the next 25 years should not be underestimated, nor should the needs and concerns of this community be neglected today.

Although Asian Americans have been in this country since the middle of the last century, they are often considered a new group in the civil rights community. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights issued an extensive report in 1992 citing widespread discrimination and barriers against Asian Americans in many areas.

At the present time the United States is going through another inward looking stage in which anti-immigrant sentiment is not just expressed by a few, but openly used by some politicians to win votes. This consultation offers a timely opportunity for the public as well as Asian Americans themselves to take a closer look at a community that is still comprised largely of immigrants.

Nationwide, the Asian American population has grown from approximately 1 million residents in the 1960s to over 7 million today. Between 1980 and 1990 the Asian American community in the Chicago area almost doubled its size, from around 150,000 to almost 300,000. Similar population growth has occurred in the Chicago area; between 1980 and 1990 the Asian American community has doubled in size, from 150,000 to 300,000. The uniqueness of the Asian American community in greater Chicago is that it is a microcosm of the Asian community in the Nation with every major ethnic group from Asia represented, but no particular group more dominant than others, as is often the case on the east or west coast or Hawaii where Chinese and Japanese American communities are well-established.

In the Chicago area Asian Americans have been able to work together without the exclusion of others. The best example is the Asian

*Nancy Chen is a member of the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Coalition Dinner hosted by a different community each year through a rotation system. The dinner, started 10 years ago by the Chinese community, has grown to become a major cultural and political event for the city, a must visit for local and statewide elected officials and candidates.

However, the uniqueness of the Asian community in greater Chicago does not free it from problems described by the Commission's report. So in this document are papers from local community experts and scholars on issues with both national and local perspectives.

Asian Americans in the greater Chicago area have often bemoaned the lack of political representation for their community. Unlike the African American and Latino communities in Chicago which have successfully obtained greater political power through redistricting, Asian Americans have remained largely ignorant of this process. Redistricting is a frontier which has received little attention, yet it is crucial for Asian Americans to achieve full political empowerment. Some of the authors in this publication write in particular how redistricting affects Chinese Asian American voting power in the city of Chicago and Cook County, an issue which is just beginning to be addressed by the community in the aftermath of the recent redistricting.

This writer has firsthand experience of the frustration of the Chinese community in south Chicago's Chinatown trying to learn the intricacies of the politics of remapping as they attempted to stop Chinatown from being fractionalized. Sadly they realized that they did too little and too late.

By bringing this and other issues to the forefront, Asian Americans will be better informed by the impact that unfair redistricting plans have on the dilution of their voting strength, the discouragement to Asian Americans from running for office, and the delivery of services to the Asian American community.

It is important for Asian Americans to be aware that under the one person, one vote standard in the U.S. Constitution, Asian Americans are now protected from a dilution of their voting strength when it constitutes a substantial percentage of the voting age population, and substantial percentage does not mean that it has to be over 50 percent.

While redistricting fights are more commonly associated with the black and Hispanic districts because of the size of these communities, there will be opportunities for Asian Americans—if kept intact within a single district—to comprise an influential swing vote. The community is robbed of the opportunity to exert a maximum influence of its numbers if it is split over two or three districts as is the case in the Chicago City Council.

Last year's U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Shaw v. Reno*, which questions the ability of the majority and minority districts, will have

an impact on the future of the Asian American political process. Lawyers in the Asian American community should watch how it is interpreted around the country by lower courts. It is not too early for Asian Americans to be prepared for the next round of reapportionment following the census in the year 2000.

Perceptions about Asian Americans are often contradictory. For example, an article in the February issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* complained about southeast Asian refugees taxing the Nation's welfare system, while another study published by the Center for Immigration Studies warned about Asian professionals edging out minority groups and whites in high-paying jobs.

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

There are conflicting images of Asian Americans, affluence versus poverty, professional versus low-wage workers, etc. The working standards of Asian Americans in the Chicago area range from unskilled workers, staying at the bottom rung of the job market, to the highly trained professionals who are also in the rut of becoming what many called frozen talent, forever stuck in their technical station feeling underutilized and disillusioned.

Being labeled as a model minority is more a curse than a blessing for Asian Americans, as this well-meaning nickname for Asian Americans ignores those in the community who have not advanced and ignores the barriers faced by Asian Americans. Such labels overlook the professions lost, the political appointments lost and not secured that would otherwise be expected from their educational and economic accomplishments.

As many Asian Americans share similar civil rights concerns, the diversity and culture and ethnicity found in the community here also present many challenges ranging from conflicts within the community to race relations with non-Asian communities. The conflicts within this community can be attributed to different principles in religion and to historical animosity in the homeland.

Although there have been fewer hate crimes against Asian Americans in this area compared to nationwide statistics, there are still concerns that such incidents are underreported because of the language and cultural barriers. A more serious problem for Asian Americans which is not shared by European or Hispanic immigrants is that we are often not considered American.

As the head of the office of Senator Paul Simon (D-IL), I was recently asked to meet with a constituent who was complaining about a service of my staff members. When she saw me, she refused to deal with me because, as she put it, "I was not American." She added that she would not deal with anyone who bombed Pearl Harbor.

While others may not be as insensitive and crude as this particular person, the perception that Asians are foreigners contributes to many problems we discussed here today. Anti-Asian sentiment rises whenever political and economic friction rises between the United States and an Asian country.

Asian American candidates have difficulty being accepted because of their appearance and their ancestry. The feeling that Asian Americans just do not fit into the vision of America keeps Asian Americans behind in their professions, in politics, and in their overall pursuit of happiness in a country to which they or their ancestors, as many as five generations back, have chosen to belong.

As the Nation enters the 21st century in which the Asian American population will have a more significant impact in our national work force and economy, the issue of racial discrimination will not go away unless it is specifically addressed. To achieve full equality for Asian Americans, the community needs many allies to help work on common goals. The Asian community has begun to reach out to African American and Latino groups to build civil rights coalitions. It is important that policymakers do not view race relations as just black and white.

In conclusion, this effort by the Illinois Advisory Committee is only the beginning of many more dialogues that must actively be pursued to promote better understanding and better relations with everyone in our city, State, and nation.

I. Asian American Political Empowerment

Creating a Bonding Force For Asian American Political Empowerment

By Calvin K. Manshlo, J.D.*

Introduction

Asian Americans are the fastest growing segment of the American population. This fact has provided the seed for a new myth, a myth that Asian Americans, collectively, will participate in shaping the multicultural future for America. The reality, however, is that Asian Americans lack a common historic and political identity. Asian Americans, collectively, do not share a common heritage, racial ancestry, or even immigrant history. We are, at best, a government-created demographics classification.

Unlike previous immigrant groups, Asian Americans are more widely dispersed geographically, have wider differences in income and employment, and constitute different generational perspectives. Given this reality, the only present Asian American commonality is global geography: we all descend from an area west of the Pacific Ocean and east of the Caspian sea. The task of developing an Asian American perspective is not only difficult, but also essential if we wish to have an impact on the political process.

If we are to be more than observers in that process, Asian Americans must organize around some community of interests beyond demographic classification and geography. My presentation focuses on the need for some bonding force—an attitude or perspective that will allow Asian Americans to unite and ensure all of our dreams as citizens of the United States. To do less ignores a tremendous opportunity and surrenders ourselves to the emerging opportunists within our own communities and/or the kindness of non-Asian American politicians.

Defining Political Power

Political empowerment means different things to different people. To avoid any confusion, my working definition of political empowerment for this presentation is “the ability to control or influence

* Calvin K. Manshlo is an attorney in private practice and president of the Japanese American Service Committee in Chicago.

decision makers or decisions that affect society as a whole or each of us, individually.”

A classic definition of political power was coined in 1938 by Mao Tse-Tung, then Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party. He expressed the view of many, at that time, on political empowerment, when he said: “Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”¹ In an earlier time, my reference to a Communist leader would have left many of us uncomfortable.

My point in referring to the quote is to make us all a little uncomfortable, but also to look beyond the author and learn from the insight being provided. Mao’s quote reflects that period of time and the different methodologies available given the circumstances in 1930s China. China was then in a state of chaos. A call to arms not only represented a realistic solution, but also a simple one. Political power is not given; it is earned and maintained through effort. While the days of “might-makes-right” are rapidly disappearing around the world, acquiring political power today still depends upon an appreciation of your circumstance and then a solution. A combination of theory and pragmatism. It is this combination of theory and practice contained in Mao’s message that I would like to explore with you.

A Legacy of Accommodation

In order to understand Asian Americans, it is important to appreciate the political legacy imposed upon Asians in this country.² Going back to the first four decades of this century Asian Americans were “legally” excluded from participating in the political process. As a consequence, our strategy became one of accommodation or, as a popular Japanese saying provides, “Shigata gai nai”—it can’t be helped. Since we couldn’t change the law and didn’t have any powerful friends, our only practical course was acceptance of our disenfranchisement. Over time this exclusion led to a reliance on “friends” for assistance. Sometimes the friends were sincere; sometimes they were not. The “relationship” was not based on equality and, as a consequence, a distrust and disdain for all things political emerged. While other ethnic immigrant groups were learning to pursue political empowerment through direct control or indirect influence, Asian Americans accepted the fact that they were outside the process.

¹ Mao Tse-Tung, concluding speech at the sixth plenary session of the Central Committee, Communist party, China, Nov. 6, 1938—Mao, *Selected Works*, vol. 2, p. 272 (1954).

² In 1917 Asian immigrants were made ineligible for citizenship and the right to vote. See 39 Stat. 874, Feb. 5, 1917.

This political disenfranchisement resulted in an attitude best expressed in the Japanese proverb, "The nail that sticks out gets beaten down." Asian Americans, by and large, did not want to stick out. Notwithstanding our appearance, we did not want to draw attention to ourselves by participating in political or social issues. This does not mean that Asian Americans were apolitical. We were not. Our political focus was overseas in our nation of ancestry and in our local community. We were concerned with events overseas and in our backyard.³

Lacking community involvement in politics, we became the "model minority." We paid our taxes, voted when we could and did not generally participate as a community in the political arenas. This period of noninvolvement continued through the 1950s. Outsiders to the Asian American communities saw us as a model for assimilation to other minorities. What occurred to shatter this paradigm were a series of changes: Legislation that produced more Asian immigration; the civil rights movement of the 1960s that redefined race relationships; and, more importantly, the influx of Asian Americans by resettlement from Southeast Asia which altered the prevailing model minority syndrome. As a result of these three causes not only the prevailing circumstances for Asian Americans changed, but also the prevailing attitude of Asian Americans. Ironically, the Federal Government contributed to a change in attitude toward Asian Americans by recognizing their classification in the 1980 U.S. census. Asian Americans were now a recognized demographic classification.

II

America in the 1990s represents a time of unlimited opportunity for Asian American empowerment; it also exposes our differences and organizational failures. While many people predict Asian American political empowerment, we may never attain it. The reason goes back to Mao's quote and our present political circumstances. Today, the tools for achieving political power in the United States are votes and money. Voter ballots and money have replaced Mao's bullets and armies. Voters provide the numbers that attract the attention of office holders; money enhances access to those votes. Without both money and votes, no candidate can achieve public office. Recognition by Asian Americans of this reality has been slow to emerge.

³ The publicity and lawsuits stemming from community association elections in the Filipino, Asian Indian, and Korean communities in Chicago are examples of how seriously Asian Americans take their politics. For Asian Americans the adage that "All politics is local" takes on ethnic connotations.

Mao's second step is also unappreciated by Asian Americans. The mechanism for exercising this power (votes and money) is organization. In order to best utilize our numbers and money, there must be Asian American political organizations. What good is a U.S. census that quantifies Asian American numbers if we can't claim Federal and State dollars that flow from that census? What good is 4 percent of the metropolitan population, if we cannot elect an Asian American candidate? The answer can be found in how Mao Tse Tsung's vision applies to our current circumstance.

III

Let me now shift from the theoretical to the reality of Asian Americans in the Chicagoland area. Prior to the 1970s the majority of Asian Americans in Chicago were Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos. Most Asian American organizing effort was internal to their respective communities and reflected their own self-interest. This limited community focus provided an immediate barrier to pan-Asian organizing efforts. At best, the concept of a pan-Asian identity was embryonic in the early 1970s, if not nonexistent.

The late 1970s and early 1980s, however, witnessed a change in circumstances. The large influx of Asian immigrants based upon changes in the Immigration Act and Southeast Asian resettlement upset the traditional mindset and prevailing demographics in the Chicago metropolitan area.⁴ The large scale entry of Asian Indians, Koreans, and other Asian immigrants transformed Chicago's ethnic Asian neighborhoods and upset the relatively stable Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino communities. The initial dilemma for the established communities was, Who would assist these new groups? Since traditional Asian Americans social service organizations were unable or unwilling to provide social services to all the new groups, mainstream social service groups provided the assistance. Despite the perception that everyone was "Asian," the lack of an Asian American identity was demonstrated by the lack of response by existing single ethnic organizations to the new immigrants.

⁴ The Illinois Refugee Resettlement Program assisted the resettlement of approximately 55,000 refugees. Initially, the Chicago Refugee Consortium, consisting of a network of 19 agencies contracted by the Illinois Department of Public Aid, provided comprehensive adjustment, instruction, case management, and employment services. Gradually, responsibility was turned over to the Refugee Mutual Assistance Associations. These organizations were community-based comprehensive service centers and included the Association of Hmong in Illinois, the Cambodian Association in Illinois, the Chinese Mutual Aid Association, the Lao Association, and the Vietnamese Association.

While the shift in Chicago's Asian American population was occurring, the reemergence of strong cultural values possessed by many of the new immigrants focused attention on two immediate community concerns: (1) breakdown of ethnic communities and (2) breakdown of ethnic identification.

During the 1960s traditional Asian American enclaves were breaking down; Asian Americans were moving to the suburbs and outside of their traditional ethnic communities. In addition, greater assimilation by individuals was occurring. The consequence was less and fewer Asian American activities.

Two events occurred to reverse this trend. In 1980 President Jimmy Carter declared the first week of May as Asian American Heritage Week. Subsequent years led to annual activities being planned around participation by different ethnic groups working together. This practice created a semipermanent group of Asian Americans who knew and worked with each other, outside of a single ethnic context. As events were repeated, the level of interaction and cooperation increased. Today, Asian American heritage activities have expanded to a full month and involve considerable interethnic cooperation. Participants include both single ethnic and pan-Asian organizations. The programs have evolved from purely cultural ones to forums that, today, address many Asian American problems and concerns.⁵

Although the cultural programs were intended to demonstrate each Asian community's uniqueness, Asian Americans discovered they had a number of similarities. Community leaders came to realize that each community, alone, was too small.⁶ More could be achieved through collective efforts in an Asian American format than through single ethnic efforts. A pan-Asian approach allowed Asian Americans to maximize the resources of each community to achieve beneficial results for the whole.

Notwithstanding the historic or overseas tension between and inside single ethnic communities, Asian Americans came to realize more could be achieved through a pan-Asian approach. Thus, without realizing it, an accommodation, at least for cultural purposes, was maintained.

⁵ In 1986 Asian American Heritage Week included a program featuring cultural presentations, panel discussions, and film showings.

⁶ Single ethnic cultural celebrations continued and even expanded. One successful example involved the Asian Indian community, the government of India, and the Museum of Science and Industry's sponsorship of "India: A Festival of Science," June 6—Sept. 2, 1985. A special series of three science seminars was held in conjunction with the exhibit and organized by the Association of Scientists of Indian Origin in America.

A digression here is appropriate. While no community supported a loss of single ethnic identity for an amalgamated Asian American one, each realized they were subject to assimilation and that a cooperative approach under an Asian American label could benefit each community's goal of preserving ethnic identity. If that approach could be leverage for political power or in dealings with non-Asian American groups, few individuals acted upon this potential.

While the numbers of Asian Americans continued to grow during the 1980s, diversity became more pronounced. Asian Americans now reflected not only more ethnic diversity, but also a more youthful average population. What began as cooperation to express cultural pride grew into a pan-Asian movement that could achieve political empowerment.

A significant turning point in Asian American thinking occurred as a result of the 1982 death of Vincent Chin in Detroit, Michigan, by out-of-work auto workers. More than any other event, that case demonstrated to Asian Americans the high price for lack of political involvement. Both locally and nationally, Asian American leaders recognized the link between organization and political power.⁷ In Chicago, a small group organized an ad hoc fundraiser dinner to contribute toward supporting legal action in the Chin case.⁸ That dinner focused Asian American leaders on a growing concern, the increase in violence against Asian Americans.

Community concern with the Vincent Chin case coincided with the success of Asian American heritage programs. These two separate

⁷ As a consequence of the Chin incident the Detroit Asian American community formed a new civil rights organization, American Citizens for Justice. That organization and others pushed for a Federal inquiry into possible civil rights violations in the Vincent Chin case. See *New York Times* stories on the Chin case, Apr. 26, 1983, section I, p. 16; Apr. 30, 1983, section I, p. 6; May 10, 1983, section I, p. 16, Aug. 5, 1983, section I, p. 7; June 6, 1984, section I, p. 24; and June 29, 1984, section II, p. 2.

⁸ The death of Vincent Chin was documented by filmmakers Christine Choy and Renee Tajima in their film "Who Killed Vincent Chin." Chin a 27-year-old Chinese American draftsman went into a local Detroit bar with two of his friends to celebrate his upcoming wedding. Somehow, in the course of the evening, a chance meeting with Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz turned into a vicious fight. The unemployed auto workers had assumed Vincent was Japanese and the source of their unemployment. At the end of the night Chin had been beaten to death by a baseball bat. Ebens was charged with manslaughter and sentenced to 3 years probation and fined \$3,720. That sentence and the judge's comment that Ebens was not the sort of man who would have done such a thing outraged the Asian American community. A subsequent civil rights suit was brought against Ebens in *United States v. Ebens*, 800 F.2d 1422 (6th Cir. 1986).

events, the Chin murder and the evolution of Asian American heritage celebrations, provided the backdrop for an *ad hoc* committee of Asian Americans in Chicago. They decided to seek the assistance of then Illinois Governor James R. Thompson to increase the role and responsiveness of State government to its citizens of Asian ancestry. In May 1982 the Governor established the first Governor's Asian American Advisory Council and invited council members and community leaders to what was to become an annual breakfast meeting. By November 1983 this initial group, joined by other Asian Americans, prepared an agenda for the Governor. At a breakfast meeting with the Governor in Springfield, Illinois, they presented five objectives for his consideration:

1. The hiring of a special assistant to the Governor for Asian American Affairs;
2. The placing of qualified Asian Americans in policymaking positions in State government;
3. The appointing of suitable Asian Americans to State authorities, boards, and commissions;
4. Involving Asian Americans in State economic development, foreign trade, and investment programs; and
5. Developing and expanding education and job training programs for Asian immigrants and refugees.

The breakfast meeting did not lead to an immediate response. At that same time, however, a number of Chinese American groups were organizing the First Asian American Lunar New Year celebration at the White Eagle Restaurant in February 1984.⁹ This event, which drew over 1,000 people, occurred under the auspices of an *ad hoc* Asian American Coalition consisting of different community groups. The concept was to create a cooperative Asian American event in which all ethnic groups could participate. While the Chinese groups served as the host community, the organizing committee included all Asian American communities.

An invitation was sent to Governor Jim Thompson to speak. He used the event to publicly support all five of the previously requested objectives and announced the appointment of Shinae Chun as the first special assistant to the Governor for Asian American Affairs. Ms. Chun

⁹ See Liu, David. "Asian Americans Unite, Together We Can! A Historical Perspective" in the Eighth Annual Asian American Coalition Program Book (1991).

became not only the first special assistant to an Illinois Governor, but also the first such assistant in the Nation.¹⁰

Building on its success, the loose-knit coalition, again coordinated by Chinese American groups, held a public forum on the 1984 race for U.S. Senator from Illinois. On October 6, 1984, at McCormick Place, before an audience of 400, incumbent Senator Charles Percy and challenger Paul Simon answered questions from a panel of community leaders on Asian American issues. This event marked the first time Asian Americans used a pan-Asian approach to a political race. Both candidates replied to questions and sought support from the Asian American community.

In Chicago, it is said, everyone is Irish on St. Patrick's Day. The holiday is a local phenomenon that is nationally recognized. Likewise, the Asian American Coalition Lunar New Year's Banquet has become *the* Asian American celebration in Chicago. Like the St. Patrick's Day Parade where political clout is measured by who marches in the front line, political prowess at the banquet is measured by who is recognized.¹¹ The event continues to be held each year with a different community acting as host.¹²

In 1985 the Korean American community hosted the Second Annual Asian American Coalition Lunar New Year Celebration at the McCormick Center Hotel. Both U.S. Senators from Illinois, Alan Dixon and Paul Simon, used the forum to announce the formation of separate Asian American advisory councils and the appointment of Asian American liaisons, Sara Pang and Nancy Chen, respectively. Incidentally, the banquet also marked the first attempt to serve Chinese cuisine to over 1,000 people.

At the banquet, Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago also announced formation of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Asian American Affairs¹³ and the appointment of Paul Igasaki as community

¹⁰ Ducato, Theresa. "Asian American Advocate." *North Shore*, vol. 8, no. 8 Aug. 1, 1985, p. 28.

¹¹ The political significance of Lunar New Years became apparent in 1987 when mayoral candidates Jane Byrne and Edward Vrdolyak visited Chinese New Year celebrations in search of votes. Such activity led one observer to note, "It's almost like a St. Patrick's Day parade." Devall, Cheryl. "Politicians Hop to Chinatown Parties." *Chicago Tribune*. Feb. 2, 1987.

¹² See Harano, Ross. "Brief History of the Asian American Coalition" and Lowe, Jung. "The Asian American Coalition: A Progress Report" in the Sixth Annual Asian American Coalition Program Book (1989).

¹³ On May 9, 1984, Mayor Harold Washington issued Executive Order 84-2, creating the Asian American Advisory Committee to counsel the Mayor on the
(continued...)

liaison.¹⁴ Following the 1985 celebration the Governor's Office sponsored a number of Leadership Training Seminars for Asian Americans to stimulate community leadership and cooperation.¹⁵

Mayor Washington's Advisory Committee on Asian American Affairs also coordinated an Asian American Community Forum at Truman College on February 16, 1985, which included 11 different community organizations, to discuss concerns about crime, public health, and housing. Representatives from each of the city offices made presentations and answered questions on topics ranging from police procedures to restrictions on resettlement in the Uptown area. In 1986 the Filipino American community hosted the Lunar New Year Celebration and initiated a theme "The Spirit of Asian Americans." In 1987 the Fourth Annual Asian American Coalition Dinner was sponsored by the Federation of Indian Associations (FIA) on May 3, 1987, at the White Eagle Restaurant and made a part of Asian American Heritage Month.

In 1988 the Asian American Coalition, under the leadership of the Thai Association of Greater Chicago, sponsored the Fifth Annual Lunar New Year Celebration. Their theme, "Celebrate Asian Heritage: Envision New Horizons," inspired a unity song by Keith Uchima and Irene Cualoping, "Together, The World Can Count on Us." That song has become the unifying theme song of the Asian American Coalition.

Mayor Eugene Sawyer appointed Dr. William Liu in 1988 as the first Asian American to serve on the Chicago School Board. In addition, Mayor Sawyer named Raymond Lee as the first Asian American to serve on the Chicago Park District Board.¹⁶

The Vietnamese community, in 1989, used the Sixth Annual Lunar New Year Celebration to highlight education and hosted a companion

¹³(...continued)

needs and concerns of Asian Americans in Chicago. Ross Harano was elected as the first chairman of the 15-person committee.

¹⁴ In Mayor Washington's proclamation of Asian American Heritage Week (May 1984) he stated, "An Asian American Desk will be established in the Commission on Human Relations to act as a liaison between the Asian American community and city government." In mid-February 1985 Paul Igasaki was appointed as the Asian American liaison.

¹⁵ The Governor's office provided three seminars on leadership: 1. Building an effective Networking Climate (June 1984); 2. Understanding the Dynamics of Power (October 1984); and 3. The Trust Building Process (April 1985). A fourth seminar (October 1985) focus on the activities of various Asian Americans in State government. An Asian American voters registration drive and Education Needs Assessment Project grew out of these seminars.

¹⁶ Following his term on the Park District Board, Raymond Lee was appointed in 1989 to succeed William Liu on the Board of Education. Gillis, Michael. "Lee is Shifted to School Bd., Park Spot Filled." *Chicago Sun Times*, Oct. 5, 1989.

conference on education under the theme, "Asian American Contributions to America." Later in that year, a group of entrepreneurs held Asian Festival, a cultural and food fair at Navy pier. The event drew considerable media attention during its September 2nd through 4th run.

The Chicago Japanese American Council hosted the Seventh Annual Lunar Year Celebration and U.S. Congressman Norman Mineta provided remarks on the role of Asian Americans in the fabric of American society. During the planning period Rudy Urian, who had succeeded Paul Igasaki, and others undertook a voters registration campaign within the various Asian American communities.¹⁷ In May 1990 a Candidates' Forum was hosted by the Coalition of Asian American Voters at the Rizal Center.¹⁸

The Eighth Annual Lunar New Year Celebration was hosted by the Chinese community and included a musical drama, "Start with the Children." Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien, chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, provided the keynote speech and elaborated on the theme, "Together, We Can."

In 1992 the Pakistani American community hosted the Ninth Annual Lunar New Year Celebration under the theme, "Making Visions Happen." "A Decade of Progress: Making Our Voices Heard" was the theme of the 10th Anniversary Lunar New Year Celebration hosted by the Korean American Association of Chicago in 1993.

The 1994 Coalition celebration was hosted by the Filipino American community under the banner, "Asian Americans Together: A New Decade for Progress." In 1995 the Asian Indian community will host the 12th annual celebration.

Over a decade of Asian American Coalition celebrations have produced a mechanism for bringing various communities together for a single event. Despite the incorporation of the Coalition in 1988, however, no permanent multi-issue grass roots organization has emerged to provide an organizational framework for Asian American empowerment.

Beginning in the 1990s, a variety of Asian American professional associations came into prominence. Like the Asian American Coalition, these associations focused on specific efforts. Unlike the coalition, they were permanent organizations that included sustaining members. These organizations provided *ad hoc* community leadership based on issues, not structure. Since these organizations were built around

¹⁷ Earlier voter registration campaigns had been undertaken by groups like Asian Human Services in 1986.

¹⁸ "Coalition of Asian American Voters Candidates' Forum," *Chicago Shimpō*, May 9, 1990.

specific professions, their focus was on issues related to their profession.¹⁹ A few examples of these associations include the Asian American Educators, the Asian American Bar Association,²⁰ the Asian American Journalist Association, the MinaSama-No Theatre Company,²¹ and the National Association of Asian American Professionals.²²

One of the most successful of these organizations is the Asian American Bar Association of the Greater Chicago Area (AABA). AABA successfully sought election of an Asian American to the Circuit Court of Cook County. The bar association also promoted, in conjunction with the Chicago chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League, passage of S.B. 442 exempting Japanese American redress payments from public aid eligibility and tort liability. AABA also worked with the Governor's Asian American liaison and the State to obtain an Executive order addressing Asian American employment in State government.

Throughout the past few years Asian American concerns have gained greater acceptance within and outside the community and gradually replaced the individual ethnic community perspective to problem solving. The various Asian American communities have recognized the

¹⁹ Like previous Asian American organizations, each of these groups was motivated by a common interest. Ironically, demographics plays a major part in the formation of these groups. If fewer numbers of Asian Americans had existed, those individuals would have no impetus to organize and probably would have worked through existing professional organizations. If greater numbers of specific ethnic groups had existed, they would have formed single ethnic organizations. The happenstance of not too many or too few numbers led, in the Chicago area, to the creation of Asian American organizations and an Asian American identity. In addition, these groups recognized the importance of the media, their respective professional visibility, and the need to work together for a common good.

²⁰ AABA was incorporated on Oct. 22, 1987.

²¹ MinaSama-No Theatre Company productions include: "Autumn and Spring," written by Keith Uchima, "Yellow Fever," written by R.A. Shiomi from a concept by March Hayashi with original music by Keith Uchima and Gerry Aylward at the Organic Lab, June 10-29, 1986; "Norman's Special Day," written by Keith Uchima and produced by Irene Cualoping, Dec. 10, 1988, Midwest Buddhist Temple; "Waiting for Buddha," written by Dan Kobayashi, March-April 1990 at the Theatre Building.

During the summer of 1989 a second Asian American theater company, Angel Island Theater Company began operation. In May 1990 it presented "Who Killed the Dragon Lady" at the Synergy Theatre.

²² The Chicago chapter of the National Association of Asian American Professionals began as a chapter of the New York based National Association of Young Asian American Professionals in 1987. By 1988 the chapter had 150 members and changed its name to NAAAP.

value of working together. This approach has led to extending the *ad hoc* coalition approach toward specific issues. Each community can choose whether or not to participate and the extent to which they wish to become involved. These *ad hoc* endeavors have met with limited success depending upon the level of individual commitment.

In contrast to volunteer professional organizations and *ad hoc* coalitions are the Asian American advisory councils established by various government leaders. The inherent weakness in all of these approaches is that they dilute "grassroots" community involvement. Professional and government groups cannot really know what individual ethnic communities want unless they receive "grass roots" participation and accountability. This weakness in receiving community input needs to be overcome. Similarly, the dependence upon "volunteers" to act for the community effort is unrealistic. As issues become more complex, more time and expertise is required beyond voluntary effort. At best, the current structure provides some input, but limits participation and accountability. Control is not from the community, but a small group of professionals, community activists, or appointed council members.

Asian American involvement in politics has produced appointments of Asian Americans to positions in Federal, State, and local government.²³ Initially, these individuals provided much of the coordination needed to create an Asian American agenda. They acted as a link between elected officials and Asian American communities. Shinae Chun, as a special assistant to Governor James Thompson, created a position which linked government with the various communities.²⁴ That focus was maintained by Ngoan Le and the current special assistant to Governor Jim Edgar, Christine Takada. Likewise, in the Mayor's office, Paul Igasaki defined the role of special assistant. Subsequent assistants, Rudy Urian and Bart Moy, have fought to maintain that position. The recent appointment of Sara Pang as a special assistant to Mayor Daley demonstrates Asian American entry into the policy-making level of government.

²³ The reward for Asian American activism in fund raising has been political appointments. The success of Asian Americans during the Reagan/Bush administration and in various States has lead some to question whether Asian Americans have abandoned electoral politics in favor of appointments. Awanohara, Susumu. *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Oct. 29, 1992, pp. 50-53. Curiously, Asian Americans have not looked beyond titles to see if the position obtained actually provides political responsibility and authority.

²⁴ In 1989 Governor Thompson appointed Shinae Chun Director of Financial Institutions, a State cabinet position and in 1991 Governor Jim Edgar named her Secretary of Labor for the State of Illinois.

Despite the initial successes of these individuals in their positions, there are inherent limitations in any appointed government position.²⁵ Who controls the agenda and perspective of the liaison is a real issue. Community groups and community issues are largely dependent on the dynamics of personality and perspective of the assistant; the assistant in turn is dependent upon the officeholder's agenda. The officeholder, through direction and/or funding, controls the scope of the liaison's activities. In such a relationship it is legitimate to ask if appointees see themselves as liaisons from the community to political power or messengers from political power to the community. Clearly a community-based organization or an elected Asian American official could provide more accountability, but would also require support and funds from the community. While an Asian American officeholder could draw strength from the community, he/she could also provide it with an independent voice in the world of politics.

IV

Nationwide, Asian Americans have enjoyed political success out of proportion to their numbers. Asian Americans have been elected to the U.S. Senate, House of Representatives, and Governorship of a State. Unfortunately, this has occurred only in Hawaii and California. Although recent results are encouraging,²⁶ the ability of Asian Americans to increase their number of elected officeholders depends upon coalition building and issue orientation. Congressmen Mineta, Matsui, and Kim from California, for example, have been elected from non-dominant Asian American districts. A review of various congressional districts in Illinois produces no Asian American plurality which could be used as a springboard for an Asian American candidate. For elected office in Illinois, an Asian American must appeal to a broader political base. This has been achieved largely unnoticed by Ken Moy. In 1982 Ken Moy was first elected to the DuPage County Board representing

²⁵ An example of the appointment limitations and inability of Asian Americans to influence outcomes can be found in the case of Ranjit Ganguly. As reported by Lee Maglaya, Ranjit's name was submitted to Governor Jim Edgar by Attorney General Roland Burris to fill a position on the Illinois State Board of Elections. Following an interview with the Governor's Office Ranjit appeared to be the Governor's choice. Then abruptly Ranjit's name was withdrawn. No explanation, no apology. "Asian American Scenes," *Via Times*, June-July 1991, p. 36

²⁶ Ng, Assunta. "Vox Populi: If Korean Americans Can Do It, Why Can't Chinese and Japanese," *Rafu Shimpo*, Jan. 9, 1993.

a constituency that is largely non-Asian. Moy's approach was to run as the best candidate not as the Asian American candidate.²⁷

Attorney Joseph A. Tecson was probably one of the first Asian Americans to run for public office in Illinois. Although he was unsuccessful in his campaign for judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County, he was elected as a delegate to the Illinois Constitutional Convention in 1970. In 1976 Hiroshi Okano ran as an independent candidate for alderman of the 2nd Ward. He was defeated. In 1978 Ross Harano became the first Asian American to run for the city council with Democratic Party endorsement. After a vigorous campaign which led to a runoff, Harano lost.

In 1986 Lee Maglaya ran unsuccessfully for State representative to the Illinois General Assembly. The same fate fell on John Lee Bingham in his race for alderman of the 40th Ward. In 1990 Paul Chung ran for Lake County clerk and was defeated. Likewise, Ahmed Patel ran for judge of the circuit court and was unsuccessful. Glenn Sugiyama ran in 1992 against incumbent Ninth District Congressman Sidney Yates and lost despite a *Chicago Tribune* endorsement. Each of these contests demonstrates that being an Asian American is not determinative. What is important is organization and a broad appeal.

In 1994 more Asian Americans ran for political office in Illinois than at any other time in history.²⁸ The results, however, demonstrate the continuing lack of Asian American political organization. In many cases election victory depended upon traditional political party support not Asian American efforts.

²⁷ The 1992 DuPage County Republican Primary was Ken's first loss and after 10 years he will leave office. Illinois will then have no elected Asian Americans at the State or county level. Franchines, Philip. "Moy was a Pioneer in DuPage." *Chicago Sun Times*. May 24, 1992, p. 21. Ken Moy enjoys a comeback with his 1994 Republican primary win for DuPage County commissioners.

²⁸ The 1994 primary election resulted in only one Asian American candidate winning a contested primary election Ken Moy, who ran in the Republican primary for county commissioner in DuPage County. Jean Marie Reyes Pechette (Cook County treasurer) and Lourdes Mon (Cook County commissioner, 13th District) both ran uncontested for their respective offices in the Cook County Republican Party primary. John Lee Bingham lost his bid in the Democratic primary for State representative in the 34th District, as did Ahmed Patel and Judge Lynne Kawamoto who were both in the Cook County Democratic Primary for positions as full circuit court judges for Cook County. Glenn Sugiyama withdrew his bid for Congress in February 1994. "Asian Americans in Illinois Politics," *Pan-Asian Panorama*, vol. 1, no. 2/Spring 1994.

In order to create and maintain Asian American political power, theoretical justification is not enough. Wishing doesn't make it so. A "bonding force" must be created. Just as Mao's saying implies there is a theoretical and practical aspect to attaining power, Asian American empowerment must be practical. A "bonding force" is that vision and community of interest that binds us together as a political force. In order to be successful, Asian Americans need to determine what message they want to send—Take us into consideration or we want ours? What principles do we as a ethnic political entity want to stand for? Second, how do we as a people convey our views? Through ad hoc coalitions, through professional association, or through advisory councils? There are really only two ways in a democracy: You elect officeholders and hold them accountable or you create a political framework for empowerment.

How do you elect an Asian American to political office?²⁹ In California, where Asian Americans are most numerous, Asian Americans make up little more than 10 percent of the population. Hence, political power—the electing of Asian American officials—depends upon the ability of Asian American candidates to leverage support from outside their specific ethnic community. This means an Asian American cannot win without broad-based support.

In the past, political parties have provided the organization to generate votes for candidates. Asian Americans lack broad-based candidates and the political organization needed to win political office. An example, is the 1992 Ninth Illinois Congressional District race run by Glenn Sugiyama, a Japanese American businessman, against Congressman Sidney Yates. Although, Sugiyama did well in the primary against Yates, he was not perceived as a community-based candidate. Thus, although he had the broad base support of a *Chicago Tribune* endorsement, he lacked support from the Asian American community because no Asian American political organization existed, and the existing Asian American "political" structure is based upon social work, not business or politics. If the community is waiting for the "best" candidate, we may never have an officeholder.

²⁹ "Studies have shown that a high proportion of Asian Americans are registered as independents, with the affiliation of the rest evenly split between Republican and Democratic parties." Choo, Al Leng. "Asian Americans' Political Clout Grows as Candidates Target Them for Funding." *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 21, 1992.

The 1992 election of Jay C. Kim as the first Korean American U.S. Congressman also represents the only Asian American Republican in Congress. Burton, Jonathan. "A Dream Come True." *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Oct. 29, 1992, pp. 29–30.

VI

Asian American communities across the United States consist of numerous core groups, including clubs, churches, associations, and social services providers. What is lacking is a common agenda and motivation for cooperation. Whether the diverse Asian American ethnic communities can learn to speak as one blended voice or continue to sing solo depends upon a number of factors. At stake is whether Asian Americans collectively can achieve political and economic empowerment. Foremost among the factors necessary for development of a common agenda is the sense of Asian American commonality beyond cooperation. An example of how commonality and cooperation can be used by Asian Americans is found in redistricting.

The 1965 Voting Rights Act recognized the problems minority populations faced in gaining political representation and required creation by mapping of a sufficient number of majority minority districts to provide adequate minority representation. In 1990 Cook County voters, by referendum, decided to change the manner in which Cook County commissioners were elected. In the past, based upon population distribution, 17 members were elected—10 from Chicago at large and 7 from the suburbs. Beginning in 1994, 17 single-member districts were created with candidates running in separate and distinct districts. Based upon an analysis of the total population, African Americans in Cook County claimed 5–6 of the 17 seats, Hispanics at least 2. Currently, African Americans hold four seats and Hispanics, one. Although both groups worked together to produce a compromise map to reflect their demographic interest, the county board adopted a map created by its consultant presumptively to protect incumbents. The results of the March 1994 primaries reflect this incumbent perspective. Asian Americans were not even at the bargaining table to get cut out.

Now, in addition to overcoming political clout, redistricting at the turn of the century following the next U.S. census will have to take into account the latest U.S. Supreme Court decision involving North Carolina's 12th Congressional District. The Court, in a 5–4 decision, found that the majority minority district created to carve out an African American district lacked a "compelling" justification in terms of legitimate State interests. Hence, any majority minority district crafted would have to provide a "compelling justification" for its creative cartography.

While the Court objected to the appearance of the majority minority district (it was drawn in a "C" shape to include significant African American populations), it offered few guidelines as to how redistricting

could be improved. The case has since been remanded to the U.S. district court for change pursuant to the Court's direction.

Proceedings on remand have begun in North Carolina and initial testimony has taken a curious twist. One of the witnesses for the plaintiffs in the original suit that challenged the district's boundaries acknowledged that neat, compact districts might not be as important in an age of telephone and computers as they were years ago. Hence, the use of technology and communications on voters is being recognized. By itself, however, technology will not provide the compelling justification required by the Court. That justification may come from the writings of Lani Guinier, once a nominee for Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, but withdrawn from consideration because of the very same writings. Guinier's writings focus on the use of different voting methodologies as a means of addressing minority interests. For example under "cumulative voting" several candidates are put into a large geographic district. Each voter is given as many votes as there are candidates. Voters can give as many votes to as many candidates as he or she wishes. If minorities want to put all of their votes on the candidates from their group they can do it. Unlike race-based plans, cumulative voting guarantees opportunity to minority interests without guaranteeing outcomes.

Guinier's writings also include a concept called "preference voting" in which voters rank their choice by preference. The candidates who get the fewest votes are eliminated and their votes are then given to each voter's second choice.

It would be ironic if Lani Guinier, denied the opportunity to serve, would be vindicated by acceptance of her writings to resolve the dilemma of equitable minority representation.

Conclusion

The history of Asians in the United States has progressed from political exclusion to a potential for inclusion. In the midwest, Asian Americans do not comprise large numbers. This demographic fact should lead to a greater appreciation of cooperation with other ethnic communities in order to achieve political power. We have the opportunity to take a geographical identity, i.e., Asian American, and transform it into a political identity. While each Asian American community remains committed to maintaining traditional ethnic values and beliefs, the influences of the prevailing mainstream culture and its mythologies have had an overwhelming impact.

The geographic spread of Asian Americans throughout the Chicago-land community also has its consequences. Many Asian Americans see their community based on geography not ethnicity. Their links to a specific ethnic community may be based on membership in an

association or shopping in ethnic stores, but their identification is with the political community in which they live or work. This consequence may be the natural result of a scattered minority in a culturally different society. This trend away from ethnic identity can also be seen in the mixed marriages between Asian Americans and non-Asians. If these trends continue, the role of single ethnic organizations is doomed. Professor Harry H.L. Kitano, studying the Japanese American community in 1969, described a possible consequence of assimilation:

Certain ethnic institutions will probably continue in modified form while others will eventually disappear. Specialization and costs in certain fields such as medicine, psychiatry, and social welfare will mean that the ethnic community will have to turn to larger community resources. As these formal contacts with the outside community increase, there should also be an increase in primary level contacts with Caucasians and others. Some of the structural barriers will inevitably break down so that, in the long run, increase face-to-face contact should lead to integration.

Kitano's prediction was that the Japanese Americans would assimilate and in the context of the "melting pot" analogy, be absorbed into the mainstream. Ultimately, this assimilation may occur, not only for Japanese Americans, but for all immigrant groups including Asian Americans. Each of us individually will determine the degrees of ethnicity we wish to retain or surrender.

What has become apparent is that our relatively small individual ethnic numbers can be ignored by political and business leaders unless we maximize our numbers through an Asian American identity. In this regard, an Asian American identity should not be considered a new sense of ethnicity, but a political one which seeks to maximize society's concerns for each of our groups. Each of our ethnic communities may have individual concerns that appear trivial to policymakers, but are important to us. How, then, do we get the system to take notice? The answer is a combination of merits and numbers. These can best be brought together in a coalition approach. The strength of the coalition, however, depends upon the commitment of each individual member. On a limited and *ad hoc* basis the coalition dissolves once its objectives are met.

An analysis of Asian American community leadership is provided in *Asian American Community Leadership in the 1990's: A Report on the Town Hall Meetings in Twelve Asian American Communities: July 1990 to February 1991* researched and written by Ngoan Le and Juanita Salvador-Burris. While the report reinforces the lack of a collective Asian American identity, it does identify common concerns that transcend ethnic groups. The report found the closest articulation of an Asian American viewpoint in the Japanese American community,

"It was the only group that examined its social context as an ethnic group. It saw itself first, within a larger environment which, good or bad, would affect their lives. . . . Their thinking showed they were dealing with a more complex picture than some of us see." (Pages 16-17).

Individual Asian American communities are very competitive. Within a particular ethnic group, competition for leadership and community support is widespread; this fact translates into vigorous internal competition among groups and individuals. This intra-ethnic competition produces leaders and groups that are prepared to represent their communities to other nonethnic organizations. The problem that emerges in some ethnic communities is destructive competition. Within the intra-ethnic rivalries, attainment of some community position is achieved as a result of "bad feelings." The result is no cooperation within a given community for competing in the inter-ethnic arena.

A second impediment to political leadership in Asian American communities is the "generational glass ceiling," a reluctance by older members of a community to release control and authority to younger members. Because of destructive competition and generational glass ceilings, younger Asian Americans have looked outside their own communities to fulfil their aspirations. This theory is validated by the emergence of Asian American professional groups.

Another impediment to a permanent coalition is resolution of problems that can be ignored in an *ad hoc* context. Unlike many ethnic immigrants, Asian Americans in the midwest have been able to avoid inter-ethnic conflict. That is not to say that hostility and resentment do not exist, but to a large extent different ethnic groups have been able to work with each other. The same cannot be said for intra-ethnic disputes. Within each of our communities the largest impediment to working together is internal conflict. Factions, subgroups, age, and assorted distinctions provide a constant battle over who represents a particular ethnic community. This internal conflict has provided a further stimulus for younger members of each of the communities to assimilate. After all, why become embroiled in conflict when the barriers keeping you in the community are no longer impassable?

Today's Asian American thinks more in terms of his/her individual identity than at any other time in history. Some have sought to preserve their ethnic perspective; others have chosen to ignore it. Each

decision is an individual one.³⁰ For Asian American institutions the decision is not so easy. Do we embrace assimilation and point our communities in that direction or do we maintain our own agenda?

During the 19th century, Native Americans were not even given a choice to assimilate or not. Those that fought assimilation were killed and those that sought assimilation were never fully accepted by American society as equals. To a certain extent, Asian Americans have more of an opportunity to share their future.

An Asian American identity was coined by government, we can make it our own. Asian American empowerment means Asian American effort. If we seek political power we must be willing to pay the price in time, effort, and money. The alternative is further assimilation and loss of ethnic identity.

In a relatively short period, Asian Americans have realized the benefits to be gained through collective action. Initiating such action has evolved from ad hoc coalitions, advisory groups, and professional associations. If we want more, comprehensive grassroots organization is required. In a democracy, there is the myth of the citizen-soldier, the farmer, who lays down his plow and becomes a warrior to defend his country in time of crisis. Just like any myth there are some elements of truth. As modern warfare has progressed beyond the time when an individual can change from farmer to soldier in a minute, political organization requires more than grassroots effort. The ability of volunteers to make a difference requires organization. Politics today is highly sophisticated and media-driven. Unless Asian Americans can adapt to this change in circumstances, we will never achieve political empowerment. Waiting for the right group or spokesman to appear is mere wishful thinking. The political and social evolution of Asian America is ready for the next evolutionary step, the creation of a permanent, independent, multicultural, grassroots organization working with all groups for the common good. Such an organization can compile data, provide analysis, draft positions, and advocate our issues; such an organization can stimulate greater communications, cooperation, and involvement within each ethnic community. Unlike existing organizations, it would provide a broader perspective on common issues and facilitate their resolution.

³⁰ The ultimate individual choice is marriage. The future of an Asian American identity and separate ethnic identities may be moot. Asian Americans and other Americans are dating and marrying each other at accelerating rates. See "Interracial," *Asian Week*, Nov. 6, 1992, p. 22.

Policy Recommendations

My policy recommendations include the following:

- 1. Promote self-help mechanisms for Asian Americans to gain political empowerment, i.e., host or cosponsor leadership and/or issue conferences.**
- 2. Facilitate better understanding by Asian Americans of the political process through encouraging Asian Americans to participate in government through employment and internship programs.**
- 3. Facilitate better understanding by Asian Americans of the various issues affecting them such as the U.S. Census Bureau's use of post-cards for the 2000 U.S. census.**

Asian Americans and the Battle for Political Power

By Tom Corfman, J.D.*

The late Milton Raycoff once said that one map maker is worth a thousand precinct captains. In the latest round of redistricting, the Asian American community did not have a map maker—they were at least 900 precinct captains short. My thoughts are based upon an article that I wrote that appeared in the December 1992 issue of the *Chicago Reporter*.¹ I will indicate where I am updating that article with additional information.

In that article I looked at what maps could have been drawn, and what I found was that at every level of government from judge to Congressman, political leaders divided the most populous Asian neighborhoods into smaller and less influential segments.

Let me give four examples. For example, a northside ward could have been drawn that would have been at least 27 percent Asian American instead of one that is now 21 percent Asian American. A Cook County judicial subcircuit could have been drawn that would have been at least 18 percent Asian instead of 11 percent Asian. A State representative district could have been drawn that would have been 24 percent Asian American instead of 11 percent Asian American.

Finally, the Ninth Congressional district, which has 10 percent Asian Americans, could have had its Asian American population increased by including the neighborhoods of Albany Park and North Center to the west of the district. Those neighborhoods instead are represented by the Fifth Congressional District.

Neither Republicans or Democrats did the Asian Americans any favors during redistricting. City Democrats, for example, drew up a ward map. Black and Latino Democrats teamed up with Republicans to draw the judicial subcircuit map, and Republicans controlled the process that resulted in maps for the Illinois General Assembly and Congress.

* Tom Corfman writes for the *Chicago Reporter*, a journal devoted to issues of race and poverty in the city of Chicago.

¹ The first article by Tom Corfman on this subject, "Asian Americans Buck the Odds for Political Power," was published in December 1992 by the *Chicago Reporter*. That article is included at the end of this paper.

Mr. Manshio has alluded to the Cook County Board in its redistricting. At the time that I wrote my first article, those boundaries had not yet been drawn. And my analysis showed that a county board district could have been drawn that would have stretched from the lake front to Park Ridge and would have been 19 percent Asian American. Instead the process resulted in three districts on the north side that are respectively 9.6 percent Asian American, 8.8 percent Asian American, and 8.15 percent Asian American.

Asian Americans lost the last round of redistricting and the winners were primarily white incumbents for whose advantage these boundaries on the northside were all drawn. The situation in the southside with respect to Chinatown is much more complicated because of the necessity of drawing majority districts for Latinos and African Americans.

There is one important followup—the problem of low voter registration. After my article appeared, political consultant Don Rose wrote me to say that a low registration makes redistricting for Asians irrelevant. Rose said that even if Asians were given a ward that was 50 percent Asian American, they could not influence the election.

There are no local estimates of the percentage of Asian Americans of voting age who are, in fact, registered. Typically for whites and blacks the registration rate estimates given are around 75 percent. In comparison, about 35 percent of all Latinos over the age of 18 are registered to vote. This is a problem. Though there is an absence of any clear estimate as to what the Asian registration rates are, it still seems there is a problem which the community has yet to address.

There are many reasons why Asian Americans did not make a meaningful effort to influence redistricting. Certainly the most obvious one is that their population is still very small. Mr. Manshio has alluded to the ethnic differences that make it difficult for the community to come together. Another problem, though, is one of party loyalty.

After the 1992 presidential election, national surveys showed that Asian American voters who voted in the election were fairly evenly divided, about one-third or slightly more identified themselves as Democrats. About one-third or slightly less identified themselves as Republicans, and about one-third identified themselves as independent.

In Chicago, Asian Americans face significant divisions among themselves; briefly here are three of them. First is that, in this decade, Asian Americans are increasingly divided between city and suburbs. More Asian Americans live in the suburbs than in the city. Even in Cook County about 44 percent of Asian Americans live in the suburbs. No other minority group can say this.

Second, the Asian American community faces an increasing division between rich and poor. The median household income for suburban

households increased 7.6 percent to \$51,000 during the 1980s. In the city Asian American median household income actually dropped 12.7 percent to \$28,000 and these figures are adjusted for inflation.

Third, as Juju Lien, a long-time community activist said in my first article, there are not solid grassroots coalitions among Asian groups. The Asian community has a particularly strong elite. It is affluent, well-educated, and concerned about the issues facing the community. But the Asian American elite seems to have stronger connections to the white establishment than it does to its own working class.

No significant redistricting effort can be launched until Asian leadership begins to motivate the entire community. The day will come when the Asian American community truly elects one of their own to public office. That candidate will be someone who comes from the community, not one who is passed on by party bosses or chosen by white voters. And as Shinae Chun said, "When that day comes, it will be thrilling for the community. It will be like the birth of a child."

Asian Americans Buck the Odds in Battle for Political Power²

By Tom Corfman

A month after the Nov. 3 election, Asian American leaders are already looking ahead to 1994, and the chance to elect Cook County's first Asian officeholder. "That's the task the leadership must pay attention to—find a qualified candidate, the right race, and the necessary resources," said Shinae Chun, director of the Illinois Department of Labor and the state's highest ranking Asian American official.

While electing an Asian will not satisfy the community's political ambition, the leaders see a symbolic value in that first step. "It would be thrilling," Chun said, "Like the birth of a child." But Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders must first overcome several obstacles. The diverse community will have to shed lingering ethnic prejudices and unite behind one candidate. And that candidate must appeal to an Asian electorate with many political allegiances, from liberal Democrats to conservative Republicans.

But the toughest hurdle may already be insurmountable: the recent reapportionment of local and state political districts based on the 1990 census—boundaries that will remain until the next census in the year 2000.

² This article, written by Tom Corfman, was originally published in the *Chicago Reporter*, December 1992, vol. 2, no. 11, and is reproduced with the author's permission.

In the latest round of redistricting, Asians were the big losers. At every level of government, from judge to congressman, political leaders divided the most populous Asian neighborhoods into smaller and less influential segments, according to a census analysis by *The Chicago Reporter*. The analysis suggests what the mapmakers could have drawn, but didn't.

- A North Side ward that is at least 27 percent Asian American, instead of one that is 21 percent.
- A state representative district that is 24 percent Asian, instead of one that is 16 percent.
- A Cook County judicial district that is 18 percent, instead of 11 percent, Asian.

And while the 9th congressional district on the North Side is nearly 10 percent Asian, mapmakers excluded Albany Park, North Center and North Park, which all have significant Asian populations.

"There's no question that this was done on purpose," said John Lee Bingham, a Korean American and director of personnel for the Cook County recorder of deeds. Bingham ran for 40th Ward alderman in 1987.

Asian leaders admit they did little to influence the remap. But they are looking ahead to early next year, when the Cook County Board of Commissioners must divide the county into 17 districts. One of those districts could be as much as 19 percent Asian, the analysis shows. But the Asian community won't be handed such a district—they'll have to fight for it like everyone else, said Juan Andrade, president of the Midwest/Northeast Voter Registration and Education Project.

"Nobody is going to get out of the way to make room for an Asian," said Andrade, a veteran of Latino efforts to gain ward and legislative seats since the 1980s. "The name of the game is hoarding power."

The 1990 census counted 104,118 Asian Americans in Chicago, nearly enough to fill two city wards. But unlike blacks and Latinos, the Asian population is not concentrated enough for a majority in any single ward.

"Even though the percentage of Asian Americans is small, concentrating its voting strength would give the community political power," said Ross Harano, co-chairman of the Asian/Pacific American Democratic Council of Illinois.

Asian Americans may have had their best chance on the North Side. Mapmakers could have created a 27 percent Asian ward that would stretch from Albany Park to Rogers Park. But instead, that area is represented by not one, but three alderman: Anthony Laurino (39th), Patrick O'Conner (40th), and Bernard L. Stone (50th).

O'Conner said he agreed to give up Asian constituents living south of Lawrence Avenue to accommodate Ald. Richard F. Mell, whose 33rd Ward was pushed northward to increase the Latino majority in the new 35th Ward. "We had such a difficult time drawing the map for Hispanics, it was impossible to keep the Asian population together," O'Conner said.

The city ward map drawn by Democratic Party regulars and adopted by voters in the March 17 primary gave the 39th Ward the largest Asian population, at 21 percent. The 40th Ward comes next with 17 percent, followed by the 50th Ward, with nearly 16 percent Asian.

The Republican-controlled Illinois Legislative Redistricting Commission also carved up the Asian population when it drew state representative districts. The commissioners could have drawn a 24 percent Asian district, stretching south from Skokie to Albany Park and Uptown. Instead, the 16th District, represented by Democratic state Rep. Louis I. Lang of Skokie, is 16 percent Asian.

The Asian community was also divided when larger districts were redrawn, the analysis shows. In 1989, the Illinois General Assembly carved Cook County into 15 circuit districts, each with a population of about 340,000. The judicial map was passed only after black and Latino Democrats teamed up with white Republicans. The map ensured that no judicial district would be more than 11 percent Asian, even though one could have been 18 percent Asian.

Many Asians hailed the appointment last year of Lynne Kawamoto as the first Asian American associate judge in Cook County. But when candidates ran for the new judicial districts in the March 17 primary, there were no Asians among them.

Republicans also drew the congressional map, separating nearly 20,000 Asians in Albany Park and North Center from the 9th District, which is nearly 10 percent Asian, and putting them in U.S. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski's 5th District, which is about 5 percent Asian. Each congressional district contains about 571,000 people.

Asian American leaders did little work on the remap because "the process is not understood by a lot of Asian leaders," said Ngoan Le, deputy administrator for planning and community services for the Illinois Department of Public Aid. "Some Asian leaders have come through the existing political structure, so they have to stay 'loyal' because that is their base."

But Le herself, the former executive director of the Vietnamese Association of Illinois, was former Gov. James R. Thompson's special assistant for Asian American Affairs from 1989 to 1991.

Rudy E. Urian, former executive director of the city's Commission on Asian American Affairs, said his community could not have changed any maps without the blessing of Democratic Party regulars.

"Party leaders would have to say, 'Lay off, this is going to be an Asian ward,'" said Urian, operations director for the city's department of fleet management.

Best Hope

Asian leaders are now looking at the county board, where a successful referendum in 1990 calls for one commissioner to be elected from each of 17 districts.

"We must develop a strategy to give Asian Americans on the North Side and in the northern suburbs a chance to elect a public official," said Harano, who is chief of the Illinois Attorney General's crime victims division. But the county board districts are so large—about 300,000 people each—that the community's best hope is a district that is 19 percent Asian American.

"Obviously, the more you have of your kind—if they vote for you—the better are your chances," said Cook County Commissioner John H. Stroger Jr. (D-Chicago). "But I don't think 19 percent is sufficient for any group to control their district." Commissioner Richard A. Siebel (R-Northbrook), a member of the board's redistricting committee, said he would favor a district with a strong Asian component if it didn't divide a suburb into too many separate districts. The county board may note on a map by June, he said.

But the Democratic regulars won't give up a district without a fight, Andrade warns. "Redistricting is not just about having numbers, or mobilizing your community," he said. "We had that in 1980 and it didn't get us anything." Latino leaders "didn't have the data-gathering capability of those who were drawing the maps," he said. "We were using pocket calculators." To win, he added, "Asians need the resources and the resourcefulness to fight."

Some Asians doubt the community is ready. "We don't have the organization to do it," said Juju Lien, a campaign aide to U.S. Senator-elect Carol Mosely Braun. "There are no solid grass-roots coalitions among Asian groups." The drive for political empowerment hasn't hit full stride yet, said Jae Choi, president of the Korean American Citizens Coalition, a non-partisan community advocacy group. "Because of the economic success, we don't feel the political powerlessness as directly."

An Asian candidate must have strong support from the community to attract volunteers and campaign funds, said Dr. Kishore J. Thamby, president of the Indo-American Democratic Organization, a statewide

political action committee. But to be elected, an Asian candidate must have a broad appeal, he said.

While Asians lack the numbers to be guaranteed a district under the Federal Voting Rights Act, the law offers some protection for smaller minority populations, said Arturo Juaregui, regional counsel for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund. In a 1991 Ohio case, a Federal judge ordered mapmakers to draw a district that was 33 percent African American, he said. "There is no fixed percentage," he said. "The question is what figure will enable a particular minority group to elect a representative of its choice."

Political Ghettos

County districting would be the "first, most exciting project" for the Asian American Institute, said Ngoan Le, who is now co-chairwoman of the newly formed non-partisan research and advocacy group. But co-chairman William Taki Jr. isn't so sure. "I don't think we have it in our minds to get that involved in that specific an issue at this time," said Taki, president of the Baldwin Group Ltd., a Chicago real estate and financial services firm.

The Institute's 32-member board has some influential members who are not Asian, including Baldwin Group chairman L.T. "Tom" Baldwin and former commodities broker Richard Dennis. But it has raised little money and has yet to hire any staff, Le said. And Thampy is skeptical. "We should not be out there trying to make little political ghettos," he said. "One county commissioner would not be significant."

Instead, Asian Americans should try to persuade public officials to tackle discrimination against Asians, he said. A little sensitivity training wouldn't hurt either, leaders said. Bingham recalls that after running for 40th Ward alderman as an independent, he moved to the 46th Ward, where Cook County Treasurer Edward J. Rosewell invited him to join the regular Democrats.

Rosewell explained the benefits of party membership, Bingham said. "And then he finally said to me, 'We need more Asiatics in the Democratic Party.' "And I said, 'Ed, you just convinced me you're right.'"

The Political Dissection of Chinatown

By Ping Tom, J.D.*

The Chinese have a proud heritage and civilization. Their recorded history begins over 4,692 years ago, well before the Egyptian pharaohs built the pyramids, before the Incas built Machu Pichu, and before Stonehedge was even conceived. The Chinese discovered paper, gunpowder, the compass, silk, herbs, acupuncture, and many other important developments. But despite these notable accomplishments, the Chinese in America have faced numerous problems and continued discrimination in housing, education, and employment. More subtle problems include discriminatory quotas, glass ceilings which limit the upward mobility of many people of Chinese ancestry, and immigration laws which tear families apart and limit the growth of Chinese American communities.

Those of Chinese ancestry need to educate themselves about the political process of this country and become active participants. Just learning who are their representatives in government and what can be expected from them is not sufficient for the Chinese to have a government responsive to community needs, problems, and concerns, nor will such education by itself bring government resources to the Chinese American communities. Real government investment in the Chinese community requires political empowerment—an empowerment that emanates from voting bloc strength.

In the past population numbers of Chinese and other Asians in Chicago were too small to be an effective voice in political affairs. Today, however, that has changed. The Asian American community, including the Chinese American community, is the fastest growing community in Chicago. To obtain voting bloc strength, however, and the concomitant political power, communities that are racially and ethnically similar must be able to act collectively in order to achieve real representation of their interests.

* Ping Tom is president of Mah Chena Corporation, a Chicago-based firm that produces Cantonese foods.

The Chinese in Chicago

Officially 43,016 residents of Chinese ancestry live in the six-county Chicago metropolitan area.¹ That number, though, is substantially lower than figures of the Greater Chicago chapter of the Organization of Chinese Americans, Inc., which estimates the local Chinese population at 50,000 to 75,000.

In the city of Chicago, 98,777 (3.55 percent) of the city's residents are of Asian and Pacific Island ancestry. Of these individuals, 22,295 (21.4 percent) are of Chinese heritage, the second largest Asian ethnic group in the city.² In Chicago the largest concentration of individuals with Chinese ancestry is in Chinatown.

But these gains in population have only come recently. A strong, persistent political resistance to Asian immigration has existed in this country for over two centuries. This bias developed early in this country and still lingers in the national psyche. Most of this anti-Asian hostility has been directed at the Chinese. Immigration laws have limited the number of Chinese allowed to enter this country and withheld citizenship from those who did come.

In 1790 the Congress of the United States began this persecution by passing legislation limiting naturalization only to free *white* persons. With the passage of the 14th amendment in the mid-19th century, Congress modified its 1790 law and allowed "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent" to become naturalized citizens. But at the same time it expanded naturalization rights to individuals in the southern hemisphere, Congress deliberately rejected extending naturalization rights to Asian groups; the exclusion was understood to be primarily intended for the Chinese whose immigration to the United States was beginning to increase at that time.³

The Chinese began coming to the United States in the 1850s. They initially arrived to work in the gold mines of California, and later were recruited to provide labor for the construction of the transcontinental railroad. These first Chinese immigrants were predominantly male; the ratio of males to females approached 100:1. This gender imbalance reflected in part the purpose for most Chinese immigration. The Chinese arriving in the United States in the 19th century did not come, for the most part, to take up permanent residence. They came with the

¹ 1990 U.S. census.

² Filipinos are the largest Asian group in the city with a population of 27,443 (26.4%).

³ In 1922 the U.S. Supreme Court held that the naturalization bar also applied to Japanese (*Ozawa v. U.S.*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922)). In 1923 the U.S. Supreme Court extended the naturalization ban, holding that East Indians were barred from naturalization because the term "white" did not include all Caucasians (*U.S. v. Thind*, 261 U.S. 204 (1923)).

Asians in Chicago

From 1980 to 1990 the number of Asians in Chicago increased by 50 percent.

A breakdown of Asians in Chicago by ethnic group is:

[illegible]

Source: *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 21, 1994.

intention of finding temporary employment, working, accumulating savings, and then returning to their families in China.

With the major railroad construction completed in the 1860s, jobs and employment opportunities in the West became limited. An antagonism set in against Chinese workers, who—primarily because their immigration was a work hiatus—continued to be willing to emigrate and work for lower wages than non-Asian workers. As a result non-Asian workers mobilized politically to obstruct the Chinese from competing with white workers. Eventually a series of immigration restrictions and local covenant laws were enacted barring Asians from owning property in the United States.

In 1882 Congress passed the first of a series of restrictive immigration measures, the Chinese Exclusion Act. This act prohibited the immigration of Chinese workers for 10 years. Six years later the Scott Act extended the immigration ban to all Chinese, and further denied re-entry to the United States to any Chinese who had left the country.⁴ In 1892 the Geary Act extended the immigration ban for another 10 years and required all Chinese currently living in the United States to obtain "certificates of residence to prove that they were legal

⁴ This act did allow a limited number of certain "professional" Chinese to immigrate, e.g., physicians and teachers.

residents.” In 1904 Congress passed the ultimate Chinese exclusion legislation—banning all further Chinese immigration indefinitely. The ban was lifted in 1943, but a stringent quota on Chinese immigration was still maintained—the set annual quota was 105.

After World War II barriers to Asian and Chinese immigration finally began to crumble. In 1952 Congress passed the McCarran-Walter Act, ending all exclusions to Asian immigration and granting Asian immigrants naturalization rights. The act was amended in 1965, establishing an annual quota of 20,000 immigrants per country. It was this legislation that finally allowed for a sizeable Chinese immigration to the United States.

These historical developments are reflected in the Chinese population of Chicago. Because the early Chinese immigrants were almost exclusively male, restricted in numbers by law, and a great number of these immigrants returned to their families in China, only a small proportion of today’s Chinese Americans are descendants of the early Chinese immigrants. Consequently, most Americans with Chinese heritage have a recent family history in this country.

Although Chinese made their way to Illinois as early as the 1860s and a first Chinese community was established in Chicago as early as the 1880s, it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that sizeable numbers of Chinese began living in Chicago. The 1960 census showed a Chinese population in Chicago of approximately 7,000. By 1970 the Chinese population had doubled to 14,077, and Chicago ranked fourth in the Nation in the number of Chinese in the United States.

Twenty years later, the Chinese population in the six-county metropolitan Chicago area had increased another three times to 43,016. Today’s Chicago Chinese community is a heterogeneous population consisting of descendants of early Cantonese Chinese immigrants, Indo-Chinese refugees, new immigrants from Taiwan and Mainland China, and students.

Modern Day Chicago Chinatown

The present day Chinatown developed in three stages. The first concentration of Chinese in Chicago was located in the south loop of the downtown area in the area of Clark and Van Buren. It was considered the first Chinatown in Chicago. Local covenant laws prohibited Chinese from owning property, so Chinese residences and businesses in this area were rented on short-term leases and were particularly vulnerable to shifts in the economic and political climate of the city. The first Chinatown was relatively small both in area and in population, due to the small numbers of Chinese, the lack of available space, and high rents.

A second Chinatown began developing further south in Chicago in the 22nd street and Wentworth area. Around 1912, a number of Chinese moved from their original area of settlement on South Clark to Cermak Road and Wentworth when their landlords in the downtown area raised their rents. The Chinese influx was made possible by a series of 10-year leases on buildings which were contracted through the H.O. Stone Company by members of the On Leong Businessmen's Association. Cermak Road and Wentworth Avenue would become the center of Chicago's Chinatown.

In the early 1970s, the government began razing the original Chinatown area for the building of a State correctional facility. This prompted the third phase of today's Chinatown. Many of the Chinese businesses and residents used the opportunity to move to the second Chinatown—and that area today is considered the Chinatown area of Chicago.

The unofficial boundaries of Chinatown are: the South Branch of the Chicago River and Cermak Avenue on the north; the Day Ryan expressway on the east; 35th Avenue on the south; and Halsted Avenue on the west. This area is part of two neighborhood communities, Armour Square and Bridgeport, and encompasses the census tracts: 3402, 3403, 3404, 3405, 6001, 6002, 6003, 6004, 6010, 6011, 6012, and 6013. The boundaries of Chinatown are not clear cut, though, and there is a growing Asian population in surrounding tracts.

The total population of the 12 census tracts is 20,735; the number of Asians is 8,769 (42.3 percent).⁵ This is in sharp contrast to the demographics of the area 10 years earlier. The 1980 census recorded 22,065 residents, with 5,324 Asians (24.1 percent). So although the total population has shown a slight decline in total numbers, the Asian population has grown in both total numbers and percentage of the community.

Recent research data show that the Chinese in non-Chicago areas of the metropolis are largely composed of married couples (75.9 percent) as compared to the Chinatown area (66 percent). The data also shows that middle-class married couples are more likely to settle in suburban areas, while people who are single, elderly individuals without families, or refugees remain in the central part of the city for reasons of basic survival.⁶

Historically, the Chicago Chinatown, like its counterparts in other major American cities, has been a place for support and protection for those of Chinese ancestry. It still meets that need as the presence of

⁵ 1990 Public Census.

⁶ Mills Chan, "Demographic Characteristics of the Chicago Chinese Community," University of Michigan (unpublished).

15 mutual aid organizations, a community center, and two churches attest. But today's Chinatown is also a cultural and economic dynamo within the city, accommodating not only its own residents, but citizens of Chicago and visitors to the city. Retail establishments provide food, groceries, herbs, artwork, gifts, and jewelry. There is a local newspaper, a printing company, several factories, and numerous professional firms, annually generating millions of dollars in personal income and thousands of dollars in tax revenues for the city.

City Government, Aldermanic Districts, and Political Power

The government of the city of Chicago is divided into executive and legislative branches. The mayor is the chief executive officer of the city directing the city's departments as well as for the city's board members and commissioners. The mayor is elected for a 4-year term, running on a political party ballot, and approves or vetoes all ordinances and appropriations passed by the city council. The city clerk and the city treasurer are also elected on a political party ballot at the same time as the mayor.

Much political power in Chicago resides in the city council, and legislative branch of city government. The city council enacts ordinances which govern the city, approves the mayor's department head, board, and commission appointments, and appropriates city funding. The Chicago City Council is composed of 50 alderman, one from each of the city's 50 wards. Each aldermanic district today represents around 53,000 people. Aldermanic elections are nonpartisan in the sense that the ballots have no political party designation and there is no primary election.⁷

Because of the size of the city of Chicago, direct access to the city administration for the resolution of community problems is limited. Aldermen become the key link between city services and city residents. Individuals with access to local aldermen are much more able to have complaints resolved and services provided. And because the city districts themselves are so large, aldermen typically are only responsive to groups which wield significant voting and economic strength within the ward.

Illinois State law requires that the city council approve through an ordinance a redistricting of the city wards as dictated by population

⁷ See *Key to Government in Chicago and Suburban Cook County*, edited by Barbara Page Fiske, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989, pp. 69-73.

changes by December 1 of the year following each national census.⁸ Illinois Revised Statutes, Chapter 21, 39-43, provides for the council redistricting map to be submitted to the voters for approval if, (1) 10 or more aldermen object to the districting ordinance, or (2) if the council fails to act and 10 or more aldermen submit an ordinance to the city clerk.

The Democratic Party and the Republican Party are the primary sponsors for district drawing activities. Both major political parties hire consulting firms to assist them in the redrawing of legislative districts. The parties attempt to draw maps that can withstand legal challenges, yet give maximum political power to their respective parties.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent by both parties in Illinois on consulting fees in the redistricting process. In Chicago, the Democratic Party dominates local politics and controls city hall. Following the 1990 census, the Illinois State Democratic Party employed Kimble Brace of Chicago Election Data Services (EDS) to assist the State organization and the Chicago Democratic party. Since the city council has responsibility for drawing the alderman map and is technically nonpartisan, it is unclear to outsiders who actually contracts for map consultation services and how these services are paid.

Election Data Services and Kimble Brace did provide computer services, maps, and software to the city administration in 1991. Supporting these services were full-time EDS technicians who contributed day-to-day expertise and training to local officials. The aides to Alderman Burke, district 25, were the primary architects of the aldermanic district maps adopted by the city council and approved by the voters on March 17, 1992.

The Democratic Party in the city of Chicago is not united, however. The city and the ruling Democratic party are divided racially and ethnically among three groups, each with a sizeable population bloc: whites (38 percent), African Americans (39 percent), and Hispanics (18 percent). Minority aldermen felt that the 1991 sponsored map of the city council was drawn to the advantage of white politicians and the expense of minority politicians.

A coalition of minority aldermen organized a rival coalition to challenge the administration's map, and draw a ward district map more representative of their interests.⁹ The coalition and their map is commonly referred to as the "Fair Map Coalition." The original coalition

⁸ By Dec. 1, 1991, the Chicago City Council was to have approved a new map of aldermanic districts in response to the 1990 national census.

⁹ The coalition believing that city funds were used to pay map redistricting consultant fees, requested the city council to appropriate funds for their consultants' district map work—a request that was denied.

included most of the city's black and Hispanic aldermen and three maverick white aldermen.¹⁰ James Lewis, vice president of research and planning of the Chicago Urban League, participated in the development of the Fair Map.

In the initial stages of the project, the Fair Map Coalition tried to forge a cooperative agreement with the Latino community. Ultimately the interests of the two groups splintered, and both filed suits in Federal court under the Voting Rights Act to stop the implementation of the city council approved map. Those suits are still pending.

Jim Lewis explains that Chicago's Chinatown is particularly vulnerable to dissection by the three major competing powers. "Since voting in Chicago falls along racial lines, all map drawers in the City are trying to maintain a core racial voting base in as many districts as possible. Core voting strength is optimal at around 65 percent of the district. That means map drawers for African American interests are trying to draw as many districts as possible in which black voters are 65 percent of the population.

"Because some of the areas of the city are so segregated, even the optimal map drawing process for African Americans will include districts that are 100 percent black. You try to avoid that because any voting bloc strength over 65 percent in a district is wasted from a political standpoint because that is voting strength that cannot be used in other districts. That is where Chinatown comes into play. It is not sufficient in its own right to be a district, so it becomes the last piece of the population that fits into other people's plans.

"It is particularly vulnerable because it sits adjacent to the three competing interests. Because the Chinese community in that area is so much smaller than the Latino, white, and African American communities, its interests have been continually subordinated to theirs. The low registration and turnout of the Chinese are helpful to other groups because they know that Chinese Americans who are placed in their districts are unlikely to develop effective competing political interests."

Chinatown and the Dissection of a Community

Despite the cultural cohesion of the area, Chicago's Chinatown area is not and has not been a united geographic entity within one aldermanic ward. It has been chopped and parceled out as needed to competing political interests. This diminution of Chinese political power in

¹⁰ The white aldermen who joined the Fair Map Coalition were Alderman Helen Schiller, 46th ward, and Alderman Lawrence Bloom, 5th ward. Alderman Schiller has been at odds with the administration over a number of issues; Alderman Bloom represents a district that is predominantly African American.

Chinatown was most overtly manifested in the 1980s and continues in the 1990s.

The aldermanic map of the 1980s dissected Chinatown into two parts. The area's northeastern portion was placed in the first ward, a district encompassing the commercial and business interests of the Chicago loop and the city's "gold coast" residential area. The southwest section was pushed into the 11th ward, an enclave of white residents on the near southside of Chicago and the mayor's home district.

Aldermen from the 1st and 11th wards were generally unresponsive to community problems in their "Asian" sectors. Perhaps they were waiting for the Asian community to act together as a political bloc, and until then concentrated their efforts on voting constituencies. Regardless, business and community leaders in Chinatown were forced to work directly with city hall in resolving problems, and these efforts met with some success. Recent mayoral administrations, including Mayors Burns, Washington, Sawyer, and presently Mayor Daley, have promoted improvements in the Asian community. In Chinatown there is a new public school; there is a new library; there is a new park in development. The current mayor has been helpful in all these issues, whether this cooperation has been out of a genuine goodwill or for other personal reasons.

But because of these successes there was hope that this new cooperative spirit between Chinatown and city hall would keep Chinatown intact during the 1990s redistricting. There were meetings between Chinatown leaders and city officials to discuss issues of concern to the community. In the course of these events, rumors circulated that the new district maps being drawn by the administration were again dividing Chinatown, this time into three wards, another section being transferred to the 2nd ward.

On October 22, 1991, Chicago's Chinatown Chamber of Commerce urgently requested a meeting with the mayor to address this "critical issue."¹¹ With a mere 40 days available before the city council was to consider the new district map, the community leaders in Chinatown were on the outside looking in and a nonplayer in this important political decision.

Mayor Richard M. Daley met with the Chinatown delegation in November. The delegation expressed its concern to the mayor about the rumored division of Chinatown, and expressed its desire to be unified into one district, preferably the 25th. The mayor listened, but could make no commitment or promises to the group. He did recommend

¹¹ Signing parties included Raymond Lee, C.W. Chan, Allen Lee, Mark Chan, John Tan, Tommy Wong, G.H. Wang, Benjamin Wong, Davis Liu, Raymond Spaeth, Randall McDonald, Ping Tom, Wong King Hung, and David Lee.

that the group visit with Alderman Burke's representatives on the second floor of City Hall.

The delegation met with representatives from Alderman Burke's office, and expressed concerns about the division of Chinatown. Several potential ward maps were discussed; none maintained the Chinatown district in one ward. The political reality was that Chinatown was caught in a pincer movement between the major political interests of the city—and its residents were without influence. The major competing political groups had substantial populations bordering the Chinatown district, and all were trying to hold a 65 percent racial/ethnic voting threshold, and use the Asian population in Chinatown to round the ward.

In the end, the 1991 redistricting again divided Chinatown between two aldermanic districts. The 25th ward to the north takes the northern and eastern sections, the 11th ward to the south seizes the southern and western portions. A Chinese constituency that could have commanded a 20 to 25 percent voting bloc in one district is reduced to a 10 percent voting bloc in two different districts.

The political fallout of this division is the loss of power to the Chinese community in two ways. First, the power of Chinatown residents is diluted; no one alderman is threatened by the political consequences of ignoring issues in Chinatown. Second, addressing the specific needs of the Chinatown area on any given issue requires the cooperation of multiple aldermen, each of whom has to divert attention and resources to the area from other parts of his district.

Chinatown is, in many ways, a relatively new and a transient society. There is a continuing stream of new immigrants, and continuing exodus of other residents. It is not an uncommon experience with other Asian groups. And many from these countries of Asian origin have had short or nonexistent experiences with democratic traditions. This convention of nonparticipation in government must be exorcised. To be a full participant in the political structure of Chicago the Asian community must be a political player, a drawer of the maps, not a petitioner for a different map.

New Political Realities

The political climate of the city has changed dramatically in the last 20 years. For years the political power struggles in Chicago were between the different European ethnic groups. In the past, aldermen and city administrations really did ignore the concerns and the problems in Asian communities. In the last two decades, however, new political alliances have been forged around racial and cultural identities. In the seventies the African American community began to acquire genuine political power. In recent years the Hispanic community has secured

more visible expressions of support. On a smaller scale, this is also true for the Asian community, and the community has benefited as a result.

Given this political reality, the Chinese community and other Asian communities within the city cannot afford to be nonparticipants and entrust their fates to the goodwill of elected officials. The political establishment will respect and respond to the needs of the Asian community when it acts as a cohesive political force. But to this point in time the Asian community has not had the vision to set a common goal. The community has been asleep and our efforts at empowerment have been naive.

Some of this stems from our cultural heritage. American culture focuses on the individual—a person can succeed but it is on an individual basis. The Chinese culture is different. It draws its strength not from individualism but from community—a person is grounded in his family unit and his extended family. When a serious problem arises, the American strategy is to assess the issues, develop a strategy, and then implement a plan on an individual basis. The Chinese approach is to include all parties in a collective discussion, and base the decision on what is best for the entire community.

These cultural differences directly impede the Chinese and other Asian communities from political empowerment and effective representation. As individuals within a community, Chinese traditions restrain an individual from moving ahead of his community, standing out on an individual basis, or drawing attention to a personal problem. When we need help, we look internally, not externally. This can cause an insulation from the community at large, and an estrangement from effective participation in political affairs.

Such cultural traits can be a source of strength. But people from the outside can easily feel that Chinese and Asian Americans do not care, that issues are not important to them, that Asians are willing to accept greater hardship, and that decisions can be made on their behalf. The Chinese community and other Asian communities need to respect and use the potency of their culture, but merge that into an understanding of the American culture in which they live.

The new political dynamic emerging in Chicago congeals around racial and ethnic cultures and identities. The Chinese and Asian communities are poised to be a critical and important player. To do this, though, there is a need for a groundswell unity from the business community, the welfare agencies, and other segments of their community to recognize the individualistic nature of American society and disseminate this social structure into their activities so that the Chinese and other Asian Americans are equal partners and equal sharers in the prosperity of the society.

This takes vision, planning, unity, and a willingness to change. Essential to even minimal success is learning American politics, getting counted, and voting.

1. Education. The Chinese and Asian communities must realize that the individualism of the American society and culture is different from most Asian cultures. The Chinese community and the Asian community need to recognize and learn the mores of American culture and politics.

2. Numbers. To be recognized as a legitimate player in this competitive and individualistic society, numbers matter. The Chinese and Asian communities need to prepare for the 2000 census, and work during the census in ensuring a complete count. This takes planning, coordination, and unity. Discussions and strategies for a full count should begin formulation today, not in the waning months of the census year.

3. Voting. Chinese and Asian communities need to register and vote. Until the commitment is made to fully register all voters in the Asian communities and vote in substantial numbers, Asians will be relegated to accepting the mandates of those who do the voting. It is no longer the case that Asian voting strength is not sufficient to make a difference.

Voting Rights and Chicago-Area Asian Americans

By James H. Lewis, Ph.D.*

Introduction

Asian Americans in Illinois are at the front end of the challenge of gaining political power. White ethnics, African Americans, and Latinos have historically been elected to office by mobilizing members of their individual racial groups behind their candidates and winning seats in electoral districts dominated by their particular group. The analysis herein suggests that over the next 20 years, the Asian American route to elective office will have to be different. Because they are unlikely to constitute the majority of voters in a single district in the near future, Asian Americans will need to either form new coalitions with other racial/ethnic groups or work within existing political organizations.

Only a small number of Asian Americans have even pursued elected office. To date, only two Asian Americans have been elected to the DuPage County Board and several others to Chicago Public Schools Local School Councils. None have been elected to the State legislature, Cook County Board, Chicago City Council, let alone the Illinois congressional delegation.

There are a number of possible reasons for the lack of Asian Americans elected officials in Chicago and Illinois. Few Asian Americans have attempted to run for office. The Asian American community is perhaps the most varied ethnically, socially, and economically of all of the major racial groups and lacks a broadly understood political ideology that might define Asian candidacies within the political spectrum. Many Asian Americans are not citizens, and many who are citizens are not registered to vote. A large percentage of Asians are new to the United States. Many Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian refugees are unfamiliar with the American political system. Finally, with only 2.4 percent of the total Illinois population and less than 6 percent of Chicago's, Asian Americans tend to lack the numbers to enforce their political will. Projecting Asian American political power is also made difficult by their wide residential dispersal.

Voting studies show that members of Chicago-area racial/ethnic groups continue to vote largely for members of their own group when

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they have the opportunity.¹ To the extent that this tendency generalizes to how members of the three major groups view and vote for Asians, the lack of large concentrations of Asian population militates against election of Asians to office.

Where the boundaries of voting districts are drawn can have a major impact on the prospects of individual candidates for elected office. Boundaries of voting districts are redrawn every 10 years following the taking of the U.S. census so that they can be modified to account for population movements over the course of a decade that often leave some districts with a much greater population than others. Concentration of particular racial/ethnic groups affects prospects for election of Asian Americans because racial demography, political partisanship, and incumbency are the three most important factors defining how electoral districts are drawn. The location of district lines can determine the prospects of candidates for office, and those who draw the districts intend that the shape of districts will have exactly that effect.

The dispersion of Asian American population among a multitude of districts at each level of government may make it difficult for Asian Americans to influence their elected representatives. Since elected officials typically pay the most attention to those who elect them, relatively small numbers of Asian Americans may not be recognized by officials as a group to be heeded when legislative agendas are set. Asian Americans have a unity of interest in issues such as immigration policy and discrimination. These interests likely do not receive as full a hearing as they would were Asian American voting blocs pivotal to the election of at least a few officials.²

The process of creating electoral districts at any level of jurisdiction is the most closely guarded and most competitive of all political processes. Most legislative processes lend well to bargaining because the political pie can usually be enlarged to take into account the needs of various constituencies. A tax increase for one legislator's interest can be traded for a labor concession elsewhere. A welfare program favoring urban legislators' districts can be traded for farm programs downstate. Creating legislative districts is, however, a zero-sum game. A fixed number of districts is drawn for a given political jurisdiction. Every district drawn likely to elect a Democrat represents an immediate loss of opportunity for a Republican. Each district African American

¹ *Metro Chicago Political Atlas: 1992*. Chicago Urban League, Metro Chicago Information Center and Northern Illinois University. 1992.

² Harris, Fredrick C. and James H. Lewis. *Who Supports Minority and Poor Interests: A Roll Call Voting Analysis of the Chicago City Council: 1988-1990*. Chicago Urban League: 1991; Fredrick C. Harris. *Who Supports Minority and Poor Interests? A Roll Call Voting Analysis of the 1990 Illinois General Assembly*. Chicago Urban League: 1992.

leadership is satisfied it can carry is one that white politicians may count as lost to their community. Racial and partisan leaders surrender this political ground dearly as these structures help define which party or interest will be able to control legislatures, boards, and councils.

The interest of incumbents who live in the districts that are redrawn with each decennial census also tends to impede Asian American political progress. The Chicago City Council, the Cook County Board, and the Illinois State Legislature attempt to draw and adopt their own district maps. This process forces each elected member to consider his/her prospects of future election in the new map. A majority of those interests must be sufficiently accommodated for a new map to have any chance of being adopted by the legislative body. As is evident in the new Cook County Board map drawn for the first time in 1993, members are willing to go to extremes to shape districts that protect favored incumbent members.

It is into this world that Asian Americans venture as they pursue political power through the electoral process. The following article explores the major issues that will confront the Asian community in attempting to secure power through creation of electoral districts where Asians might expect to contend for or win office. First, the current apportionment of Asians in five major governmental jurisdictions in Illinois, U.S. Congressional districts, State legislative districts, Cook County Board of Commissioners districts, Cook County judicial districts, and Chicago City Council wards is considered. Next is a discussion of the dispersion of Asian American population in Chicago, a pattern that will likely make difficult attainment of high concentrations of Asian Americans in future electoral districts at any level. Finally, the legal framework within which electoral districts will be drawn in the future and how the evolving interpretation by Federal courts of the 14th amendment and the Voting Rights Act affects prospects for creation of districts likely to elect Asians to office are assessed.

The Dispersal of Asian Americans Among Districts

Asian Americans are widely dispersed among many voting districts in each of the major Chicago area governmental jurisdictions. The voting district with the greatest Asian American concentration is Chicago's 39th Ward, which is 21.2 percent Asian American.

- Among the 20 Illinois congressional districts, 3 are between 5 percent and 10 percent Asian American.

- ▶ In the Illinois State Legislature, 19 of 118 districts are at least 5 percent Asian American, and 5 of those are between 10 percent and 17 percent Asian American.
- ▶ Among the Cook County Board districts, 4 of the 17 districts are at least 5 percent Asian American, and 3 of those are between 8 percent and 10 percent Asian American.
- ▶ Among Cook County judicial districts, 4 of the 15 districts are at least 5 percent Asian American, and two are between 9 percent and 11 percent Asian American.
- ▶ Among the 50 Chicago City Council wards, 11 are more than 5 percent Asian American and, 3 of those are between 15 percent and 22 percent Asian American.

Historically, dominant interest groups who controlled State legislatures drew legislative maps designed to dilute the strength of rival political interests. Initially these maps were designed to defend partisan interests (the term “gerrymander” has its origin in one such 19th century strategy), but in the South, following the Civil War and Reconstruction, legislatures dominated by whites created districts designed to prevent African Americans from amassing sufficient political strength to elect themselves to public office. Laws such as the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its subsequent amendments were enacted in part to counteract such tactics.

While some have suggested that the current political powers in Illinois have intentionally denied Asian Americans concentration in districts,³ no evidence to that effect has yet been developed. Rather, the dispersal of Asians among many districts has resulted from their lack of political strength, the lack of concentration of large numbers of Asian Americans in compact geographic areas, and their presence in parts of the city that have been the sites of hotly contested redistricting battles where Asian American interests were subordinated to those of far more powerful race-based political forces.

The Problem of Population Dispersion

Asian Americans are found in large numbers in two areas of Chicago, Chinatown, located on the near south of 22nd Street on the near-South Side, and on the far north side of Chicago along the lake-front and in communities immediately to the west. However, in all of Chicago, there are only four precincts that are at least 50 percent Asian American in voting age population.

³ Tom Corfman, “Asian Americans Buck the Odds in Battle for Political Power,” *The Chicago Reporter*, V. 21:11 (1992). p. 4.

Chinatown

Asian Americans living in Chinatown are concentrated in 17 precincts with a total population of approximately 12,000 persons.

North Side of Chicago

The north side Asian American population is much larger than Chinatown's and far more dispersed. Forty-three north side precincts have a voting age population that is at least 20 percent Asian American. However, none of these precincts is as much as 50 percent Asian American.

Persistence of these demographic conditions precludes creation of any voting district that would be majority Asian. Theoretically, electoral power may be attained in a district when a group can claim at least 50 percent of the voters in that district; although, as a practical matter, low voter registration or turnout may make the exercise of that power illusory.⁴ The size of voting districts within a governmental jurisdiction is determined by dividing the total population of the jurisdiction by the number of districts to be created. Thus the average sizes ("ideal population") of districts in the five maps under consideration following the 1990 census were as follows:

Congressional Districts	571,530
Cook County Judiciary	340,338
Cook County Board	300,298
State Legislature	96,870
Chicago City Council	55,674

Attaining the barest majority population in each of these districts would mean creating an aggregate of Asian Americans equal to at least 50 percent of the district's population. For 1990, those totals would have been as follows:

Congressional Districts	385,765
Cook County Judiciary	170,169
Cook County Board	150,149
State Legislature	49,390
Chicago City Council	27,837

The dispersal of Asian population made creation of an Asian American majority district impossible following the 1990 Census for

⁴ In 1992 African Americans managed to lose six State legislative seats in which they held substantial majorities as a result of inability to unite behind a single candidate, low voter turnout, and lack of organization.

any jurisdiction. The most promising opportunity for creating a majority district in the future would appear to be the Chicago City Council. In the year 2000 it would be necessary for approximately 26,000 Asians to be concentrated in a single ward in a map where, if current population trends continue, each ward will have approximately 52,000 persons. Attaining a majority in a single State legislative district appears to be a remote possibility, but attaining majorities in county board, judicial, or congressional districts is clearly an impossibility within the next several decades because of their large sizes.

The Politics of Making Maps

For the most part, Chicago's residential patterns have dictated that Asian American political aspirations fall victim to efforts of whites and African Americans to maintain political power and Latinos to attain it. Both African Americans and Latinos have successfully litigated districting cases in recent years and are clearly protected by the Voting Rights Act because of the size of their populations and documented history of discrimination. The first priority of those who have drawn maps for any of the Chicago or Cook County jurisdictions has been first to draw districts for Latinos and African Americans in a way that would satisfy the requirements of the Voting Rights Act for representation of those two major minority groups. Voting rights-based litigation that might have emanated from either of those racial groups has been viewed as the greatest possible legal impediment to implementation of any new district map.

The politics of map-making has also made difficult concentration of Asian Americans in voting districts. Complicated political battles took place during the 1990 redistricting on both the near south side and north side. In both cases, the location of Asian American neighborhoods meant that aggregating Asian Americans into single districts would have disrupted white political arrangements or cost whites or Latinos political power.

Chinatown

In several instances, the interest of creating sufficient African American and Latino districts has made concentrating Asian Americans difficult. This has been particularly true with respect to Chinatown and the congressional districts. When drawing the new post-1990 congressional districts, the first priority of both Republicans and Democrats, as well as major interest groups such as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) and the Chicago Urban League, was creating the strongest possible Latino district and the maintenance of three strong African American districts. The total size of Chicago's black community had for many years resulted in three

black congressional districts. In 1990 the Latino population finally reached sufficient size and concentration to make a district possible. The effort to address these issues resulted in a process extending over several months where mapmakers representing partisan and community interests traded prospective maps back and forth, each succeeding map proposal inching upward the Latino percentage of a new Fourth Congressional district.

Chinatown is located on the edge of the southern half of the Latino district and its population was used as efficiently as possible by all major participants in map drawing to help create the Latino district. That accomplished, the next most important priority was to build the neck connecting the southern-most section of the seventh district (Cardiss Collins) to its main east-west axis, resulting in use of a portion of Chinatown to build the neck that completed a legally required and politically essential African American district.

Chinatown was also split by the new city council ward map that divided 5,000 Asian Americans into the 11th ward and approximately 5,500 into the 25th ward. This division took place because of the interest of the administration and its predominantly white aldermanic coalition in maintaining a white 11th ward. The problem mapmakers faced in drawing the 11th ward was to find sufficient population that would not detract from the black 2nd ward to the east, nor prevent creation of the Latino 12th ward to the west and 25th ward to the north.

Mapmakers drew the 11th ward by aggregating as many contiguous white or mixed white-minority neighborhoods in that area as possible, and adding Chinese blocks to the ward until it reached approximately 55,600 persons. The remaining Asian American neighborhoods were allocated to the 25th ward, which was 68 percent Latino. The resulting 11th ward maximized white political power at around 59 percent white.

Chinatown fared relatively well in terms of concentration in the State legislative map, where it predominantly resides in the sixth district, and in the Cook County Board map where it is located primarily in the second district. In neither of these maps did that neighborhood in any way block creation of strong Latino districts. In the case of the State legislative map, Republican mapmakers, whose map was ultimately selected by a partisan special State redistricting commission, needed to place the Chinatown and Bridgeport communities into the two predominantly African American Districts 5 and 6, each designed to be as close as possible to 65 percent African American, the minority percentage generally considered minimal to assure election of the minority candidate. Unlike in the case of the 11th ward, where the administration's intent was to maximize white voting power, the State Republicans probably sought to confound white Democrats by

making Bridgeport a distinct minority in a 65 percent black legislative district, allowing Chinatown to be placed almost entirely within the 65 percent African American sixth district.

North Side

On the north side, the separation of Asian Americans into multiple districts has been a product of partisan interest in protecting incumbents as well as the desire to maintain the maximum number of districts likely to elect white candidates. In the case of all five of the maps under consideration, creation of a district unifying Asian American populations would have made addressing other political interests either awkward or impossible.

In the case of the congressional map, Republican mapmakers essentially conceded two north side districts to incumbent Democrats Sidney Yates and Dan Rostenkowski. Due to the need for both districts to reach Chicago lakefront communities, partly because of where the incumbents lived, Albany Park Asian Americans necessarily fell into Rostenkowski's district as they were located immediately north of the Latino district. Lakefront and north suburban Asians therefore had to be placed in Yates' district. Republicans, as demonstrated by Governor Edgar's support for Rostenkowski in the 1994 Democratic primary, had no interest in seeing Rostenkowski defeated and therefore allowed him to run in the best possible district that also satisfied the need for a new fourth district that maximized Latino opportunity.

Asian American populations are perhaps most fractured in the Chicago ward map where the 48th ward is 13 percent Asian American, the 50th ward is almost 16 percent Asian American, the 39th ward is 21 percent Asian American, and the 40th ward is almost 17 percent Asian American. In the case of the Chicago City Council, Asian American aspirations were frustrated by the circumstance that the map ultimately adopted in the citywide referendum in 1992 was drawn by a coalition of white aldermen, many of whose wards would have been substantially changed by any effort to create a new Asian American ward. They had no interest in trying to draw an Asian American ward, given that the impossibility of creating a 50 percent Asian American ward meant that there could be no successful Asian American legal challenge. Had Asian Americans been concentrated in either the 49th ward (Joseph Moore) or the 46th ward (Helen Schiller), administration mapmakers might have made the effort. Moore and Schiller worked with the largely African American opposition aldermanic coalition that sought defeat of the administration map and offered an alternative map of its own that would have diminished somewhat white political power.

In the course of its own efforts, the opposition aldermanic coalition actually drew a ward that would have maximized north side minority political power and concentrated many Asian American voters in a single ward. That proposed ward would have been 17.5 percent Asian American, 38.5 percent Latino, 5.7 percent African American, and 37.3 percent white, providing Asian Americans the opportunity to play a political role in what would have been Chicago's most multiethnic ward. The map containing the ward was presented at a City Hall press conference in the fall of 1991. However, the opposition coalition map that was ultimately placed on the 1992 referendum ballot contained a north side ward configuration similar to the administration's configuration, i.e., without the new minority ward. This change was made in the small hope that if the coalition conceded the north side arrangement to the administration, at least some north-side white support for the map might be forthcoming. That did not occur as the white-favored administration map swept to victory in the 1992 citywide referendum.

In the case of the State legislative districts, Republican mapmakers essentially conceded to Democrats the heavily Democratic north side of Chicago, Districts 15, 16, 17, and 34. Creating an Asian American majority in a 96,000 persons state legislative district was an impossibility. The Republican interest lay in creating the most compact possible legislative districts for city Democrats, knowing that this would help protect them from legal challenge by Democrats charging that the map unfairly favored Republicans, litigation that did indeed occur.

The drawing of the first Cook County Board map was driven by the twin needs of satisfying the incumbent commissioners who would be voting on the map, and addressing the legal imperative for appropriate balances of whites, African Americans, and Latinos, as well as Republicans and Democrats. That Democrats would control the vote on the new map and the resulting county board was a foregone conclusion, given the partisan composition of Cook County and its board. Thus the concerns of Democratic incumbents, Maria Pappas, a resident of the near-north side, and Ted Lechowicz, the chair of the board's districting committee, were significant. Each was drawn a district that included his or her favored constituents. In Pappas' case these were lakefront and north shore independents. In Lechowicz' case they were mainstream Democrats. As with the congressional map, the position of a legally required Latino district forced Albany Park Asian Americans into Lechowicz's district, which resembles Rostenkowski's congressional district. Pappas' district therefore included lakefront Asian Americans but excluded the 50th ward (7,000 Asians) and Asian American concentrations in northern suburbs.

How Would Asian Americans Fare in Court?

New districts are drawn every 10 years following the decennial census so that changes in population may be taken into account. Drawing of voting districts is governed by State, local, and Federal law, depending upon the jurisdiction in question, and by the interpretations of the 14th amendment and Voting Rights Act by the U.S. Supreme Court. A number of decisions over the last half of this century have established basic principles governing how voting districts are created. These include the concept that all districts within a single governmental jurisdiction should be of nearly equal size, thereby allowing each voter's vote to count roughly equally. Voting schemes should not be blatantly manipulative so as to deprive a racial or partisan group access to office. State and local laws may prescribe that districts must be compact and their parts wholly contiguous, and that the process by which a legislature or commission is to hear public comment, draw, and adopt a map.

The major question that might face the Asian American community, were it to try to force creation of an Asian American voting district through litigation, would be whether it could draw a district for any jurisdiction that would meet the standards established by two major cases brought before the U.S. Supreme Court, *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986), and, more recently, *Shaw v. Reno* (1993). These two cases provide much of the legal framework that will likely provide the major guidance to courts and legislatures creating districts following the 2000 census.

Additionally, Federal courts, including the Northern District of Illinois and Seventh Circuit in particular, have applied a standard of "totality of circumstances," a further assessment of whether a minority group has been improperly denied access to the political system and the ability to select representatives of its own preference. This set of criteria is drawn primarily from a U.S. Senate report that accompanied the 1982 amendments to the Voting Rights Act. According to the 1991 *Hastert* decision in Illinois, relevant factors include:⁵

- (1) a history of official discrimination relating to minority political participation; the extent of racially polarized voting practices;
- (2) the extent to which certain voting practices and procedures with discriminatory effects have been employed in the past;

⁵ *Hastert v. State Board of Elections*, 91 C 4028 (N. D. Illinois 1991) 32.

(3) the exclusion of the minority group from the candidate slating process; the extent to which the minority group bears the effects of past discrimination in education, employment, and health services which hinder their ability to effectively participate in the political process;

(4) the use of racial appeals in political campaigns;

(5) the extent to which minorities have been elected to office; and

(6) the lack of responsiveness by elected officials to particular minority needs.

Gingles provided the legal framework for courts and legislatures on many major questions during the most recent round of redistricting following the 1990 census. In the simplest language, *Gingles* provided the basic rules, enforceable in Federal court, for when a jurisdiction had to have one or more districts likely to elect members of a particular minority racial group.

In *Gingles*, the Court ruled that to show that a multimember districting scheme had the preconditions of a violation of law,⁶

... the minority group must be able to demonstrate that it is sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority of a single-member district.

... the minority group must be able to show that it is politically cohesive.

... the minority must be able to demonstrate that the white majority votes sufficiently as a bloc to enable it—in the absence of special circumstances, such as the minority candidate running unopposed ... usually to defeat the minority's preferred candidate."

These principles are often referred to as a three-pronged test. Lower courts have since applied these tests to the question of racial representation in single-member districting schemes, making it relevant to the issue of creating Asian American-majority districts in the jurisdictions considered herein. Thus, in the event that a new ward map for Chicago following the 2000 census did not contain an Asian American-majority ward, Asian American litigants would likely need to comply with each of the three standards listed above before a court would apply the

⁶ *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986).

"totality of circumstances test." Let us consider each *Gingles* standard within the Asian American context:

1. Compactness and Size

Demonstrating that a district can be drawn wherein the majority of the total population is of that racial group is of primary importance in justifying creation of a district for a racial group. The Seventh Circuit in *McNeil v. Springfield Park District* held that the *voting age* population, not the total population, is the relevant indicator of electability of a candidate.⁷ The court's ruling means that if the voting district will not be at least 50 percent Asian Americans age 18 and over, then the jurisdiction may not be legally obligated to create an Asian American district. Given the lack of total population in Chinatown, and the dispersion of population on the north side, only in the case of a north side ward would it appear possible to attain a majority population in a voting district within the next decade.

A second legal option could be brought into play were Asian Americans willing to concede the need for control of a district and join with another racial group to form essentially a minority coalition within a single district.⁸ Courts have accepted this option when litigants were able to show that the two racial groups acted in a politically cohesive way. However, political cohesion could be a potential stumbling block for a group as socially diverse as Chicago's Asian American community.

In short, to make the argument that Asian Americans and either African Americans or Latinos should be considered as a minority coalition for the purpose of creating a new ward, litigants would have to demonstrate that Asian Americans and either African Americans or Latinos in that area consistently voted for the same candidates and had shared political agendas or social experiences. The voting evidence presented below suggests that Asian Americans tend to vote like the white majority. However, this type of coalition may lead to the best chance of obtaining Asian American political influence within a district.

The test of geographical compactness has been stretched by map-makers in the past few years to the point of virtual incredulity. The U.S. Supreme Court's negative reaction to an extraordinary congressional district in North Carolina, in which small pockets of African American voters were linked by highways, signaled the reining in of the most creative cartography. The full implications of this will be

⁷ *McNeil v. Springfield Park District*, 851 F. 2d 937 (7th Cir. 1988).

⁸ Grofman, Bernard. *Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality*. Cambridge University Press, 1992. pp. 66, 70, 73.

discussed below in more detail. In short, it is the Court's intent that districts be sufficiently geographically compact that they can be easily politically organized, that people within them might have a variety of common policy interests, and that they might be effective vehicles for making and implementing public policy. Given the dispersion of Asian American population on the north side of Chicago, mapmakers may find it difficult to draw a compact district with sufficient Asian Americans to elect an Asian American candidate.

2. Political Cohesion

The next two *Gingles* standards that must be met address the extent to which Asian Americans find themselves able to participate fully in the electoral process and the extent to which they may find themselves systematically excluded because of their race. The Court has evolved the concept that particular groups, such as racial minorities, may be legally "protected" in ways that the majority is not, in large part because of the historical and ongoing presence of discrimination in this country. However, the Constitution's 14th amendment equal protection clause has been interpreted to require courts to apply the toughest legal standards (strict scrutiny) to race-based remedies of problems that have the effect of treating whites and racial minority groups differently. Only in the most serious cases does the law allow policy that discriminates on the basis of racial group membership, white or minority.⁹ The legal burden on a group seeking protection (i.e., a voting district crafted for its benefit specifically) then, is to demonstrate that there is a particular interest of a racially defined group of people that is being systematically thwarted electorally by another racial group. The next two *Gingles* tests, political cohesion and racial bloc voting, address that issue.

In this case, the term political cohesion would be defined as whether Asian Americans within the area under consideration for a particular district vote for the same candidates in elections. Political cohesion is difficult to ascertain precisely because no public record exists of how persons of different races voted in elections. That information must, therefore, be derived through statistical inference. Exit polls give some indication of cohesion but they are rarely specific to the relatively small geographical areas being considered when drawing a single district, and they are not accepted as a sufficient indicator of cohesion.

While there is no single threshold standard for determining when a group may be considered cohesive, the statistical tests for cohesion are

⁹ *Shaw v. Reno*, 357 U.S. 92 (1993).

well-established. These are 1) homogeneous precinct analysis, and 2) ecological regression.

In homogeneous precinct analysis, precincts with high percentages of the racial group, for instance 90 percent or above, are identified and the vote totals for different candidates from those precincts in various elections are considered. It is assumed that because each selected precinct consists almost entirely of members of a single racial group, that the vote totals from those precincts represent how that group votes as a whole. To demonstrate cohesion, it would be necessary that Asian American voters within individual precincts voted predominantly for the same candidates, and that at least most of the identified Asian American precincts acted in a similar manner.

In Chicago, Asian American population dispersion renders this method ineffective. Only one precinct, located in Chinatown, is sufficiently homogeneously Asian American that the analyst could have any confidence that its vote totals represented Asian American preference. The problem is exacerbated when we consider that Chinese political interests in Chinatown may not extend to other Asian Americans on the north side or, for that matter, to other Chinese who may have very different social or economic characteristics.

Ecological regression is a more promising means of identifying Asian American political cohesion, although not without difficulty. Ecological regression is a statistical technique that sorts out the proportional impact of one or more independent variables on a particular outcome, or dependent variable. What is sought is an estimate of the proportion of votes for the candidate that came from voters of different racial groups. In this case, the total vote for various candidates is the dependent variable, and the proportion of a racial group is the independent variable. In other words, the analyst is asking how well the total vote for a candidate in each precinct is predicted by knowing the racial composition of voters in each precinct.

This methodology works best (produces the least statistical error) when the precincts utilized in the analysis have high proportions of the population under study. It works worst when there are multiple populations of similar size within a large number of precincts voting for different candidates, making it impossible to disentangle the relative contributions of each group to the candidate vote totals. Unfortunately, the Asian American population distribution on the north side of Chicago is difficult for ecological regression to accommodate because of its distribution across many precincts in small numbers.

To date, only one published analysis of Chicago voting patterns throws any light on who Asian Americans have voted for. The analysis suggests that Asian Americans tended to vote as a bloc in individual elections. Even this study's conclusions should be used guardedly

because of the high amounts of statistical error due to the relatively small number of Asian Americans in the precincts studied. Of the 18 elections analyzed, the candidate supported by an Asian American majority received an estimated 90 percent of the Asian American vote nine times. In 14 of these elections, listed below, the candidate supported most by Asian Americans received an estimated 75 percent or more of the Asian American vote.¹⁰

If this projected Asian American voting pattern is accurate, it further complicates potential voting rights claims because it appears that it would be difficult to assert that they act cohesively with other minority groups with which they might be joined in a single district. Asian Americans were far more likely to vote the way whites voted than the way blacks or Latinos voted.

Analysis of the two Asian American candidacies for Cook County Circuit Court judgeships in the March 1994 Democratic primary affords an opportunity to assess the extent to which Asian American voters have supported Asian American candidates. Ahmed Patel and Lynne Kawamoto, candidates of Indian and Japanese descent, respectively, each ran in multiple candidate races.

Kawamoto ran against six other candidates to fill the seat of Allen Freeman, and Patel ran against four other candidates to fill the vacancy of Joseph Schneider. On average, Patel ran about 4 percent better in precincts with Asian Americans than in those without, and Kawamoto ran approximately 7 percent better in those precincts.

The four precincts most clearly descriptive of Asian American voting patterns are those with from 50 percent to 93 percent Asian American voting age populations, located in Chinatown. In the case of Patel, he fared less well in those precincts than in a number of precincts with a lesser proportion of Asian Americans. It is possible that his Indian surname was not identified as Asian by many Asian American voters. Conversely, Kawamoto ran extremely well in the four heavily Asian American precincts and decidedly less well elsewhere. Clearly there was some tendency for Asian Americans to vote for Asian American candidates, although the difference between Patel's and Kawamoto's vote totals suggest that the Asian American community does not always vote cohesively.

¹⁰ *Metro Chicago Political Atlas: 1992*. Included in the analysis were all city precincts on the north side of Chicago and in Hyde Park that had less than 85 percent white or black populations, and were less than 50 percent Latino.

Candidates with Estimated 75 Percent Asian American Support in Racially Mixed Chicago Precincts

Election	Asian American choice	White choice
1987 Dem Primary: Mayor	Byrne	Byrne
1987 General Election: Mayor	Vrdolyak	Vrdolyak
1988 General Election: President	Bush	Dukakis
1989 Dem Primary: Mayor	Daley	Daley
1989 General Election: Mayor	Daley	Daley
1990 General Election: Atty Gen	Burris	Burris
1990 Dem Primary: Treasurer	Rosewell	Rosewell
1990 Dem Primary: Sts Atty	O'Connor	O'Connor
1990 General Election: Sts Atty	Partee	O'Malley
1990 General Election: Governor	Hartigan	Hartigan
1991 Dem Primary: Mayor	Daley	Daley
1991 General Election: Mayor	Daley	Daley
1992 Dem Primary: Senate	Dixon	Braun
1992 Dem Primary: President	Clinton	Tsongas

Asian American Judicial Candidate Vote Percentages by Percent of Voting Age Population Asian American in Precincts

Percent of voting age population Asian American	Number of precincts	Pct. Patel	Pct. Kawamoto
50% to 93%	4	14.3%	43.2%
30% to 49%	16	10.6%	13.7%
20% to 29%	43	16.7%	17.6%
10% to 19%	143	16.6%	16.5%
5% to 9%	230	17.4%	14.3%
Less than 5%	2,108	12.0%	8.6%

3. Does White Bloc Voting Usually Defeat Asian American Preferred Candidates?

Having ascertained that a racial minority voted as a group for particular candidates, it is then necessary to demonstrate that the candidates for whom that minority group voted lost because of the presence of a white voting bloc. In the case of African Americans, that has historically been an easy case to make. Typically candidates favored by African Americans where either the electorate has racial diversity, such as in city, county, or statewide elections, or where an African American runs against a white, receive more than 80 percent of the African American vote. Until recently, African American candidates could be expected to be defeated by white candidates benefiting from a far larger number of white voters. This has been so well established that the Federal judicial panel that heard the congressional district litigation accepted it on its face without presentation of further evidence.¹¹

Again, a lack of data because of the paucity of Asian American candidacies makes drawing firm conclusions problematic. As the ecological regression analysis above demonstrates, most candidates supported by Asian Americans have fared as well or better than those Asian Americans have not supported. Asian Americans on the north side of Chicago voted almost identically to their white neighbors. In 10 of the 14 elections analyzed above, Asian American and white majorities supported the same candidate. In the four cases where they divided, the Asian American candidate was the winner twice (Bush over Dukakis and Clinton over Tsongas).

The Kawamoto and Patel races also provide an opportunity to analyze the extent to which voters of other races or ethnicities were willing to vote for Asian American candidates. Analysis of the percentages of votes each candidate received in Chicago precincts composed homogeneously of whites, African Americans, or Latinos suggests that:¹²

- Kawamoto received approximately:
 - 4.5 percent of the African American vote
 - 11.5 percent of the white vote
 - 11.8 percent of the Latino vote

¹¹ *Hastert v. State Board of Elections*, 91 C4028 (N.D. Illinois 1991) 32.

¹² Analyzed were 211 Chicago precincts 95 percent or more white, 830 precincts 95 percent or more African American, and 16 precincts 90 percent or more Latino. Five of these Latino precincts, 37 of the white precincts and 601 of the African American precincts had no Asian Americans.

- Patel received approximately:
 - 17.3 percent of the African American vote
 - 4.6 percent of the white vote
 - 7.2 percent of the Latino vote

In Kawamoto's case, African Americans clearly favored Victoria Stewart, giving her 54 percent of their votes in Chicago, and voting for Kawamoto at about the same rate they voted for the other five candidates. Mary Ellen Coghlan ran first among white voters, receiving 27 percent of their vote and Kawamoto ran ahead of both Ex and Frazin among white voters. Latinos also favored Stewart (29 percent) with Kawamoto running ahead of both Ex and Coghlan.

Patel's 17.3 percent of African American voters meant that he ran only 7 percent behind Eve Moran, the leader among Chicago African Americans with 24.8 percent of their vote. He did much worse among whites and Latinos. His white vote of 4.6 percent was comparable to Joan Riordan's 2.1 percent and Moran's 8.9 percent. Among Latinos, he ran last, 9 percent, behind fourth place Joan Riordan who received 16.7 percent.

The two Asian American judicial candidates were indeed defeated by non-Asian American majorities, although those majorities clearly included whites, African Americans, and Latinos. It is also not clear that the Asian candidates received strong support from Asian Americans themselves. Even in the strongest Asian American precincts, Patel and Kawamoto received the votes of only a small fraction of the total voting age population. Of course, election of Asian American candidates is made additionally difficult by the high level of Asian American noncitizenship, low rates of Asian American voter registration, and likely low Asian voter turnout.

Based upon this evidence, it is difficult to argue that Asian American political choices have been thwarted by white voting blocs, largely because so few have run for office. The inability to satisfy this legal test could make successful Asian American litigation problematic. Asian Americans might hold out small hope for winning litigation aimed at creating an Asian American "influence" district, a voting district where Asian Americans would not be the majority but would have a significant concentration. Although courts have, on rare occasion, ruled in favor of influence districts, this has occurred only when other voting rights concerns were not present, which will not be the case in Chinatown in the foreseeable future.¹³

¹³ Grofman, p. 117.

Shaw v. Reno

The most important recent change in voting rights law that could affect litigation for an Asian American district in Chicago stems from the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Shaw v. Reno*. In it the Court essentially created two new constitutional tests of voting districts drawn so as to favor the chances of electing a member of a particular racial group. The Court ruled that a district could be legally challenged if the district:

- [1] "rationally cannot be understood as anything other than an effort to separate voters into different districts on the basis of race, and
[2] that the separation lacks sufficient justification."¹⁴

The second of these two tests, referring to sufficient justification, effectively reiterates and emphasizes the necessity of meeting the second and third *Gingles* tests but adds the possibility that additional evidence of discrimination and denial of access to the political process may be increasingly important. Defenders of districts drawn with the intent of concentrating minority voters must be able to show that minorities have been frustrated in their attempts to elect candidates of their choice. The Court's reasoning was similar to that used in the most important 14th amendment case of recent years, *Richmond v. Croson*, wherein the Court required historical evidence of discrimination in defense of another type of race-based remedy, affirmative action plans of State or local governments.¹⁵ Federal courts will likely direct closer scrutiny at local history that may or may not suggest the need for minority voting districts in a particular area.

The first of the new *Shaw* tests represents a much newer challenge, suggesting that districts drawn to promote political representation of a particular racial group, such as Asians, must also accomplish some other public purpose. This test is a direct response to the unusual shape of the North Carolina congressional district whose challenge produced the Court's decision. Its shape was so extraordinary so as to preclude virtually any other public purpose. The decision will have the effect of forcing voting districts to be more compact than the most extreme of those drawn following the 1990 census. Tighter standards of compactness could make more difficult the creation of an Asian American ward on the north side of Chicago if an extraordinary shape were required to link widely dispersed Asian American neighborhoods.

¹⁴ *Shaw v. Reno*.

¹⁵ *City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.*, 488 U.S. 469 (1989).

Civil rights organizations understandably greeted the *Shaw* decision with horror, in part because of needlessly inflammatory language by Justice O'Connor equating creation of some minority districts with "political apartheid." However, in the long run, the decision probably represents more a mid-course correction in the evolution of government adjudication of voting rights than a rejection of voting rights. Following *Richmond v. Croson*, similar fears were voiced regarding the future of State and local affirmative action, but in the ensuing years, most local governments have complied with the new standards and operated effective programs. *Shaw* may at times play into the hands of white majorities more able to retain their advantages in representation without resorting to irregular district configurations. It will also help preserve the geographic quality of districts which, in some of the more radical cases, had been all but lost. Evidence and arguments regarding discrimination will need to be presented more thoroughly and carefully in the future.

Summary

Asian American population dispersion makes it unlikely that in the next decade an Asian American-majority district of any type could be drawn. The best chance is a Chicago ward because the size is smallest.

Unless Asian American population increases in concentrated areas, prospects of winning a voting rights lawsuit appear minimal for several reasons:

- It may be impossible to draw a district for any jurisdiction that would be both 50 percent Asian American and compact.
- It appears that Asian Americans do vote cohesively; however, there is no evidence that their choices in elections are consistently defeated by a white majority. More often than not they vote with whites and their preferred candidates are as likely to win as are the white-preferred candidates. To build a voting rights case, more Asian Americans need to run for local office.
- The *Shaw* criteria have made creation of minority districts marginally more difficult by emphasizing compactness so that districts might achieve other public purposes and by emphasizing the need to document a history of discrimination.
- Nonmajority "influence" districts may only be drawn when they have no effect on other protected groups, and courts have generally not ruled in their favor.

Nevertheless, Asian Americans should take up the challenge of conducting the political analysis necessary to understand how Asian Americans vote, and the extent to which members of other racial/ethnic

groups vote for them. Asian Americans also should begin documenting and discussing publicly the extent to which social conditions, political party slating processes, a history of discrimination, or racist political campaigns have impeded their access to the political process. Although these areas are now somewhat subordinate to the more quantitative tests discussed above with respect to *Gingles*, they are considered relevant to enforcement of section 2 of the Voting Rights Act and help to build both a legal and popular case for political inclusion.

Additionally, Asian Americans should work hard at building coalitions with other racial/ethnic groups in their neighborhoods who may share similar concerns about disenfranchisement and lack of political power. Given the relatively low numbers of Asian Americans in many communities, and the dispersion of both African Americans and Latinos on much of Chicago's north side and in the suburbs, it may be possible to fashion political strategies based on mutual interest.

In most respects, the things Asian Americans need to do to increase their political strength are the same things other minority groups have had to accomplish. To increase their political influence, Asian Americans need to:

- ▶ Become citizens. Recent entrants to the United States are a large proportion of Chicago's Asian American population. Without citizenship they cannot register and vote. Asian American rates of noncitizenship may rival those of Latinos.
- ▶ Increase their voter registration and turnout. Members of a group can be aggregated into a single district, but if they do not participate in the election, their political force will not be felt.
- ▶ Become active in both Democratic and Republican party politics. This includes participating in campaign organizations, targeting campaign contributions to selected candidates, conducting voter registration drives and running for office.
- ▶ Develop coherent political agendas for different levels of government that integrate the interests of the various Asian subgroups.

In order that our elected bodies represent the full range of people within their jurisdictions, political parties should be encouraged to develop Asian American candidates who can be slated and supported for office.

Assimilation of Asian Americans and Their Participation in Political Processes

By Ross Masao Harano*

One of the major problems that prevents Asian Americans from truly assimilating is that their existence in this country has never been legitimized in history books. When United States history is taught in high school there is hardly any mention of Asian Americans. As a result, people think that Asian Americans are foreigners.

Like many Asian Americans, I have been asked the question, "Where did you learn to speak English so well?" I normally answer, "I went to the University of Illinois." Then they usually ask, "Where were you born?" I answer, "California." They respond, "Well, where were your parents born?" I respond, "They were born in California." They ask further, "Well, where were your grandparents born?" When I answer, "Japan," they reply, "Oh, so you are Japanese." What is most bothersome is that whites or blacks are never asked where they were born or where they learned to speak English.

Perhaps there should be a change in the way United States history is taught. As it is now, students first learn about England and western Europe, and how the first immigrants came to the shores of North America to seek religious and political freedom, and of course, fame and fortune. Students learn about the Pilgrims, the Puritans, the Quakers, the Irish indentured servants, and the famous Spanish explorers of the New World.

Students are taught American history on a war basis. There was the French and Indian War, the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Civil War. This is United States history for the first semester. The second semester starts with the end of the Civil War and continues with the Spanish American War, World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War.

In the process of teaching history on a war-to-war basis, there is never mention of any other groups coming to this country outside of the English, Dutch, French, and Germans. There are vague references to pictures of immigrants on a ship passing the Statue of Liberty somewhere between the Spanish American War and World War I. There are not any pictures of Chinese or Japanese landing in Seattle

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or San Francisco; and there is no Statue of Liberty in San Francisco Bay or the Puget Bay.

Perhaps United States history should be taught on an immigration basis. An immigrant group comes to the United States and starts at the bottom of the ladder. They work their way up the ladder and another group comes in and fills that gap. In this process we would teach that there were tremendous conflicts between these groups as this process continued. If there was a greater understanding of these past conflicts, we would be better prepared for the conflicts that are taking place today between groups on different rungs of the ladder.

United States history should also include the waves of immigration from eastern and southern Europe. Most came for the same reasons that earlier immigrants came—religious and political freedom, and of course, to seek their fortunes. After all, the streets in America were paved with gold. Asians came to the western shores of America seeking the same things as the Europeans. The only difference is that Asians are not white!

It was acceptable for the Asians to build the railroads. It was acceptable for Asians to work in the fields of Hawaii and California. It was acceptable for Asians to live in Chinatown and Japantowns. It was acceptable, as long as there were not too many Asians.

As soon as there were too many Chinese, the United States passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. The railroads and the white farmers still needed labor, so they went to Japan to recruit workers. As soon as there were too many Japanese, a “Gentleman’s Agreement” was entered into to stop male immigration from Japan. In 1924, the Asian Exclusion Act was passed in the Congress of the United States, which stopped all immigration from Asia. Labor was still needed, however, so Filipinos were brought in to work the fields and be porters for the railroads.

The Depression changed everything because all labor became cheap. Asian immigration ceased to be an issue. The issue instead became citizenship for Asian immigrants. The first United States naturalization laws were based upon a quota system determined by the 1790 United States census. The purpose was to keep the ethnic makeup of the population the same as it was in 1790. Since there were no Asians in the United States in 1790, Asians could not become naturalized citizens because they had no quota.

In 1922 the Supreme Court of the United States upheld that Asians could not become naturalized citizens. It was not until 1952 under a special amendment to the Walters—McCarren Immigration Bill that Asians who had lived in the United States for a minimum number of years were eligible to become naturalized citizens.

The first generation of Asian immigrants were without political power and were the targets of repressive Federal, State, and local laws. It is estimated that there were over 500 anti-Asian laws on the books in 1940, which specifically discriminated against Asians. Such statutes included alien land laws, anti-miscegenation laws, housing laws, and professional licensing laws. It was not until the mid 1960s that these laws were finally removed from the books.

As a result of the lack of citizenship and the lack of the power to vote, there was very little political activity among the first generation of Asian Americans. This was also true to a great extent among the second generation. While there were some Asian Americans involved in the political arena, most were involved on a candidate by candidate basis on an individual or ad hoc basis.¹

The 1968 Black Power movement was the beginning of the ethnic movement in this country. Many thought that the rise of the unmeltable ethnic was a backlash movement against the Black Power movement. In retrospect the ethnic movement and the death of the melting pot theory was the beginning of the Asian American movement in this country.

Prior to 1968 Asian Americans had a minority agenda which advocated for civil rights on a broad basis. Many Asian Americans active in the civil rights movement identified with the discrimination aimed at African Americans. But not many Asian Americans were involved in the civil rights movement back in the 1960s because there were not that many living in the United States.

The 1965 Kennedy immigration law changed that. For the first time, Asians were allowed to emigrate to the United States on an equal basis with Europeans and Africans. Asian families separated for years were allowed to reunite in the United States. Asian professionals were among the first to come. Later their families followed. Southeast Asians seeking freedom from communist aggressions were the next to arrive with their families.

The number of Asians in the United States almost doubled in 1980 from 1970, and the 1990 Asian American population almost doubled that of 1980. As a result of the tremendous growth in Asian American population figures, there was born a recognition of the growing political impact that Asian Americans can play in local, State, and national elections. The last three presidential elections played an important role in the development of a national Asian American political network.

¹ This comment is limited to the mainland and does not include Hawaii where Asian Americans have been a political majority for several generations.

The largest Asian American populations are now in California, New York, Texas, and Illinois. These are four of the most important States to win a presidential election. In recent presidential elections, the Asian American vote was recognized as being essential to carry these States. Both the Democrats and the Republicans allocated campaign resources for the Asian American vote.

Under the affirmative action rules of the Democratic Party for selecting delegates to the National Democratic Convention adopted in 1984, Asian Americans were able to participate in selecting the Democratic presidential nominee. Over 100 Asian American delegates attended the 1984, 1988, and 1992 Democratic conventions. There will be continued growth in the number of Asian Americans taking part in the Democratic Party presidential nomination process as Asian Americans are on the Democratic National Committee as well as its Executive Committee.²

This involvement of Asian Americans in national politics will lead the Nation to facing issues of importance to the Asian American community on a national basis. These issues include:

Redress and reparation for Japanese Americans interned in concentration camps during World War II;

The Kennedy-Simpson immigration bill which provides for family reunification and citizenship for Filipino world War II veterans;³

Hate crimes directed against Asian Americans, which are on the rise;⁴

Discrimination aimed at foreign-educated professionals;

The Civil Rights Act of 1991, which negates many of the Supreme Court decisions adversely affecting affirmative action and equal employment opportunity in the workplace.⁵

² Acknowledging that my views may be partisan, I believe that the Democratic Party has taken the leadership on all issues of importance to the Asian community on a national basis.

³ The United States promised citizenship to the Filipinos who fought along side of American soldiers during World War II, and this promise has not been fulfilled.

⁴ The major Hate Crimes Statistics Act passed in 1990 by the United States Congress was introduced by Senator Paul Simon (D-III).

⁵ This bill was passed in 1991 after President Bush vetoed similar legislation in 1990.

The Asian American political movement must be nonpartisan. The above issues need Republican and Democratic support to succeed. Asian American Republicans have been able to convince many of their Republican Congressmen and Senators to support these measures. With the growing numbers of Asian American voters, the community's political strength increases with each election.

Politicians are now making promises to the Asian community prior to each election that must be kept after the election. This is seen in California, New York, Texas, and Illinois where almost every major elected official is now appointing Asian Americans to their staffs or is appointing Asian American Advisory Councils to their offices.

As long as the politicians on both sides of an election are making promises to win the Asian American vote, the Asian American community comes out ahead. It is up to the Asian Americans involved in these elections to make sure that the politicians keep their promises.

Why is there a need for an Asian American political movement? Why can't Asian Americans just be regular Americans and vote on the issues like everybody else? Why?

As long as Asians are a visible minority, there will be a need for an Asian American political movement. As long as people cannot tell Asians apart, there is a need for an Asian American political movement. As long as there are Vincent Chins, there is a need for an Asian American political movement.

Unfortunately the Asian American relationship in this country is very much dependent upon what takes place in Asia. During World War II, Chinese Americans had to wear "I am Chinese" signs so that they would not be mistaken for Japanese. During the Korean War, Chinese Americans had difficulty in getting jobs which required a security clearance. With all of the Japan bashing going on today by the media and Detroit, there is bound to be a backlash aimed at anyone who is Asian.

This backlash is not just limited to whites. Asian Americans are seeing clashes between Asians and blacks, especially when the stores owned and operated by Asians are in black neighborhoods.

Unlike the early Asians who could not become citizens and, therefore, lacked the power to vote, Asian Americans today have both the vote and the numbers to have an influence on politicians and the media. As long as there are limited resources, and as long as groups must compete for these resources, there is a need for an Asian American political movement. Asian Americans must recognize that the Asian American political movement is a coalition movement. This coalition must recognize certain principles if it is to be effective.

First, the coalition must have a domestic agenda. It must not be involved in the politics of Asian countries or bring in the old world

conflicts. The members of the coalition must forget the historical conflicts between the countries of their origins.

Second, the coalition must define the issues and agree upon some common goals.

Third, the members of the coalition must all participate on an equal basis and must contribute their resources equally.

The topic of this paper is assimilation of Asian Americans and their participation in the political process. In this paper, there has been an attempt to give a historical perspective on this topic and trace the development and the needs for an Asian American political movement. There are two main challenges that the Asian American political movement must accomplish this decade.

1. It must be an advocate for the needs and concerns of the Asian American community.
2. It must be vigilant. There remain many in this country who do not like Asians and resent their presence in America. Some politicians and other leaders naively react supportively to these people. Asians in this country, therefore, must remain on guard.

Realities Facing Asian Americans in Procuring Political Power

By Sandra R. Otaka, J.D.*

The term "Asian American" is used everywhere, from the census to local communities to political advisory groups. Although the term is commonly used and widely accepted, its use masks the essential difficulty citizens with an Asian ancestry face in obtaining political power. Some would argue that Asian Americans are so diverse in their culture and heritage that the different groups included in the phrase have little in common. However, Asian Americans do share common experiences in this country and need to unite around these common experiences to garner political power in Illinois.

One common experience is anti-Asian sentiment directed toward Asian Americans by non-Asians. Many Asian Americans are aware of the case of Vincent Chin, a 27-year-old Chinese American who was killed in 1982 by two white factory workers in Detroit. They called him "Jap," blamed him for the loss of jobs in the auto industry, and beat him with a baseball bat. Unfortunately, Vincent Chin is not an isolated incident. In 1989, Jim (Ming Hai) Loo, a Chinese American, was killed after an altercation where he and some Vietnamese friends were called "gook" and "chink." Chin, Loo, Mody, Truong, et al., the list of victims of anti-Asian violence ignores the distinctions between Asian mother countries. One of the things all Asian Americans have in common is the historic pattern of anti-Asian sentiment.

Second, despite national and cultural differences among Asian Americans, American society sees all Asian Americans as one. Not only are Asian Americans treated similarly when it comes to discrimination, but are also seen as one when it comes to power. The Governor of Illinois has an Asian American advisor, not a Japanese American advisor. The Mayor of Chicago has one Asian American advisory committee, not one for each Asian group. Typically when there is Asian representation on boards and commissions there is that one "Asian" slot, and that person represents the interests of all Asian Americans.

Third, the political reality is that if Asian Americans in Illinois are ever to have a district where they command a significant voting bloc, that district will be an Asian district, not an Indian, Vietnamese,

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or Pakistani district. Asian Americans constitute 2.5 percent of the State's population, and if the community does not unify and work in a common cause, it has little hope of political influence.

An area of politics often overlooked when analyzing political empowerment is the judiciary. In Illinois, electing judges is oftentimes one of the first steps communities take in trying to achieve political empowerment. For the past 6 years there has been an active effort by the Asian American community to get Asian Americans on the bench.

The State courts in Illinois are the courts which conduct trials on State laws and municipal ordinances. Cook County is the First Judicial District of the Illinois Appellate and Supreme Courts. In a judicial district there are circuit court judges and associate judges. There are 177 elected circuit court judges in the circuit court of Cook County, elected for 6-year terms. Ninety-four are elected countywide, 56 are elected by Chicago voters, and 27 are elected by Cook County voters outside of Chicago. There are 179 additional judges of the circuit court (associate judges) who are appointed by the elected circuit court judges for terms of 4 years. To be reappointed, an associate judge needs the affirmative votes of three-fifths of the elected judges. Vacancies on these courts are filled by the Illinois Supreme Court.

The State appellate court reviews cases appealed from the circuit courts. In the first district there are five divisions of four judges each. Cook County voters elect 18 appellate court judges for 10-year terms. The Illinois Supreme Court is the highest State court. It reviews decisions appealed from the lower courts, and it has original jurisdiction in certain kinds of cases specified in the Illinois Constitution.

Through the efforts of the Asian American Bar Association of the greater Chicago area, a first Asian American obtained an associate judge position, receiving her appointment from the Cook County circuit court judges. The Asian American community joined together in a unified campaign to get this first Asian American on the bench. It was 2 years of political campaigning, meetings with major political operatives, meetings with supreme court justices, and a meeting with the chief judge of the circuit court of Cook County.

The lobbying campaign was buttressed with a campaign of community awareness in all the Asian papers, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Chicago Sun Times*. The purpose of this effort was to galvanize support and inform the electorate that even though Illinois had at the time the fourth largest Asian American population in the United States, there was not one Asian American judge in the State of Illinois. It was through this immersion in the political process that the Asian American Bar Association and symbiotically the Asian American community first stepped into the political arena of judicial empowerment.

The victory for the Asian American community, however, was short-lived. Today while there is one associate judge, there is not one Asian American elected judge in the State of Illinois, and it is not for lack of trying. The Asian American community has a large number of attorneys, and some of them have recently run for judge. In the 1992 Democratic primary, two Asian Americans ran for Judge. Both sought slating by the Democratic party, and held meetings with many of the important power brokers in the county and State. Slating is a critical factor in getting elected. Because of its domination of Chicago politics, the slating efforts were directed primarily at the Democratic party.

In this election there were nine countywide judgeships that these two Asian American candidates were specifically looking at. It is understood in Illinois politics that if a judge is appointed by the supreme court, the party will slate that candidate. In 1992, six candidates for slating had been appointed by the supreme court, which left three positions open for slating contention. One of the Asian Americans seeking slating was Judge Lynne Kawamoto, the only Asian judge. She was endorsed by the *Chicago Tribune* and rated highly qualified by the various bar associations. Yet she was not slated, while other candidates who were considered unqualified by the bar associations received slating.

The end result was a totally unsuccessful effort as the Democratic party refused to slate even one Asian American for judge. The Democratic party really was not responsive to the needs and interests in the Asian American community regarding judgeships when it came to the most critical decision, slating. Many nice words were said, and many acknowledged the importance of the Asian American community. However, when the critical decisions were made, it was a power decision. Who was close to which powers and how close you were. If you were close, one got slated. The Asian American community, unfortunately, despite all of its efforts, was not close. In fairness, the Asian American community is largely responsible. In the area of judges, we have done little to court the powers that be in the Democratic party.

Nor is the Republican party exempt from criticism. The focus on judgeships was Democratic, but the Republican party has fared no better when it comes to slating for other elected offices. The Republican party slated two people in the 1994 election; one for county treasurer and one for county commissioner. Those are positions where there were no other Republicans willing to run, and positions seen, frankly, as "a very difficult challenge."

When it comes to slating, both parties tend to give Asian Americans what no one else wants and decline slating to Asian Americans in races where there is a significant chance of success. The Asian American community consequently has a very significant problem in terms

of real political empowerment, because it cannot get anyone from its community elected to office.

While it would be ideal if both parties agreed to slate more Asian Americans because it is the right thing to do, that will not happen. Political parties respond to power, which is fundamentally economics and votes. The Asian American community must use both of these sources of power to have the parties slate Asian American candidates and have the parties respond to the needs of the Asian American communities. In addition, Asians must not neglect the importance of party loyalty and the need for Asians to get more involved in party politics. For example, Ross Harano received slating from the Democratic party in 1994 for trustee due in part to his years of active party involvement.¹

There are Asian Americans who run for political office in Chicago, Cook County, and Illinois, and that is a promising development in terms of political empowerment. In 1994 more Asian Americans ran for political office in Illinois than in any other time in history. But unfortunately the results often demonstrate the continuing lack of Asian American political organizations. In most cases, however, Asian American candidates do not win, and when the election includes an Asian American, victory depends on traditional political party support rather than Asian American efforts. A recent example is the congressional campaign of Glen Sugiyama, a Japanese American businessman, against Congressman Sidney Yates in the Ninth Illinois Congressional District. Although Sugiyama did well in the primary against Yates and received the endorsement of the *Chicago Tribune*, he was not perceived as a candidate with an Asian American community base.

In 1994 there was not one Asian American elected to any statewide office, to State representative, to State senator. There is no Asian American who has been elected to alderman or to county commissioner in Cook County. There are a few Asian Americans elected to levels of trustee in minor villages. Other than that, there are no Asian Americans that hold any political office. There are just no Asian Americans of significant political influence.

That does not mean that the Asian American community has not made some progress. There are now Asian Americans in various major political positions. Nancy Chen is Senator Paul Simon's (D-Ill) chief of staff, and she has wielded tremendous influence for the Asian American community. She has counterparts like Christine Takada with the Governor Edgar's office. So there have been some gains in the area of Asian American liaisons and Asian American staff, and such positions

¹ Harano lost in the general election.

do carry some influence, but it is a limited power. It is secondary. It is one step removed. It is not the same as an elected official with a vote on policy and legislation.

One of the primary reasons for the lack of Asian political empowerment has to do with population. The Asian American population in Cook County is just 3.8 percent of the population.² By way of contrast, in California Asian Americans number 2.9 million, 10 percent of the State's population. They outnumber African Americans in that State, who are 2.2 million. Though the Asian American community is a very fast growing community in Illinois, nearly doubling its numbers between 1980 and 1990, its representation is still small.

Not only is the Asian American community relatively small in Cook County, it is also dispersed. In Chicago, there is Chinatown on the southside and in Uptown on the north; there is the Argyle area populated with Southeast Asians and a Chinese community on the near north; there are Koreans in the Albany Park area; and the Devon area populated with the Indian community on the far northside. Moreover, half of the Asian Americans living in the Chicago area are scattered throughout the neighboring suburbs. With the Asian American community dispersed, their voting strength is diluted.

The dispersion goes beyond geography; the Asian American community is also dispersed ethnically. The different Asian American enclaves tend to be on an ethnic basis, and there are historical, national, and racial tensions between these Asian groups. Many in the Asian American community are very ethnocentric and do not view themselves as part of a broader Asian American community. As a result, the relatively small Asian American populace in Cook County is further diluted as a voting bloc, because there is little active support for a particular Asian American political candidate outside of one from the particular ethnic community.

This compounds the dismissal of Asian Americans as a political force, because as the community disperses geographically and is only politically supportive on an ethnic basis, the Asian American community is particularly vulnerable to political dissection. As a result, Chinatown on the southside gets divided between two white alderman; Koreatown gets divided when it comes to a judicial subdistrict because the powers want to offer something to the Hispanics. And other Asian American communities are similarly divided and parceled out.

Low voter registration in the Asian American community further exacerbates the political disenfranchisement. Some of this is

² The census for 1990 showed the population for Illinois to be 11,431,000 with 285,000 Asian Americans. Two-thirds of Asian Americans live in Cook County, where the Asian American population is 181,285.

understandable, as many living in the Asian American community are not registered to vote because they are not citizens. With low voter registration, the 2.5 percent State Asian population and the 3.8 percent Cook County Asian population is further weakened when it translates into practical political power, i.e., How many votes do you have? How many votes can you deliver?

Policy Recommendations

To obtain some measure of political empowerment, the Asian American community must do several things to maximize the strength of its population.

First, more Asian Americans must run for political office. Recent trends show this beginning to happen. Some of the younger generations—some of the third, fourth, and fifth generations—are running. But they will only run if they have encouragement from the Asian American community with money and votes, and they will only succeed when the Asian American community sees itself as one community.

Second, the Asian American community cannot continue to fractionalize and focus on just Koreans or just Pakistanians or simply Filipinos. It must begin to view itself as one community in order to maximize its numbers. So when John Lee Bingham runs, everybody in the different Asian American communities works to support him; when Lourdes Mon runs, the Asian American community rallies to support her; when Jean Pechette runs, there is unified Asian American support for her. The Asian American community must look beyond whether someone is Filipino or Chinese. There must be an Asian American identity, without which the disproportionately small Asian American community in Illinois and Cook County is going to be diluted to the point of political insignificance.

Third, there must be economic support of candidates. Asian Americans must form more political action committees. There have been some in the past, there are some now, but there need to be more. Money needs to be channeled, not just by individual businessmen who want to increase their influence with a particular alderman, but by the Asian American community so that it can then go to candidates of both parties who are responsive to the needs and issues of concern to our community.

Fourth, Asian Americans need to build coalitions with other constituencies outside the Asian American community. The Asian American populace cannot elect them simply with their own votes. Asian American candidates, even with a 20 percent district, cannot win. So they must reach beyond the Asian American community; their base must expand, which means they have to address the needs of other groups and build coalitions with other groups, whether they are

non-Asian minorities or whether they are people who share the similar interests with the community. The Asian American candidate must broaden his or her perspective beyond the Asian American community.

Fifth, Asian Americans must increase their participation in party politics, in both the Democratic and Republican parties. Party loyalty is rewarded, but only for the most part commensurate to the contributions of service and time. Such investments have the potential for a dual payoff to the Asian community: the election of Asians to public office, and direct access by Asians to elected officials and party leaders.

Sixth, there needs to be an increase in voter registration among Asian Americans in Cook County. Presently the Asian American community is not monolithic in its party affiliation. It is open equally to both parties and those parties would be wise to address their future by looking at the interests of the Asian American community. Parties could direct, if they sought to increase their investment in the Asian American community, efforts toward voter registration in that community. That would be a great boon for them, it would be a great boon for the Asian American community. It is a win-win situation. It is advantageous to the party that invests, it is advantageous to the Asian American community; it is advantageous to the democratic process in its entirety.

II. Employment, Education, and Health Issues

Asian Americans and the Successful Minority Myth

By Kwang Chung Kim, Ph.D.*

Introduction

Historically Asian immigration to the United States occurred in two waves. The first wave of immigration started in the middle of the 19th century and continued until the early part of the 20th century.¹ Chinese laborers were the first Asian immigrants who came to the west coast in the 1850s to work in gold mines and construction of the intercontinental railroad. They were initially welcomed. However, after the railroad construction was completed and jobs became scarce, Chinese laborers were subjected to numerous kinds of prejudice and discrimination and the Chinese Exclusion Law was eventually passed in 1882. Subsequently, Japanese immigrants came to the United States from 1885 until 1907, when the Japanese and American governments reached the Gentleman's Agreement known as the Japanese exclusion law. When Japanese immigration flow stopped, Filipino workers started to arrive.²

The above sequential pattern of immigration was also observed from Asian experience of immigration to Hawaii. As sugar demand drastically increased, plantation owners first imported Chinese workers to Hawaii as early as the 1840s as contract laborers. Their employment conditions were, however, so deplorable that Chinese workers protested and many did not renew their labor contract. The plantation owners then recruited Japanese workers who subsequently protested their terrible living conditions even faster than Chinese workers. After plantation owners failed to manage Chinese and

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¹ Chan, Sucheng, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*, Boston, Mass.: Twayne Publishers, 1991.

² Ibid. and U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s*, 1992.

Japanese workers, the owners briefly (1903–1905) recruited about 7,000 Korean workers.³

The sequential pattern of the past Asian immigration resulted from the American dilemma for importing Asian workers caught between anti-Asian racism and labor shortages in the west coast and Hawaii. In response to a labor shortage, American employers had to recruit Asian workers, but in time of economic hardship and other turmoil, anti-Asian prejudices and discriminatory behaviors soared up. Under these historical circumstances, Asian immigrants were subjected to numerous types of prejudice against Asian Americans from the middle of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. Asian Americans were depicted as “inassimilable,” “immoral,” “cunning,” “treacherous heathen,” “inscrutable,” “sneaky,” and so on. Along with the widespread fear of the “Yellow Peril” this anti-Asian climate eventually led to the incarceration of Japanese Americans in the west coast during World War II.⁴

The second wave of Asian immigration started after the 1965 revision of U.S. immigration law.⁵ The revision has sharply increased the number of immigrants from both Asian and Latin American countries, opening a truly multiracial society in the United States. The following observation succinctly demonstrates the numerical increase of Asian Americans in the United States.

The Asian Pacific American population has grown tremendously following the elimination of racially biased immigration quotas in 1965. From 1970 to 1990, this population doubled each decade from 1.5 million in 1970 to 3.7 million in 1980 to 7.9 million in 1990. Based on recent trends, we project the population to be about 20 million by the year 2020. A recent Census Bureau report confirmed and projected Asian Pacific Americans as the fastest growing group, increasing by 412.5 percent from 1992 to 2050 as compared to 50.2 percent for all groups.⁶ Both descendants of the first wave Asian immigrants and the second wave Asian immigrants contributed to the emergence or reinforcement of the success image of Asian Americans from the 1960s on.

³ Patterson, Wayne, *The Korean Frontier in America: Immigration to Hawaii, 1896–1910*, Honolulu: University Of Hawaii Press, 1988.

⁴ Hurh, Won Moo and Kwang Chung Kim, “The ‘Success’ Image of Asian Americans: Its Validity, and Its Practical and Theoretical Implications,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 12:512-38.

⁵ Barringer, Herbert and Robert W. Gardner and Michael J. Levin, *Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993.

⁶ U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *The State of Asian Pacific America*, 1993.

Emergence of the Success Image of Asian Americans

Approximately a century after the first Asian immigrants arrived in the United States, the negative prejudice against Asian Americans gradually turned to a positive kind of stereotype. In the 1960s, mass media first reported Asian Americans as "a successful minority or "a model minority." Subsequently, several scholars also contributed to the promotion of the success image. Emergence of the positive stereotype of Asian Americans may be summarized as follows.

As mentioned earlier, Asian Americans' success stories began to appear in the American popular press in the mid-1960s. The headlines alone would be sufficient enough to evoke a Horatio Alger image in the mind of an average American: "Success Story, Japanese American Style" (*New York Times Magazine* 1966), "Success Story: Outwhiting the Whites" (*Newsweek* 1971), "Japanese Outdo Horatio Alger" (*Los Angeles Times* 1977), "Korean Americans: In Pursuit of Economic Success" (*Washington Post* 1978), "Asian-Americans: A Model Minority" (*Newsweek* 1982), "To America with Skills: A Wave of Arrivals from the Far East Enriches the Country's Talent Pool" (*Time* 1985), "Why Asians Are Going to the Head of the Class" (*The New York Times* 1986). In addition to the mass media, many scholarly publications have also supported and promoted the success theme (Chiswick 1983; Jaco and Wilber 1975; Kitano 1969; Marden and Meyer 1973; Montero 1981; Petersen 1971; Schmid and Nobbe 1965; Sowell 1981; Varen 1967; Wilber et al. 1975; Hurh and Kim 1989).⁷

What factors explain the shift of the Asian image to a positive one in the 1960s? Two factors would explain it. The first factor focused on the socioeconomic status of Asian Americans, while the second factor was the racial tension observed in the United States in the 1960s. The first wave Asian immigrants were uneducated poor, but came to the United States with the Confucian culture which highly valued

⁷ See Chiswick, Barry R., "An Analysis of the Earnings and Employment of Asian American Men," *Journal of Labor Economics*, 1:197-214; Jaco, Daniel E. and George L. Wilber, "Asian Americans in the labor market," *Monthly Labor Review*, 1975, 98:33-8; Kitano, Harry H.L., *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of A Subculture*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969; Marden, Charles F. and Galdys Mayer, *Minorities in American Society*, New York: Van Nostrand, 1973; Montero, Darrel, "The Japanese Americans: Changing Patterns of Assimilation over Three Generations," *American Sociological Review*, 1981, 46:829-39; Petersen, William, "Success story, Japanese American style," *New York Times Magazine*, Jan. 9, 1966; Schmid, Calvin F. and Charles E. Nobbe, "Socioeconomic Differentials among Nonwhite Races," *American Sociological Review*, 1965, 30: 900-22; Sowell, Thomas, *Ethnic Americans: A History*, New York: Basic Books, 1981; Varen, Barbara F., "The Japanese Americans: Comparative Occupational Status," *Demography*, 1950 and 1960, 4:809-19; and Wilbur, George et al., *Oriental in the American Labor Market: Minorities in the Labor Market*, Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Free Press, 1975.

education and family solidarity. With the Confucian values reinforced by their experience of insecure minority status, the immigrants strongly supported education of their children. As a result, many of their children completed college education in the 1930s and 1940s, although they did not generally expect to use their education in the highly discriminatory prewar labor market. As early as in the 1940s, Japanese Americans were already found to reach the level of education similar to that of whites.⁸ Education of Chinese Americans subsequently reached the educational level of whites.⁹

As compared with the prewar situation, the postwar racial atmosphere was much more relaxed. In this relaxed setting, many college-educated Asian Americans managed to work in various kinds of white-collar occupations. When these Asian white-collar workers were combined with the Asians who had managed small business from the prewar period, more Asian Americans were proportionally employed in white-collar occupations in the 1960s than whites. Due to number of family members employed and also each employed family member's education and hours of work, their family income also exceeded that of white families. The above three indices of socioeconomic status, education, family income, and the proportion of those employed in white-collar occupations provided empirical evidence to support the success image of Asian Americans in the 1960s.¹⁰

The post-1965 Asian immigrants generally came to the United States with a high preimmigration socioeconomic status. Many of them had already completed college education in their native country. Their preimmigration occupation shows that they were employed in professional/technical occupations, managerial/administrative, and other types of white-collar occupations in the urban area.¹¹ Due to such preimmigration social backgrounds, a high proportion of them have been currently employed in various kinds of white-collar occupations and their family income is relatively high. The socioeconomic status of the post-1965 Asian immigrants has, therefore, sustained or reinforced the success image of Asian Americans.

Emergence of the Asian success image was also stimulated by the racial tension in the 1960s. The civil rights movements from the 1950s raised the aspiration level of African Americans. But the reality of

⁸ Fogel, Walter, "The Effects of Low Educational Attainment on Income: Comparative Studies of Selected Ethnic Groups," *Journal of Human Resources*, 1966, 12:22-40.

⁹ Kim, Kwang Chung and Won Moo Hurh, "Korean Americans and the 'Success' Image: A Critique," *Amerasia*, 1983, 10:3-21.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *The Economic Status of Americans of Asian Descent: An Exploratory Investigation*, Clearinghouse Publication 95, 1988.

their daily life remained basically the same. The gap between their aspirations and reality terribly frustrated African Americans and sparked several urban racial riots in the second half of the 1960s. In this context of racial tension, the major mass media and several scholars cited socioeconomic achievement of Asian Americans as a case of minority experience to demonstrate the United States as a land of opportunity. In spite of their historical experiences of prejudice and discrimination, Asian Americans were alleged to overcome numerous barriers through hard work and thrifty life in the land of opportunity. The success image of Asian Americans thus carried a critical message to African Americans: If Asian Americans can make it, why can't you make it? In this way, the success image of Asian Americans was used to blame African Americans for their current troublesome life and to divide minority groups in the United States.¹²

Problems with the Success Image

As previously reviewed, Asian Americans are currently depicted as "a successful minority" or "model minority." Successful minority suggests a minority group's outstanding achievement of socioeconomic status in the United States, while model minority suggests a minority group's outstanding conformity to the culture of the dominant group, the white middle-class way of life. Outstanding achievement and outstanding conformity are closely related. When a minority group conforms outstandingly to the white American middle-class way of life (high aspiration, hard work, deferred gratification, thrifty life, etc.), the group is expected to achieve outstanding socioeconomic status. Since achievement includes an outcome of the conformity and is more easily measurable than conformity, this paper will focus only on the success image.

According to those who currently promote or support the success image of Asian Americans (the proponents of the success image), Asian Americans are considered a successful minority, if Asian Americans' socioeconomic status (education, occupation, income, etc.) is similar to or exceeds that of whites. By this standard, various groups of Asian Americans are indeed currently successful. Our study of the 1980 census data shows that unlike other minority groups (African Americans, Native Americans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans), the six major Asian ethnic groups (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipinos, Asian Indians, and Vietnamese) show that regardless of place of birth, their annual family income generally is similar to or exceeds that of white

¹² Hurh, Won Moo, and Kwang Chung Kim, "The Success Image of Asian Americans: Its Validity, and Its Practical and Theoretical Implications," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1989, 12:512-38.

families. The educational achievement of various Asian groups is also generally similar to or exceeds that of whites. For Asian males, their occupational prestige is also found to be generally higher than that of white males. These findings empirically support the success image of Asian Americans in recent years.¹³

The above approach has, however, a serious problem. It does not consider the cost of human investment in the socioeconomic achievement of Asian Americans. For example, if minority workers generally get a job when they are overqualified (better educated than white workers), minority workers pay a higher price for the same job than white workers. Can minority workers' occupational achievement then be considered successful? This question is critical in light of the message of the success image that the United States is a land of opportunity free of discrimination or any other institutional barriers.

The need to consider the cost or investment in the analysis of Asian Americans' socioeconomic outcome is clearly stated in a 1992 report of U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans*, as follows:

Even those Asians who appear to be doing well by "outcome" measures of socioeconomic status may experience barriers to equal opportunity that keep them from achieving the full measure of their potential. Furthermore, they may have to bear significant costs along the road to socioeconomic success. . . . (p. 16).

Asian Americans' high average levels of family income educational attainment and occupational prestige do not necessarily mean that Asian Americans do not face significant barriers to equal economic opportunity or other forms of discrimination and prejudice. Barriers to equal opportunity may force Asian Americans to expend extra efforts as they strive to reach socioeconomic success, and they may retard or ultimately prevent Asian Americans from reaching the full measure of their potential (p. 16).

The success image of Asian Americans should be, therefore, analyzed with the consideration of the cost or investment foregone in their socioeconomic status achievement—the equity or fairness model.

From this perspective, Asian Americans' socioeconomic achievement cannot be considered successful under the following conditions of disparity between the investment and outcome of their socioeconomic status: (1) Asian Americans and whites (white males) are equal in achievement, but Asian Americans' investment is higher than that of whites. (2) While Asian Americans and whites are equal in investment, whites' achievement is higher than that of Asian Americans. (3) While Asian Americans are higher in investment than whites, whites are

¹³ Ibid.

higher in achievement than Asian Americans. (4) Asian Americans' achievement is higher than that of whites, but Asian Americans are disproportionately much higher in investment than whites. In the above cases, the investment for attaining socioeconomic status is higher for Asian Americans than whites.¹⁴

With the equity formula originally used by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, we tested individual earnings of Asian and white workers based on the 1980 census data. The following investment variables are included in our regression analysis: (1) age of workers, (2) educational attainment, (3) occupational prestige, (4) mean income of the workers' state, (5) number of weeks worked during the preceding year, and (6) number of hours worked in the preceding week of data collection. The individual earnings are calculated with the mean values of the above investment variables observed from white males, the dominant group in the American labor market, using the regression analysis of each minority group. Such earnings show that an average minority worker can expect to earn less, when the level of his or her investment is the same as that of an average white male.

By the above calculation, Asian immigrant males earn much lower than white males under the equivalent condition of investment. The earnings of the native-born Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos are much higher than various groups of Asian immigrants. However, the earnings ratio shows that the native-born Asian Americans still earn less than white males under the equivalent condition of investment. In other words, Asian Americans regardless of place of birth earn less than white males per unit of investment.¹⁵

In this paper, success image of Asian Americans will be further examined with occupational experience of Korean immigrants in the Chicago area. For this study, data were collected through interviewing a random sample of 262 Korean immigrant adults (20 years or older) in 1986 who resided in the Chicago area. Nearly 90 percent of male respondents and two-thirds of the female respondents are found to be employed. They are occupationally concentrated in the following three types of occupation: (1) professional/technical occupations, (2) self-employed small business, and (3) service/manual occupations (Hurh and Kim, 1988). Their occupational distribution reveals that, in spite of diversity, they tend to take the following kinds of occupations generally not taken by the native-born white workers and hence are easily available to immigrant workers: (1) the occupation in short

¹⁴ Kim, Kwang Chung, Won Moo Hurh, and Marilyn Fernandez, "Intra-group Differences in Business Participation: Three Asian Immigrant Groups," *International Migration Review*, 1989, 23:73-95.

¹⁵ Ibid.

supply of workers, (2) the occupations avoided or disdained by the native-born white workers, and (3) low-wage occupations.

A high proportion of those in professional/technical occupations are physicians and nurses. There was a shortage of physicians in the 1960s and the 1970s. This shortage gave Korean immigrant physicians an opportunity to practice as physicians in the United States. Nurses have been constantly in short supply in the United States. Most self-employed small business owners generally deal with Korean and/or other minority customers (African Americans or Hispanics) or are engaged in highly labor-intensive businesses (e.g., laundry and dry cleaning, fruits and vegetable shops). This situation opens up business opportunity to immigrant workers. Those in service/manual occupations are typically employed in the highly unfavorable secondary labor market characterized by low wage, low skill, lack of job security, and working heavily with minority workers.¹⁶

Due to the above nature of occupational placement, most of our respondents are employed under highly disadvantaged conditions. Their employment disadvantage can be reviewed in terms of two types of segmentation. Becker makes a distinction between two types of employment segmentation: (1) the disproportionate concentration of minority workers in certain occupational categories, and (2) segregation of whites and minority workers in the same occupations across different places of employment.¹⁷ The former will be referred to as the occupational segmentation and the latter, workplace segmentation. In our Chicago study, the occupational segmentation is demonstrated by a heavy concentration of Korean immigrants in self-employed small business, while service/manual workers with minority coworkers and physicians' experience of peripherization illustrates workplace segmentation.

The majority of the male respondents (186, 55.7 percent) and about 40 percent of the female respondents (125, 43.4 percent) in our sample had already completed college education in their native country. Their preimmigration education is, however, generally not recognized in the United States, unless their major field was health related. As a result, most Korean college graduates are excluded from professional/technical

¹⁶ Doeringer, Peter and Michael J. Piore, *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis*, Lexington, Mass.: Heath Lexington Books, 1971. See also Jurh, Won Moo, and Kwnag Chung Kim, *Uprooting and Adjustment: A Sociological Study Of Korean Immigrants' Mental Health*, Final Report submitted to National Institute of Mental Health, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, 1988.

¹⁷ Becker, Henry Jay, "Racial Segregation among Places of Employment," paper presented at the annual meeting of American Sociological Association, San Francisco, Sept. 1-4, 1978.

occupations or managerial/administrative career opportunities in large bureaucratic organizations. This stark reality of the exclusion forces them to enter self-employed small business. As a result, a high proportion of the preimmigration college graduates are currently employed in a marginal small business associated with some of the following disadvantaged features: (1) a small scale of business, (2) long hours of work, (3) vulnerability to business cycle, (4) minority customers, (5) high business or physical risk, and (6) target of hostility of local residents as demonstrated by the Los Angeles unrest in 1992, New York boycott of Korean fruits/vegetable shops, and local protests against Korean stores in the Chicago south.¹⁸ In sum, a high proportion of college graduates currently run small businesses in the marginal and isolated sector of the U.S. economy which is avoided by the native-born college graduates. Thus for the preimmigration college graduates, their occupational outcome is far less desirable for their education completed (investment) as compared with the native-born college graduates.

Physicians were educated in Korea and further trained in the United States. In spite of their intensive education, they are heavily concentrated in the specialties which are not generally taken by the native-born physicians and/or employed in the unfavorable hospitals—peripherization.¹⁹ This finding suggests that immigrant physicians' occupational outcome is less desirable than the native-born whites. Most of the current service/manual workers are found to work with Korean and other minority workers or in a racially mixed setting. Those who work in this situation are found to earn less than a small proportion of those who work mainly with white workers. With the assumption that those Korean workers who mainly work with white workers earn wages similar to those of whites, it could be stated that most of those who mainly work with minority workers or in a racially mixed setting earn less under the equivalent conditions of employment. Both immigrant physicians and workers show that they are placed in peripheral areas in their respective occupations.

¹⁸ Choi, InChul, "Contemplating Black/Korean Conflict in Chicago: Toward Its Mitigation," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian American Studies, University of Michigan, Apr. 5–9, 1994, and Lee, Heon Cheol, "Black-Korean Conflict in New York City: A Sociological Analysis," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1993.

¹⁹ Sin, Eui-Hang and Kyung Sup Chang, "Peripherization of Immigrant Professionals: Korean Physicians in the United States," *International Migration Review*, 1988, 22:609-26.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the history of the success image of Asian Americans and its conceptual frameworks. The review suggests that the question whether Asian Americans are a successful minority depends on the conceptualization of success. By the proponents' conceptual framework, various groups of Asian Americans have been a successful group since the 1960s. But by the equity or fairness model, Asian Americans have been disadvantaged or discriminated in their socioeconomic achievement and are, therefore, not a successful minority.

As reviewed, the success image carries an important message. It conveys the message that the United States is a land of opportunity. As a land of opportunity, there would not be any discrimination or other institutional barriers against minority members in the United States. Minority members are, therefore, not expected to encounter discrimination. If this is true, their socioeconomic achievement should be the same as that of whites (white males) under the equivalent conditions of investment. The message of the success image thus suggests that we need to rely on the equity or fairness model, when we consider the success image of Asian Americans. Based on the equity or fairness model, it is concluded that the success image of Asian Americans is a myth which has little validity in reality.

What does the myth of the success image imply for the civil rights of Asian Americans? The myth of the success image raises two important civil rights issues. First, the success image turns away our attention from the discriminatory or disadvantaged reality of Asian Americans in the United States. It thus serves to disguise or conceal the discriminatory or disadvantaged reality of Asian Americans. When the reality of Asian Americans is disguised or concealed, they would continuously live under the same unfavorable conditions with false consciousness and fail to develop any programs or organized activities necessary to overcome the existing institutional discrimination and racism in the United States.

Second, because of the success myth, Asian Americans are currently excluded from numerous programs designed to benefit minority groups. It has been well documented that the top universities in the United States attempt to limit admission of Asian applicants. Numerous public and private organizations also explicitly or implicitly exclude Asian Americans from the category of minority group. For example, the Ford Foundation no longer considers Asian Americans as a minority group. As a result, most of the programs sponsored by the Ford Foundation exclude Asian Americans from the category of minority group.

When Asian Americans are falsely characterized as a successful minority and then excluded from numerous programs designed for

minority members, Asian Americans are doubly jeopardized in the United States. Currently Asian Americans are highly polarized in their socioeconomic status within each ethnic group. Asian ethnic groups also show a considerable intergroup variation in their socioeconomic achievement (Barringer, Gardner and Levin, 1993; *New York Times*, May 19, 1994). For those Asian Americans in a lower level of socioeconomic status, the double jeopardy is particularly damaging.

In one sense, the proponents' conceptualization of the success image reflects its failure to understand the changing reality of race/ethnic relations in the United States. For a long period of time, the concept of minority group has been based on the American experience of biracial relationship between whites and African Americans. African Americans are the minority group generally poor in human capital resources. Thus a minority group is conceived as a group with poor human capital resources. From this conceptual perspective, if any minority group achieves socioeconomic status similar to that of the dominant group, it would be easily concluded that the minority group is a successful group. Asian Americans are, however, a different type of minority group with relatively rich human capital resources. Unfortunately, such a diversity of minority groups is not clearly recognized in the United States. When Asian Americans are tested for the success image with the concept of minority group developed out of the historical experiences of African Americans, there is a conceptual mismatch or confusion. Such a conceptual confusion seems to be a key element which contributes to the promotion of the success image of Asian Americans.

Discrimination Against Asian American Medical Professionals: Reducing Barriers to Equal Treatment of Physicians in Training, Licensing, and Employment in the United States and Around the World

By Kishore J. Thampy, M.D.*

The American College of International Physicians is based in Washington, D.C., and has 1,500 members. Although mainly Asian, it derives support from all ethnic and racial groups. LAMP is the educational and legal research organization affiliated with the college, and is dedicated to the elimination of discrimination against any physician based on race or national origin regardless of whether the physician was born in the United States or overseas.

Discrimination against IMGs (international medical graduates) starts even before they arrive in the United States. It is said that only felons and prostitutes have more difficulty entering the U.S. than physicians. Successful passage of an entrance examination is required before other steps of the immigration procedure are followed. In the recent past, immigrant physicians often ended up taking three examinations to be able to enter medical practice, whereas domestic medical graduates (DMGs) take only one. One examination is for the visa, a second is required to start residency training, and a third is necessary to obtain licensure. The Secretary of HHS has certified that all these examinations are comparable.

Successful passage of the visa examination is no guarantee of visa let alone the opportunity to enter residency training. Many requests for applications to U.S. training hospitals are not even given the courtesy of a reply. Other institutions simply respond by saying they do not accept IMGs. In many cases the IMGs are immigrants or citizens who have passed one or two examinations and who intend to live in the U.S. It appears a travesty of justice to allow an individual to emigrate to the U.S. and then refuse to permit that person to engage in his profession even after all necessary professional requirements have been met.

* Kishore Thampy is past president of the American College of International Physicians, a professional association of international medical graduates (IMGs) who are licensed to practice in the United States.

In 1992 Congress prohibited hospitals receiving US Public Health Service grants from refusing to send application forms to IMGs. This, of course, will not stop many hospitals from not recruiting qualified physicians who are legal immigrants or citizens simply on the basis of school of graduation. A recent poll showed that, whereas a majority of hospital executives believed that hiring IMGs would adversely affect patient care, the majority of patients surveyed found IMGs to be slightly better than domestic trained physicians (DMGs).

Obtaining a license to practice has been a source of enormous frustration for IMGs. Even after a physician has obtained a license to practice in one State, numerous obstacles lie in the path towards acquiring licensure in other States, each of which takes especial sadistic pleasure in making the task even more onerous for the IMG. Some States require additional training, others certification by the medical school dean that the physician was a graduate even when there is a diploma and a license in good standing in another State, and yet others desire a count of the number of books in the medical school library or the microscopes in the laboratory.

Illinois would deny a license to a physician who graduated from medical school more than 5 years before applying for a license. This is a particularly sadistic rule as everyone knows it often takes more than 5 years to get an immigrant visa, especially if one is of Asian ancestry. After much legislative effort the Illinois rule was amended but not eliminated altogether.

For many years IMGs were required to take at least two examinations in order to qualify for licensure whereas DMGs sat for just one examination. Thanks to groups such as LAMP this has now been eliminated. There is much yet to do in the area of licensing in order to facilitate the interstate mobility of IMGs comparable to the ease of obtaining licensure endorsement that is afforded to DMGs.

Numerous studies have shown no difference in the performance of IMGs when compared to other physicians. This clearly buttresses the position that discrimination against international physicians is based on subjective, i.e., racist and xenophobic, sentiments rather than on real concerns of inadequate education and clinical ineptitude.

IMGs usually get into training programs and specialties that domestic graduates reject. That we fill positions that domestic medical graduates disdain suggests international physicians are meeting an important need in the health care system, a fact borne out by a study ordered by Congress when attempts were made by some legislators to curtail medicare funding for hospitals that recruited IMGs.

Once out of the training program and into practice, IMGs still encounter discrimination that is quite pervasive and malignant. There are 130,000 licensed IMGs in the United States, one-fifth of the

practicing physicians. LAMP receives many complaints of abusive peer review practices by hospitals, government agencies, and peer review organizations.

Employment discrimination is pervasive. The biggest culprit is the Federal Government. Over the years we have documented numerous instances of agencies of the Federal Government expressing a preference for DMGs or refusing to hire IMGs. The latest example has been that of the Peace Corps, which advertised for a medical director position limiting applications to DMGs only. When questioned about this requirement, the explanation was that only DMGs would be able to address the medical needs of volunteers! Other agencies of government afflicted with the same penchant for DMGs only include the Navy, State, CIA, and so forth.

IMGs in practice have to cope with vicious attacks on their competence and professionalism promoted by the medical establishment. Such attacks on other ethnic groups would be unthinkable. For instance who would dare suggest that graduates of Howard Medical College are inferior? The implication would be obvious. Yet, attacks on graduates of Asian medical schools are considered very acceptable. When a prominent medical journal claimed that IMGs were at a higher risk for malpractice suits, all evidence being to the contrary, no one but IMGs objected. These slanderous attacks are quite pervasive and have had a debilitating effect on our ability to practice on a level playing field.

In Illinois a disproportionate number of IMGs, mainly Asians, are subjected to adverse peer review actions by the Illinois Department of Public Aid (IDPA) whose peer review committee was dominated by DMGs. It took intervention under the FIA to force IDPA to release the data and it took legislative initiatives to compel them to establish a semblance of fairness in the due process system. It is still far from adequate.

Lately another form of discrimination has appeared in the form of economic credentialling. This is a perverse system that determines the quality of a physician's practice by the amount of money generated for the institution. The practice has many ramifications which LAMP attorney Layton Olson addresses.¹ Hospitals, insurance companies, managed care entities, HMOs, and others have openly expressed reservations about IMGs. Even members of the legal profession have made outrageously prejudiced comments.

Finally let me briefly address the problems faced in academia. The American Association of Medical Colleges (AAMC) has been the

¹ See in this publication Layton E. Olsen, "Background Information on Discrimination against Physicians Based on Race and Ethnicity."

organization leading the charge against IMGs. It should come as no surprise that there is not one medical school dean of Asian origin in the continental U.S. despite the fact that 25 percent of medical school faculty are IMGs. I must say that attempts on my part to corroborate this have met with stony silence from the AAMC.

The profession of medicine knows no boundaries as far as illness or disease are concerned. The artificial limits set by bureaucracies within the U.S. or across national boundaries are clearly impeding the ability of the sick to get access to medical care. The issues of human rights violations are therefore not just limited to physicians alone. The rights of patients are also being abused by the placement of irrational obstacles to the unencumbered practice of medicine.

The key national issues faced by IMGs today are:

1. Legislative proposals to limit access of qualified IMGs who are legal immigrants or citizens to obtain residency training and thus access to licensure and medical practice.

2. Attempts to deny credit towards licensure for IMGs who took qualifying examinations that are now being phased out where no such restriction applies to DMGs.

3. Discrimination by the Federal Government in employment.

4. Unequal treatment of IMGs by licensing boards in applications for licensure by endorsement.

5. Foot dragging by the Federal Government in implementation of a law creating a National Advisory Council on Licensure in 1992 whose task was to study inequities in licensure practices by the various State jurisdictions.

6. Proposal by the Clinton administration to abandon any willing provider laws which would adversely affect IMGs in practice.

7. Increasing evidence that insurance companies are dropping IMGs from their lists of preferred providers without justification.

8. No effort in any of the current health reform proposals to ensure protection of minority medical professional participation.

9. Inability to document the extent of discrimination in the private sector due to the inapplicability of FIA.

I would like to conclude this paper by emphasizing the constructive role the U.S. Civil Rights Commission can play in this particular area. Mr. Olson proposes a project that LAMP believes is very critical in shedding light on the extent of the discrimination faced by immigrant physicians, especially those of Asian origin.

Background on the Need for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to Undertake a Research Project on Discrimination Based on Race and Ethnic Origin of Physicians in the United States as a Model for Understanding and Reducing Legal Barriers to Equal Treatment in Interstate and International Mobility of Licensed Professionals

By Layton E. Olson, J.D.*

In this paper, two interrelated questions are addressed. First, should the United States Civil Rights Commission undertake a research project to gather information about discrimination against physicians and other health professionals based on race, national origin, and sex, as well as other factors? Second, should the Commission establish a formal clearinghouse to provide basic and analytical information on these matters to individuals and to State and Federal public officials who are seeking to reduce discrimination in this important area?

I believe the answers are "yes," for the following reasons:

1. Racial and ethnic minority ancestry physicians now constitute a very substantial part of the physician population practicing in the United States. Minority physicians, whether born in the United States or who have come to the United States to practice, make up a large part of the total physician population of about 600,000.

Based on data from the American Medical Association, about 130,000 of these physicians are internationally trained. Such physicians, called international medical graduate (or IMG) physicians, received their undergraduate medical education overseas. Of course, IMG physicians like all physicians must complete graduate residency training and a standard medical qualification examination in the United States. A high percentage of IMG physicians are non-Anglo European in ancestry. Note the summary in the attached resources. In addition, there is a growing number of U.S.-born minority physicians of African

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American, Hispanic, Asian American, Native American, and other backgrounds.

2. Policies of the Federal and State governments in examining and licensing physicians now play an important role as "gatekeeper" to mobility for trained individuals in the "international workforce marketplace." This is especially so concerning physicians because of the substantial numbers of persons involved, the relatively high percentage of the total U.S. work force (in relation to the other highly trained professionals, such as legal professionals), the visibility of the treatment of physicians as a precedent for fair treatment in other areas, such as other health care professionals, and science and technology-based professionals.

As described in the 1990 report of the U.S. General Accounting Office, and in the parallel study I conducted at the same time, State physician licensing laws treat U.S. trained and internationally trained physicians using substantially different standards. The difference in treatment in many instances constitutes conscious or unconscious discrimination (based on "foreignness" and the "non-Anglo European" background of minority physicians who have established their practices in the past two generations) rather than differences needed to determine medical competence.

Discrimination arises from the existence of "separate" and parallel licensing laws for U.S. and internationally trained physicians. While the practical standards for review of the medical qualifications of physicians have become standardized and internationalized, many States have not revised their licensing statutes, which were developed in days when it was difficult to determine the medical qualifications of a person from another State, much less from another country. Reasons for keeping separate, and often higher, standards for IMG physicians include (a) administrative inertia and natural resistance to change, (b) a general feeling that licensing agencies should be "doubly sure" and require "extra training and specialization" prior to granting licenses to persons initially trained outside the U.S., and (c) a general feeling of a need to protect currently licensed physicians.

Today, with standardized review of a medical graduate's documentation based on a review of medical school curricula around the world, and with the adoption of a single national medical examination for all physicians, it is no longer "rational" for a State to subject internationally trained physicians to substantially more burdensome licensing procedures (e.g., submission of original rather than certified copies of documents several decades old), and substantive requirements (e.g., requiring internationally trained physicians to have 3 years of medical residency training in the U.S. rather than 1 year of such training for

U.S. medical graduates).

3. Discrimination against racial minority physicians is a major issue in health care reform decisions. There has traditionally been discrimination against internationally trained and racial minority physicians in many forms of family practice, which is exactly the area that health reform says needs to be expanded. It is important to reduce discrimination in the entry to family practice residency programs based on race or location of medical education. Similarly, since internationally trained physicians have been often viewed as an inexpensive source of highly skilled specialists (simply because they have been required to undertake 3 years of low paid treatment of patients, and thus have entered specialty fields), if these specialty practices are to be reduced, there will be a substantial impact on the racial composition of the physician population in the U.S.

Following are potential areas for the Commission to conduct research and analysis. Several of these areas might usefully be approached through cooperation with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission:

1. The racial and ethnic impact of State medical licensing statutes which impose substantially higher requirements for medical qualifications of internationally trained physicians, such as the requirement that IMG physicians complete 3 years of residency training prior to receiving a full medical license, while domestically trained medical graduates need only complete 1 year. As the U.S. EEOC has jurisdiction to review discriminatory licensing criteria, this would be an appropriate area for joint investigation and understanding.

2. The recent actions of the Federation of State Medical Licensing Boards in recommending that previously recognized "residency-entry" examination taken by international medical graduate physicians not be recognized for the purpose of determining eligibility to take the new national standard "full licensing" examination (called U.S. Medical Licensing Examination part 3) taken after a medical student's residency. On the other hand, the residency-entry examination taken by domestic medical graduate physicians is recognized by FASB. Thus, IMG physicians who are currently enrolled in residencies in the United States are being treated differently by being denied credit for their examinations. They are being asked to take several extra months of time and study to go back and repeat another "residency entry" examination prior to being eligible to take the regular medical licensing examination. FASB and State medical licensing boards have also denied IMG physicians the opportunity to take part 1 of the FLEX examination (passage of which leads directly to the taking of the new USMLE 3 licensing exam) during the transition year 1994.

3. Clarification of coverage of physician privileges to treat patients in a hospital as an employment relationship with a hospital under Federal law. Currently, physicians who file racial discrimination charges against hospitals under U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and State human rights commission procedures face time-consuming and expensive jurisdictional challenges by hospitals which claim that the clinical privilege relationship with the hospital is "not an employment relationship." While some courts have upheld the reality of the close supervision by the hospital and its medical staff as one of employment of the physician (see St. Joseph's case), this is a case by case and circuit by circuit dispute.

A Commission investigation of the level of discrimination might provide useful information for both the EEOC and Congress in reviewing potential clarification of the special employment relationship between physicians and hospitals. After all, if a physician is not able to treat his or her patients in one or more hospitals in a community (and in some communities there may be only one hospital within many miles), then such physician has lost a substantial ability to pursue a career.

4. Review hospital and health organization exclusion of physicians through "economic factors" rather than through "medical qualification factors" and the impact on racial minority physicians and their ability to practice, and the impact on racial minority patients of physicians who are denied access to medical systems. Basically, many hospitals and health plans seek to exclude physicians who do not bring a new profit to the hospital (perhaps because such physicians treat too many medicaid or uninsured patients). Hospitals and health plans also seek to exclude physicians when there are "too many" physicians in a particular practice specialty, rather than allowing all medically qualified physicians to compete fairly in a local health care market. It is clear that minority and small practice physicians are more likely to be excluded under these procedures.

The Commission could play a very constructive role in helping to organize information about this highly volatile field, to be sure that minority health care professionals are treated fairly within the reorganization of health care delivery in this country. Congress is considering reducing physician rights to practice under State "any willing provider" laws in national health care reforms. This spring, the Illinois General Assembly is expected to enact minimum due process for physicians faced with loss of privileges for financial reasons. It is important for Congress to be fully informed of the impact on minority physicians and patients.

5. The Commission could use its analysis of data concerning minority race physicians as a model in understanding potential denial of

rights of professionals in other areas of licensing. As the U.S. becomes more a part of international migrations of trained professionals (as well as lesser trained persons), it is important to help licensing bodies and others in the United States adopt measures which thoroughly and accurately measure competence based on uniform standards, and which do not impose inappropriate burdens on persons entering this country.

Racial or Ethnic Ancestry of Internationally Trained Physicians

In the United States, one in five physicians is foreign trained. The number of internationally trained physicians practicing in the United States continues to grow.

According to 1989 data of the American Medical Association, of approximately 601,000 licensed physicians in active practice in the U.S., approximately 129,000 (or 21.5 percent) are international medical graduate physicians (or IMG, also called foreign medical graduate physicians). These physicians were born or have become U.S. citizens, or persons with permanent resident or similar status. Thus, about 1 in 5 physicians in the U.S. is trained at a medical school outside the U.S. or Canada, and in many urban areas the percentage is often 30 to 40 percent.

1. Numbers of Internationally Trained Physicians in Residency Programs

All physicians who graduate from medical school outside the U.S. or Canada must take postgraduate residency training in hospitals and similar institutions in the U.S. or Canada, the same as domestic graduate physicians. AMA data reveals that, in recent years, the number of internationally trained physicians who entered the first year of such hospital residency increased from about 750 in 1982 to about 1,430 in 1991. Between 1980 and 1990 IMG participation in all years of residency programs has ranged between 17 and 20 percent. In 1990, the total number of IMG hospital residents was about 14,500.

Among internationally trained physicians, the numbers and percentages of native U.S. citizens (who go overseas to medical school) have lessened, and the corresponding figures for persons not born in the U.S. have increased.

Among IMG resident physicians in 1990 about 19 percent were U.S.-born citizens, 15 percent naturalized citizens, 33 percent permanent U.S. residents, 23 percent exchange visitors, and 10 percent immigrant, refugee, or other status. The number of residents who are native-born U.S. citizens dropped from 3,040 in 1989 (24.8 percent of all IMG residents) to 2,817 in 1990 (18.9 percent).

2. Internationally Trained Physicians Are Predominantly Non-Anglo-European in Racial Ancestry

The large majority of internationally trained physicians have racial backgrounds among populations which are not Anglo European or northern European in ancestry.

Based on data on 112,000 internationally trained physicians practicing in the U.S. in 1983, and reported in the 1986 edition of *Foreign Medical Graduates of the American Medical Association*, it is estimated that over 80 percent of foreign-trained physicians are non-Anglo-European (that is non-northern-European, English, French, Low Countries, Germanic, or Scandinavian) in racial ancestry. It is estimated that the non-Anglo-European ancestry percentage is even larger today, based on the composition of hospital residents in recent years.

Among hospital residents, from whom extensive data is available, of the 1990 total of about 79,200 "residents on duty" (in all years of residency), about 59,000 (or 75 percent) are reported as white (non-Hispanic). About 7,800 are of Asian or Pacific Islander descent, 4,500 are Hispanic (Mexican American, Puerto Rican, other Hispanic), 3,700 are black (non-Hispanic), 2,100 are from the Indian subcontinent, 1,400 are Middle Eastern, and 600 are of other non-white descent.

Among the 14,514 IMG residents in 1990, 33 percent are reported white (non-Hispanic), 28 percent East Asian or Pacific Islander, 13 percent Hispanic, 12 percent Indian subcontinent, 8 percent Middle Eastern, 4 percent black (non-Hispanic), and 2 percent other.

IMG residents from nonwhite racial ancestry (9,751) make up about 49 percent of the total nonwhite residency physician population from both domestic and foreign origins.

This data is summarized by Layton E. Olson, attorney, 122 S. Michigan Ave., Suite 1800, Chicago, IL 60603-6107, 312-236-6500, for American College of International Physicians and Liberty for American Minority Physicians, Inc.

Resources on Equal Treatment of Internationally Trained Physicians

1. United States General Accounting Office, *Medical Licensing By Endorsement, Requirements Differ for Graduates of Foreign and U.S. Medical Schools*, 29 pp., Washington, DC, May 1990.

This report to congressional committees summarizes the differences in physician licensing requirements in six States between domestic and international medical graduates, including differences in documents required, examinations, and number of years of residency training. It includes a summary of the Federal-State relationship in physician licensing, and includes a bibliography of information on the performance

comparison of foreign and U.S. medical school graduates in clinical practice.

2. Olson, Layton E., "Report of an Investigation of Due Process Standards in Selected State Medical Practice Legislation Affecting Equal Treatment of Foreign and Domestic Medical Graduate Physicians," 27 pp., Chicago, IL, 1989.

This report was prepared for the International Association of American Physicians as a due process and equal protection perspective on the study of discrimination in State physician licensing by reciprocity and endorsement conducted by the General Accounting Office. It includes an analysis of incidents of discrimination in physician training, licensing, and career opportunities, a summary of separate and discriminatory State residency training requirements for licensing IMG and DMG physicians, an analysis of due process standards in State legislation to provide equal protection, and the amendment adopted by the Illinois legislature in 1989 to establish a State policy of equal treatment in physician licensing.

3. Olson, Layton E., "Racial or Ethnic Ancestry of Internationally Trained Physicians," 2 pp., Chicago, IL, 1992.

This report contains data on the numbers and percentages of internationally trained and ethnic minority physicians in residency training and licensed practice, primarily summarizing data from surveys of American Medical Association.

4. Gupta, Raj, "International Physicians Facing Issues of Discrimination," 42 Labor Law Journal 747, November 1991, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., Chicago, IL.

This article was prepared as remarks presented at the 1991 annual workshop on peer review practices of the American College of International Physicians. It summarizes Federal laws and litigation designed to protect physicians from discrimination on the basis of race or national origin. The author is former senior legal advisor to U.S. EEOC Commissioner Joy Cherian.

5. American College of International Physicians, "Policy on Physician Mobility and Opportunity to Practice of International Medical Graduate (IMG) Physicians," Washington, DC, 1992.

This policy statement was adopted by the board of directors of the American College of International Physicians to set basic policy to reduce racial and other barriers to opportunities for physicians to serve in areas of medical need, and recognizes that the barriers to practice may combine both discriminatory and restraint of trade practices

adversely affecting both racial minority physicians and physicians with small firm practices.

6. U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and American College of International Physicians and Liberty for American Minority Physicians, *amici curiae* brief filed with the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in matter of Donaire v. NME Hospitals, et al., 1992.

These two "friend of the court" briefs support the interpretation that discrimination by a Florida hospital based on foreign ethnicity of a Philippine physician meets the definition of discrimination by race under the U.S. Civil Rights Act.

7. B. Doe, M.D. v. St. Joseph's Hospital of Ft. Wayne (U.S. Court of Appeals, 7th Circuit) 788 F.2d 411, 1986, and Olson, Layton E. article on "Discrimination in Staff Privileges and the Federal Courts."

This opinion affirms a Korean ancestry physician's right to bring a Federal court action against a hospital for an "unlawful employment practice" based on discrimination by race "in the privileges of employment." The article is a summary of the opinion.

8. Illinois Health Facilities Planning Board, *Economic Credentialling In Illinois*, Report to the General Assembly Pursuant to Senate Resolution 667, 18 pages plus appendices, Springfield, IL 1994.

This report was prepared for the Illinois Senate as an analysis of the forms of "economic credentialling" (defined as the use of economic or financial criteria rather than an analysis of the quality of medical treatment of physician's patients) in decisions about a physician's right to practice at a hospital or other facility. The report was prepared after the legislature sought additional information about the impact of economic credentialling on patient care, and after consideration of bills which would require due process in termination of a physician's rights to practice. The report attempts to understand the legitimate and the discriminatory motivations for economic credentialling, including discrimination against racial minority physicians and physicians whose practices includes substantial percentages of publicly insured or non-insured patients.

9. Olson, Layton E., "Due Process in Economic Credentialling in Illinois," Physician Mobility and Market Mechanisms Affecting Physicians, Chicago, IL, 1994.

These remarks are prepared for presentation at annual meeting of American College of International Physicians in Louisville, KY in July 1994, and summarize the development of legislation during 1993 and 1994 to provide physicians with due process (thorough notice, fair

hearing, and involvement of hospital medical staff) in reviewing hospital decisions to deny or terminate physician privileges to practice at a hospital based on nonmedical quality reasons. The nonquality reasons may include racial discrimination against physicians or their patients, and restraint of trade against competing physicians in a local health care market.

10. George Thomas, M.D., President of American Association of Physicians from India, correspondence concerning equal treatment of internationally trained physicians in medical licensing, April-May, 1994.

This correspondence described the discrimination involved in the actions of the Federation of State Medical Licensing Board in removing recognition of residency-entry examinations taken by IMG physicians for the purposes of eligibility to take the new United States Medical Licensing Examination, which is now the uniform State medical licensing examination taken by all physicians.

The Health Care Crisis Facing Asian American Immigrants and Refugees

By Edwin Silverman, Ph.D.*

Asians are immigrating in increasing numbers to Illinois and the Chicago area. In terms of health care for these immigrants, it should be noted that Illinois had the first bilingual refugee health screening program in the Nation. More than 40 percent of annual immigration to the United States over the past 25 years has been from Asia. Asians are the fastest growing minority population of America and will be 15 percent of the Nation within 30 to 40 years. It is time our institutions better address the needs of this growing population, as well as those of other limited-English-speaking immigrant groups.

Second, the myth of the model minority is a myth. A recent study indicated the percentage of Asians living below the poverty level is about one and one half times that of white people and twice the percentage of white people in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Poverty results in poor nutrition, poor health, and lack of access to preventive and primary health care for all populations. The data indicates that large numbers of Asians have not escaped the inevitable.

Third, it is time to dispel the illusion that Asian America exists only on the east and west coasts. Chicago has the largest urban concentration of Asians in the midwest; however, Asians can be found throughout our region in Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, in towns both large and small. National policy must be responsive to that reality. As well, I would like to emphasize both that we have a fair share of the problems, and that we have more than a fair share of the expertise to solve the problems.

Given that preface, here is a brief overview of the health-related problems concerning Asian American immigrants—any one of which would be a lengthy study in itself:

- (1) Asians do have significant health care needs.
- (2) Overt discrimination and benign neglect impede licensure, preventive health care, access to primary care, and health care research.

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Based on those observations, I offer the following recommendations for remediation.

I

Illinois has resettled more than 40,000 Southeast Asian refugees since 1975. Over 90 percent have been examined through the Refugee Health Screening in a program administered by the Illinois Department of Public Health under contract to the Illinois Department of Public Aid. The Illinois data closely resemble the fragmented national data. For example, the similarities in pathology between Georgia, Illinois, and California are striking:

- Over 40 percent of Southeast Asian arrivals carry tuberculosis. In 1992, 40.7 percent of Tb cases nationwide were Asian/Pacific Islander.
- CDC estimates that 0.3 percent of the United States population carries the hepatitis B virus. Limited national data indicates a rate of 4 percent among Southeast Asians. In Illinois the rate has ranged from 12 percent to 14 percent of arrivals.
- The lung cancer rate is 18 percent higher among Southeast Asian men than whites.
- The liver cancer rate is 12 times higher.¹

Regretfully, a major barrier in developing understanding of the broader Asian population is the lack of widespread and uniform data collection. Nevertheless, the data that does exist sounds an alarm, and at least presents a call for serious data collection efforts.

- Tb is growing among Asian/Pacific Islander Americans five times faster than the general population.²
- Thalassemia, a congenital blood disorder, affects 3 to 7 percent of Chinese Americans, and up to 36 percent of Southeast Asians carry the genetic trait.
- Nearly 50 percent of Asian immigrants carry some type of intestinal parasite. Southeast Asian refugees are often found with multiple parasites which can lead to further disorders and sometimes death.
- Mental health concerns cross ethnic lines. According to a 1992 HHS study, elderly Chinese and Japanese American women have

¹ For further information, contact Carolyn Broughton, Illinois Department of Public Health, 535 W. Jefferson, Springfield, IL, 62762 (217) 785-4311.

² This is according to studies by Stewart Coulter, California Department of Health Services.

the highest suicide rate of all racial and ethnic groups. The study also indicates a 300 percent increase in suicide among Asian American children.

- Although HIV cases are relatively low among Asian Americans, the Asian American Health Forum found a 150 percent increase between 1989 and 1991.

The evidence that has begun to accrue weighs heavily toward the need for research and action. In particular, the need for comprehensive health assessment to minimize primary and catastrophic care is undeniable. Preventive measures are all the more important for Asian Americans because they encounter a range of health care barriers and possess behavioral patterns that exacerbate their health care needs.

- Unfamiliar with Western medicine, many Asians fail to pursue primary care. Some studies indicate that only 10 percent of afflicted Asians sought medical care. Other studies indicate a resistance to providing immunization for children.
- It is clear that there is weak recognition of the need for periodic exams and followup.
- There is a cultural perception that many American diseases such as HIV, alcoholism, and substance abuse are not applicable. There is also a reluctance to discuss some problems with "strangers."
- When Asian Americans do endeavor to access health care and they are limited English speaking, they are not apt to find professional interpretation or information in their native language. Often they are not treated with cultural sensitivity and respect.

II

At the root of many health care related problems is the failure of the Office for Civil Rights of Health and Human Services to carefully define "discrimination based on national origin" and to clarify prevention or remediation procedures. At one level, there are often insurmountable barriers for Korean pharmacists, Filipino nurses, or Pakistani doctors who immigrate. They are needed and yet they are impeded. Remedial education to Americanize credentials is almost nonexistent. Often the choice is to go back home, abandon medicine as a career, or start education over again. Foreign doctors who pass the

ECFMG find few internship opportunities. State licensing regulations often discriminate against foreign education in the health care fields.³

There is a clear need to examine the barriers to professional careers. In particular, there must be vigilance within the current moves toward health care reform. If dependency on health care alliances is the core of reform, there will need to be a mechanism to guard against discrimination, or in this case a mechanism to assure Asian Americans are allowed equitable participation in alliances. In addition, they must be assured hospital affiliation on an equitable basis. Moreover, health care reform must take into account the need for and growing numbers of acupuncturists. The current practice of acupuncture has proven effective in treating a wide range of chronic disorders. If it is true that Asians must come to understand Western health care practice in order to be assured the benefits, it is also true that Western medicine should devote more attention and respect for acupuncture and other holistic approaches to health care.

At a second level of concern there is a lack of appropriate attention to the absence of trained health care interpreters. If discrimination based on national origin is to be avoided, there must be a concerted effort to train, license, and deploy interpreters for America's growing limited-English speaking population. The need for reliable interpretation in preventive care, primary care, and catastrophic care situation is too obvious to belabor.

A recent study by the *Chicago Reporter* illustrates how unattended the need for interpreters is:

- It is estimated that 20 percent to 25 percent of Chicago residents need translation assistance. According to the 1990 census, 4 communities have more than 40 percent foreign born, 6 more than 30 percent, 16 more than 20 percent, 15 more than 10 percent. That is 58 percent of Chicago's 71 communities which have clear interpreter needs.
- The *Reporter* surveyed 177 hospitals and clinics; 84 responded. Of the 84, 10 in the city have hired interpreters; only 2 of the 34 suburban facilities have.
- Only 42 Chicago and 21 suburban facilities have translated materials; mostly in Spanish.

³ For additional information on the subject of discrimination against Asian American medical professionals see, in this publication, Kishore J. Thampy, "Discrimination Against Asian American Medical Professionals: Reducing Barriers to Equal Treatment of Physicians in Training, Licensing, and Employment in the United States and Around the World."

To my knowledge, efforts to train and deploy interpreters are only evident in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Seattle, San Francisco, and Boston. Only recently has training begun in Chicago, but without public sector support. Without clear Federal instruction, there will continue to be a lack of interpreters and interpreter pools.

III

The aggressive leadership of the United States Commission on Civil Rights is required to address the needs of Asian Americans and other language minorities. With the ever-increasing demographic change irreversible, it is imperative that our institutions, and the health care industry in particular, deal responsibly with that reality.

- A proposed rule, clarifying the role and responsibilities of agencies receiving Federal funds in providing services to limited-English-speaking persons, was drafted in August 1993 by OCR/HHS. The proposed rule has not been, but should be, published. At the least, publication would open debate and raise institutional awareness. The Commission should seek answers as to why it has been delayed.
- The Commission on Civil Rights should address a letter to the White House seeking assurance that health care reform will not promote discrimination based on national origin—either against medical practitioners or the consumers of service.
- The Commission should urge the Office of Minority Health/HHS to draft language minority guidelines for State governments that would provide for needs assessments, coordination of resources, interpreter training curricula, and interpreter pool models.

I urge the Illinois Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights to pursue an aggressive strategy, not only to discrimination, but to promote enhanced group relations and responsive services to language minorities. The expressions of xenophobia captured by the media and the efforts by Congress to deny benefits to noncitizens are disturbing symptoms of growing social insecurity and an unsettling inclination to lay blame on immigrants and those who are different. The Commission on Civil Rights should help turn that around.

The Case of the Southeast Asian Refugees in Chicago: Policy for a Community "At Risk"

By Ngoan Le, M.S.*

Southeast Asian refugees¹ have been resettled in the United States as part of the worldwide rescue effort subsequent to the Communist takeover of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Millions had to flee to seek refuge elsewhere. A significant number who attempted to escape lost their lives crossing hostile borders and the South China Sea in unseaworthy boats. The United States resettled the largest number of all nations. Data from the U.S. State Department indicate that, by September 1991, Southeast Asians constituted the largest group of refugees worldwide admitted to this country since 1975.

According to the 1990 census, there are over a million southeast Asians in the United States. This figure includes the number of arrivals as refugees, immigrants, and children born in the United States. It is estimated that a significant number of individuals from these three countries choose to identify themselves as Chinese and, therefore, contribute to the undercount of Southeast Asian refugees in the United States. Within this number there are 614,547 Vietnamese, 147,411 Cambodians, and 239,096 Laotians—including 90,082 Hmong.

In the State of Illinois, the 1990 census identifies 16,713 Southeast Asian refugees. Among these, approximately 56 percent are Vietnamese, 26 percent are Laotian, 16 percent are Cambodian, and 2 percent are Hmong. About 44 percent of the Southeast Asian refugees live in the city of Chicago, primarily in Uptown, Edgewater, Albany Park, and Rogers Park. The remaining 56 percent live outside of the city, primarily in Cook, Kane, DuPage, and Will Counties.

The majority of Southeast Asian refugees in Illinois have been in the United States less than 15 years. Approximately 60 percent of Vietnamese, 85 percent of Cambodian, 75 percent of Laotian, and 55 percent of Hmong arrived here after 1980.

The conditions and temporal variations of arrival are important in understanding the development of communities relative to the length

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¹ For purposes of this paper, Southeast Asian refugees are considered to be Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, and the Hmong, who are a minority in Laos.

of residence in this country. While the first wave of Southeast Asians generally was composed of individuals considered to be the "elite" in their countries, those arriving in subsequent years represent a wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds. The "late arrivals" also tend to have been exposed to more trauma in their home countries because of persecution or imprisonment. Their escape attempts were more dangerous and their stays in refugee camps were longer because of the difficulty in obtaining permanent asylum.

Data collected during the early years of Southeast Asian refugee resettlement in the United States indicates that the characteristics of Southeast Asians in this country reflect those of the survivors. Among Cambodians, for example, 12.2 percent were found to be widowed. A large percentage of Vietnamese, ethnic Chinese, and Lao are from urban areas. The Hmong, on the other hand, came primarily from rural areas, as did about 50 percent of the Cambodians. The Hmong also have high illiteracy rates, large households, very high fertility rates, and the highest percentages of individuals with farming and fishing skills.

The 1990 census also provides some insight into the conditions of the Southeast Asian in the United States today:

AGE: Approximately 50 percent or more Southeast Asians are 24 or younger in comparison with 36 percent of the U.S. general population of this age group.

EDUCATION ATTAINMENT: Among the adults age 25 and older, 40 percent of Vietnamese, 64 percent of Cambodian, 60 percent of Laotian, and 72 percent of Hmong have less than a high school education.

POVERTY: Approximately one out of four Vietnamese, one out of two Cambodians, one out of three Laotians, and two out of three Hmong live below the poverty line.

It is rather evident from the data that Southeast Asian refugees face barriers preventing them from achieving successful economic adaptation to American society. Extremely high rates of illiteracy in their own native language, in the case of the Hmong, or low levels of formal education in the homeland signify that Vietnamese, Cambodians, Lao, and Hmong must overcome greater educational gaps to achieve minimum levels of English. Lack of English language fluency has a direct impact on a Southeast Asian refugee's ability to enroll in vocational training programs or to pursue higher education. Without these skills they cannot compete for jobs with salaries to support their

families. High fertility rates further exacerbate the difficult economic conditions and limit prospects for making economic improvement in the United States.

Southeast Asians with professional credentials may no longer be employed in the same profession because it is not unusual that their credentials are not accepted in the United States. The majority must learn new skills or update their training to be more marketable in the new economic environment.

Refugees from Southeast Asia, as with other refugee populations, are generally discouraged from applying for public assistance; in fact, most were instructed to find work as quickly as possible. The multitude of problems experienced by this population, however, indicated a need for a transition period for moving from dependency to self-sufficiency.

Data available from the Illinois Department of Public Aid as of June 1993 indicate that 4,122 persons of Asian ancestry receive aid to families with dependent children and 1,722 receive transitional assistance. Assuming that the majority of these individuals are Southeast Asian, this data reveals that approximately 35 percent continue to have to rely on public assistance.

For those able to find work, the employment retention rates improve each succeeding year, in spite of the fact the majority of Southeast Asians have had to make major occupational changes. The majority, 64 percent, held blue-collar jobs. For the 39.4 percent who were once farmers and fishermen, only 0.6 percent work in such occupations now.

For those who are in the labor force, the average wage earned during the first 5 years is estimated at \$209 per week or \$5.23 per hour. The relative low wages for the first 5 years and the very large family sizes may explain why Southeast Asians continue to have to rely on public assistance. For those households with employed individuals, it takes more than two income earners to be economically independent. Households with more than six members and close to two individuals employed would still need some public assistance.

Studies on mental health and psychological adaptation document the deep depression experienced by refugees. For Cambodians in particular, post traumatic stress syndrome is a common experience for many adults and children who survived the "Killing Fields." The sudden death syndrome, experienced primarily by Hmong, is a phenomenon where physically healthy young individuals die in their sleep. These experiences serve as indicators that many refugees must confront both the stress of adaptation to their new lives in the United States as well as the painful memories of their losses and trauma.

Studies have shown that the mental health of individual refugees is predicated upon the conditions which preceded their arrival in the United States and the conditions in the communities of resettlement. Ruben Rumbaut's study, "Mental Health and the Refugee Experience," conducted in 1985, found that 65.8 percent of Cambodians had lost at least one family member and 83.3 percent were separated from their family. For Vietnamese, on the other hand, 42 percent reported having a family member jailed by the government in power, 30 percent were assaulted during their escape, and 39.5 percent had lost family members.

Among the multiple barriers preventing Southeast Asians from seeking jobs, health problems were cited by 56.8 percent of those age 44 and older as the major barrier, according to the FY 92 Refugee Resettlement Report to Congress.

The Center for Disease Control identifies, for States working with Southeast Asian refugees, that priority areas for health screening and followup care include tuberculosis, hepatitis B, anemia, malnutrition, and hearing, vision, and dental problems. These areas of concern indicate that poor health care, or the absence of health care systems in home countries and refugee camps, have generated unique problems for refugees requiring special attention.

Prospects for the Southeast Asian Refugee Community

The data presented above suggest the challenges confronting Southeast Asian refugees in their quest to become full participants and productive citizens in their adopted land.

Economic survival depends not only on their ability to acquire new skills and achieve a level of English competency, but also on their capacity to overcome social and cultural barriers preventing them from realizing their full potential. For the first generation of refugees, these problems may seem insurmountable. There are also, however, indications that for some in this generation the prospect can be rather promising.

Data from the Office of Refugee Resettlement reveal that after 10 years the average income of those arriving in 1975 is \$17,092. At this level, the 1975 arrivals had achieved an income equal to the average U.S. resident.

The report from the Bureau of Census shows that between 1982 to 1987 the number of businesses owned by individuals identifying themselves as Vietnamese increased 414 percent from 4,989 businesses in 1982 to 25,761 business in 1987, with the reported receipts of \$532,200,000 in 1982 to \$1,361,000,000 in 1987. It appears that the Vietnamese have contributed, through self-employment, to expanding the economy by meeting the needs created by the new population.

Through such expansion, they created jobs for themselves and for the local labor force. These entrepreneurial activities promoted new commercial areas, showing that the Southeast Asian can serve as a viable economic force. In some cases, Southeast Asian refugees revitalized inner-city neighborhoods like Argyle Street in Uptown, Chicago.

Annual reports on scholastic performance of the Southeast Asian refugee children point to a number of valedictorians and academic contest winners. Glowing as these reports are, they should not mask the high dropout rate among other Southeast Asian youth who arrived in the United States after having their education disrupted. These young people have not been able to catch up with their peers because of lost time as well as their limited English proficiency.

The portrait of the Southeast Asians, thus, is a community of extremes. The success of some seems extraordinary in view of the obstacles they must overcome. The failure of others who have not achieved economic self-sufficiency or overcome the social, cultural, and language barriers exasperates both the individuals who have survived the worst horrors, as well as their community leaders, who struggle to establish a place for their people in this highly competitive and pluralistic society.

The implications of this profile of extremes point to the need to view these communities not as homogeneous, but rather as consisting of multiple subgroups defined by ethnicities, and socioeconomic backgrounds, different experiences before and after arrival, and different potentials for development.

Policy Implications

Public and private institutions concerned with alleviating poverty must not overlook the Southeast Asian communities, whose problems may be hidden through lumping together with other Asian Americans who have achieved a relative degree of economic success. This misperception may deny opportunities for Southeast Asians to work on their own problems and to improve the conditions of less fortunate community members.

The lack of knowledge about conditions in Southeast Asian communities presently is not limited to public and private institutions working on poverty issues. Asian American and Southeast Asian communities and leaders also need to be more informed. Further studies are necessary to understand the reasons for the shortcomings and to explore strategies and programs which could help those communities gain economic and social self-sufficiency. A new generation of young Southeast Asian social scientists should be employed to conduct

research studies to provide cultural and linguistic insight into these issues.

Of utmost importance is the need to begin working more closely and directly with families living in poverty to help find better prospects for their economic survival. Programs are needed for the adult populations, as well as for the next generation, to avoid development of generational poverty. Social problems associated with poverty are severe enough to warrant immediate actions by policymakers. The youth delinquency problem must be dealt with through prevention programs.

To this end the leadership of Southeast Asian communities needs to be equipped with appropriate skills and knowledge of the economic and social problems confronting members of their communities. The success of community leaders in solving these problems is crucial to the success of the community as a whole. The investment of resources in refugee community organizations is a crucial means in a long-term strategy for responding to the needs of the less fortunate.

Additionally, because of their economic conditions, Southeast Asians generally live among other ethnic and minority populations who face many of the same social and economic barriers. For this reason, investment in programs to build interethnic and interracial relations skills must be developed by and for community leaders to combat the perceptions of others that the refugees are receiving preferential treatment or are competing with others for limited resources. Southeast Asians, in fact, could become useful bridge builders between communities of different economic and social backgrounds, because of their unique experiences in which many who were once the "haves" are now the "have-nots."

Asian American Children in School: Struggling to be Heard

By Ngoc-Diep Thi Nguyen, Ph.D.*

Introduction

As a bilingual consultant at the Illinois Resource Center, I have met with many school personnel who have concerns about adequate services for their language minority students, the great many of whom are of Asian descent. In a typical meeting, the following questions are usually asked:

- ▶ What is the fastest way to teach Asian limited-English proficient (LEP) students English so they can be mainstreamed more rapidly?
- ▶ How can we help the parents of these students to speak more English, so they can help their children?
- ▶ How can we involve more Asian parents in schools' activities?

Although most educators are well-intentioned, it is almost inevitable that during related conversations, the students and their families are blamed for difficulties faced by the school:

- these students do not speak enough English,
- the parents are nice but they do not participate in activities that show support for the school,
- the children are well-behaved but their performances may still slow down other children in the regular classroom.

What is even more disturbing is the fact that when educators discuss the needs of minority students, Asian Americans are often mentioned last, almost as an afterthought. In these meetings with school personnel, it is rare that an Asian American teacher or parent is included. When pressed, many concede that they know very little about their Asian students' family backgrounds. When asked if the school's faculty has received any training on how to serve this population, the answer is often: "No, the bilingual/ESL teacher usually takes care of those kids."

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At the Illinois Resource Center, we provide extensive assistance to school districts outside of Chicago schools on issues related to the education of language minority students. The majority of school districts we serve have Asian American students. While many schools have made significant progress in their services to Asian American students, much remains to be done.

The dilemma faced by many Asian American students in metropolitan Chicago is typified in many cases by students who, to live up to the stereotyped "model minority" myth, are constantly struggling to "fit in" without calling attention to themselves. Too often, they discover that their voices are rarely heard, and that their needs and contributions go unnoticed. In this paper, I raise three basic issues concerning the rights of Asian American students to equal access to education. These three issues are:

- (1) students' rights to quality language support;
- (2) students' rights to equal access to relevant and useful information in the curriculum;
- (3) the overall need for more Asian American teachers in education.

The Students at a Glance

According to the Illinois Public School 1993-1994 Bilingual Census, there are 42 Asian languages spoken by 39,906 Asian American students in grades K-12, of whom an estimated 11,000 are classified as limited-English (LEP).¹ Students of Asian descent account for 11 percent of all LEP students in the State of Illinois. They comprise 6 of the top 10 primary home language groups other than English, including: Urdu, Korean, Vietnamese, Gujarati, Cantonese, Filipino. Between 1985 and 1994 there was a tremendous increase in the number of Asian LEP students. Urdu-speaking students, for example, grew 334 percent in this decade. Other Asian languages spoken by more than 100 students in Illinois include Hindi, Hmong, Japanese, Khmer, Lao, Mandarin, Malayalam, Taiwanese, Thai, and Panjabi. The majority of these students (up to an estimated 85 percent) reside in Cook and Lake Counties, which covers the majority of metropolitan Chicago.

These students come from a wide range of socioeconomic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds. They also differ in their experiences in the United States: many are born and raised here, while some came as immigrants or refugees, and a small number came as temporary residents. They enter American schools with a variety of readiness and academic skills. With such a diverse group, one would suspect that

¹ Illinois State Board of Education's School Bilingual Census Survey, 1993-94 Summary Report.

educational approaches and strategies used with these students vary greatly. However, little has been attempted to design programs of instruction and materials that are uniquely appropriate for this population.

Issue 1: Language Rights of Asian LEP Students—The Need to Provide Culturally Appropriate Language Assistance Services

In Illinois there have virtually been no studies conducted on the most appropriate educational approaches for Asian American students. This lack of interest results from a pervasive assumption in bilingual education that whatever works for one group of LEP students, for example Latinos, will work as well for Asian Americans. In some local schools where many Asian American students attend, the words “bilingual education” mean literally “bilingual education for Spanish speaking students.” This assumption has tremendous implications in the language assistance available for Asian LEP students. It means that in most Transitional Bilingual Programs (TBP) for Asian American students, bilingual teachers apply methodologies and strategies that have been proven to work with Latino students but may not work for Asian students.

Adding to this problem is the lack of published quality bilingual materials in Asian languages. For the most part, it is left to each bilingual teacher to find ways to adapt the English curriculum for their students. In sum, we have a very qualified teacher who is teaching with little or no materials, using a framework that may or may not work for the students. Effective teaching and learning is at best a strenuous task if not impossible. In many schools with Transitional Programs of Instruction (TPI), the above problem is intensified when bilingual instructional aides are used as a main vehicle for providing native language support. Often, the aide is hired solely because (s)he is a bilingual speaker, with little consideration given to the person’s knowledge of the academic content or fluency in the English language. Once hired, the aide receives little or no training on ways to provide bilingual tutoring. In this case, we have a bilingual adult who attempts to tutor a child in an academic content that the adult may barely be familiar with. The truth is we have not yet systematically monitored instructional practices to see how effective they are with Asian Americans.

Another issue to be addressed is the perception that Asian American students have similar needs and abilities. It is, therefore, erroneously assumed that they can be grouped together for instruction without regard to the unique needs of each ethnic group within the Asian American population. Consequently, students with little or no schooling sometimes receive the same language assistance service as

immigrant students who come from a highly academic background. The lack of interest in using assessed students' needs and cultural information as a basis for providing appropriate language assistance is one of the probable causes of many Asian students dropping out of schools.

Questions have to be raised as to the effectiveness of applying bilingual and ESL methodologies with Asian students in the same way one may teach Spanish-speaking LEP students. The practice of lumping various groups of Asian students together for instructions without regard to sociocultural and linguistic differences must also be challenged.

The following actions need to be taken in order to improve language assistance services to Asian American students:

- ▶ There need to be policies requiring school districts to provide language assistance services in a manner that takes into account the cultural and linguistic diversity among its Asian American students.
- ▶ It is imperative that resources be channelled to develop bilingual materials that are linguistically and culturally appropriate for Asian American students.
- ▶ There also is a need to conduct studies on the most effective approaches to bilingual education for Asian American students as well as profiles of various groups of Asian American students and their needs.

From this data we can determine approaches and strategies that are effective with this population. Only with this new knowledge base can we critically decide what constitutes the most appropriate language assistance services for Asian American LEP students. Only then can the language rights of these students be best served.

Issue 2: Equal Access to Relevant and Useful Information in the Curriculum for Asian American Students in the Regular Classroom—the Need for Teacher Training and Curricular Transformation

In metropolitan Chicago, many Asian American students find themselves in classrooms that include students of many linguistic and cultural backgrounds. While “the multicultural classroom” is a mere reflection of the demographic changes that occur nationwide, many teachers are unprepared to teach in such a diverse environment. Intercultural communication and conflict resolution become important skills for both teachers and students to learn. More importantly, teachers need to diversify their teaching styles in order to accommodate the variety of learning styles of the students in the class. It is the

teacher's ability to use multiple modalities in teaching that will determine to what extent the curriculum is accessible to all students, including Asian Americans. It is the teacher's multicultural skills and knowledge that will help him/her create a safe and respectful learning environment that is free of racial and ethnic innuendos that many Asian Americans and other minority students have to tolerate. This training must surpass the typical "Do's and Don'ts" and "ABCs of working with Asian students" lists that teachers receive in their previous cross-cultural training.

Another issue that deserves attention is the lack of information about Asian American historical experiences and contemporary realities in the current educational curriculum. Typically, the type of information included has emphasized a touristic approach to the study of the countries of Asia. At the same time, the experience of Asian Americans is conveniently omitted from most basic educational materials. Given the projection that Asian Americans will continue to be the fastest growing subgroup in the United States, it is imperative that the public schools' curriculum be reformed to include the realities of a large number of its citizens. It is therefore recommended that:

- All teachers be required to take a basic course in multicultural education, aimed at increasing their abilities to teach in a culturally diverse environment.
- All teachers receive training aimed at improving their abilities to provide effective instruction to second language learners, including Asian American students.
- These skills be part of all evaluation and competency tests taken by teachers.
- Efforts be made to transform the curricula of many basic academic content areas to include information about and by Asian Americans.

It is through these efforts that we can ensure that Asian American students gain equal access to a curriculum that is relevant to their lives.

Issue 3: Need for Asian American Teachers in Both Bilingual and Regular Education

According to information provided by the Illinois State Board of Education, out of a total of 106,970 teachers in Illinois, there are merely 6,418 Asian American teachers. Here in Illinois, as nationwide, Asian American teachers only represent 6 percent of the entire teaching force. This number indicates a serious shortage of qualified Asian teachers in the State of Illinois, especially in bilingual education.

This shortage has serious consequences on the quality of services to Asian American students. First, Asian teachers are more likely to have to handle larger classes and more students. Second, when local school districts cannot find teachers, they have to hire less qualified persons in order to be able to provide some language assistance service to the Asian American LEP students. It is noted that until 1987, the State of Illinois had a Title VII Asian bilingual teacher training, the only one in the Nation at that time. Unfortunately, since then, despite many attempts to revive such a program, the bilingual teacher training program in this State remains unfunded.

The following recommendations are made in relation to the issue of the Asian American teacher shortage:

- ▶ At the national level, efforts need to be made to find resources to recruit and train Asian American teachers in bilingual as well as regular education.
- ▶ At the State and local levels, programs should be created to encourage and financially support bilingual instructional aides to further their education that will result in a teaching certificate in Illinois.
- ▶ There needs to be greater coordination and commitment between institutions of higher learning, government agencies, and local school districts to meeting this end.
- ▶ There need to be efforts within the Asian American community to encourage young people to pursue a vocation in education. Members of the Asian American community must actively participate in the recruitment and support of potential teachers.

Conclusion

To quote Kiang and Lee, two American educators who wrote of the same concerns: "Will K-12 educational policy in the 21st century promote Asian American exclusion or contribution? If informed by demographic analyses, then the imperative is clear. for if the strengths of Asian Americans continue to go untapped, especially in the field of education, then we as a society have not progressed very far in the hundred years since the San Francisco school board mandated that the city's children should not associate with or be influenced by their peers of the Mongolian race."²

Although today's discriminatory acts may not be this blatant, it is precisely the subtlety of the problems faced by many Asian American

² Kiang, P.N. and V.W. Lee (1993) "Exclusion or Contribution? Education K-12 Policy," *The State of Asian Pacific America: Policy Issues to the Year 2020*, Los Angeles, CA: LEAP.

students that allow many people to deny that they exist. When they are voiced, many often go unheard. However, it is a great mistake for anyone to believe that Asian American students suffer only inconsequential, minor offenses in regards to their civil rights.

The Status of Asian Americans in the Legal Profession in Illinois

By Sandra S. Yamate, J.D.*

Introduction

Growing numbers of Asian Americans are entering the legal profession. The rapid growth suggests that law may be a field offering limitless opportunities for Asian Americans. The reality, however, is far from that.

Much of the information in this paper comes from the Asian American Bar Association of the Greater Chicago Area (AABA). The AABA was organized during the latter part of 1986 and the early part of 1987. It was formally incorporated in August of 1987. There is little information about the status of Asian American attorneys in Illinois prior to the AABA's formation. Most of the data discussed in this article comes from this 8-year period.

Demographics of Asian American Attorneys in Illinois

There is no precise count of the number of Asian American attorneys licensed to practice within the State of Illinois. Rough estimates have been made based upon U.S. census data and the number of Asian surnames listed in comprehensive directories such as Sullivan's Law Directory and Martindale-Hubble as well as lists of new admittees to the bar. This, of course, has obvious flaws; it overlooks Asian American women who have married and taken the name of a non-Asian spouse and bi- or multiracial Asian Americans who have non-Asian surnames and who, according to Professor Larry Hajime Shinagawa of Sonoma State University, are statistically more likely not to identify themselves as Asian American.

Publicity about the AABA's existence and its various programs and projects, in addition to word of mouth within the legal profession and the Asian American community, has attracted additional numbers of Asian American attorneys into the AABA's membership or serves to advise us of Asian American attorneys who, for whatever reason, choose not to become members of the AABA. While not perfect, this

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process has allowed the organization to identify many, if not all, Asian American attorneys in Illinois.

Although the U.S. Census Bureau statistics do not offer complete information about the number of Asian American attorneys, they do not offer a convenient frame of reference as to those who identify themselves as Asian American. According to the census, between 1980 and 1990, the number of Asian American attorneys nationwide tripled, from 3,653 in 1980 to 10,513 in 1990.

In the six-county Chicago metropolitan area, where the majority of the Asian American population in Illinois resides, census statistics report that, in 1980, the Asian American population was 141,339 with 138 Asian American attorneys (1,016 males and 32 females). In 1990, the Asian American population in the same area grew to 251,328 with 374 attorneys, 239 of whom were male and 135 of whom were female. While this increase in numbers may be interpreted to suggest a natural growth progression, it ignores an accompanying growth in many of the underlying problems that face Asian American attorneys and prevent them from fully realizing their potential.

Asian American Attorneys in Private Practice

Private practice and its oft-reported numbers of attorneys in a variety of statistical breakdowns is one of the easiest areas within the legal profession from which to illustrate some of the most obvious problems facing Asian American attorneys. Begin by considering large law firms of 40 or more attorneys, since statistical information about such firms is published in a variety of forms and by a variety of sources. Although a firm with 40 or 50 attorneys is considered a large law firm, in Illinois many large firms have well over 100 attorneys. Indeed, at least 10 of these firms have over 200 attorneys and 3 of those have over 300 attorneys. Success within these firms is considered important by many within the legal profession because these law firms wield power at any number of levels, including the highest salaries, the highest fees, the largest, wealthiest most influential clients, high impact cases and projects, high visibility, strong support services and impressive networking opportunities. Partnership at such a firm, while no guarantee of anything, nevertheless offers untold opportunities.

According to the 1994 Chicago Lawyer Diversity Survey, as reported in the May 1994 issue of *Chicago Lawyer*, partners at large law firms number 3,279. Of that number 3,224 were European American. Only 10 were Asian American. At the associate level, the survey found 2,901 attorneys, 2,709 of whom were European American. Asian Americans numbered 53. That means that the large law firms, including those with over 200 attorneys, generally employ on average only 1 or 2 Asian

American attorneys. Some firms have far better records than that, but many more have worse ones.

Some might attempt to argue that these numbers will improve over time on their own. They suggest that as increasing numbers of Asian Americans graduate from law school, increasing numbers will find their way into these large law firms. Recent history, however, suggests otherwise.

In 1986, when the AABA was organized, it started with approximately 50 members. Of that 50, 2 males and 1 female were already partners in large law firms. At least a quarter of this initial membership was comprised of women working as associates at large law firms. Interestingly, 8 years later, all of those women have left the large law firms at which they worked except one who finally became a partner in her firm. Indeed, during our 8-year history, the pattern has continued to repeat itself as we see entry level opportunities for Asian American attorneys in the large law firms but very little retention at senior levels.

One myth put forward to excuse these dismal statistics is that of the search for the qualified minority. According to this myth, everyone would like to hire or promote more minorities but they must be "qualified minorities." Now, no one suggests that someone incompetent be hired or promoted. Yet few seem willing or able to question whether by virtue of the definition being applied, the very definition of what indeed is "qualified" predetermines a course of "failure" for many minorities. Furthermore, even when we are able to satisfy a European American standard as to what is qualified, there is no guarantee that a European American dominated mainstream will feel comfortable around or relate to or work well with, much less hire, those whom they perceive to be unlike themselves.

During my tenure at a large firm I had the opportunity to participate in the firm's recruitment program for law students. I recall one law student who was interviewing with the firm. This young man ranked third in his class at a top 10 law school. The firm was impressed by his credentials and anxiously planned which prize associate attorneys would be delegated to take the young man to lunch and woo him to the firm. The young man appeared for his interview at the designated time and, lo and behold, he happened to be of Indian ancestry. Not only that, he happened to be a dark complected man. Well, that upset the firm's plans. Not that they didn't still want to hire him; he was after all, obviously one of the rare "qualified minorities." The firm presumed that because he was "different" from the young European American men they had planned to have wine and dine him, they would not be compatible. The firm projected its own discomfort with his "difference" onto him. They quickly assigned an African American

associate to take him to lunch figuring that both being dark-skinned they would certainly have something in common.

Indeed, that attitude of unwillingness to see Asian Americans as individuals compounds the frustration, dissatisfaction, and demoralization that many Asian American attorneys experience and what might be characterized as "normal" within many large law firms. A case in point occurred while I was still practicing with a large law firm. I was one of two Asian American female attorneys at the firm. While I was Japanese American and wore my hair long and curled, the other was Chinese American, with shorter, straight hair and glasses. My Chinese American colleague's last name was her husband's, "Peterson." Before long, the firm had confused us and created a third "attorney" named "Sandra Peterson." Sandra Peterson started getting firm memoranda and interoffice mail. Sometimes my friend and I would get telephone calls looking for Sandra Peterson. Even after I left the firm, I understand that it was sometime before Sandra Peterson "disappeared."

There are many more stories about life as an Asian American in a large law firm that I could relate: stories about lack of mentors, limited client exposure (except for Pacific Rim clients), limited opportunities to excel and a constant struggle to dispel stereotypes and reassure the powers that be that you are not very different from them. Given the limited time that we have today, I shall not but suffice it to say that for Asian American attorneys, surviving in the large law firm, much less attaining partnership, has been made far more difficult for them than for their average European American counterparts.

The American Bar Association has attempted to address some of these problems through programs such as its Minority Demonstration Program. In this program, large corporations commit to using minority-owned law firms for some small percentage of their legal work and small minority-owned firms are paired with large firms so as to provide minority attorneys with practical legal experience in areas of the law where there are few minority practitioners. The Minority Partners in Large Law Firms Program seeks to enhance business development opportunities for minority partners in large firms.

Such programs are to be applauded for their efforts and, if for nothing else, focusing attention upon some very real problems for Asian Americans and other minority attorneys in private practice. Unfortunately, the effectiveness of these programs is limited by the spirit of the participants. Some of the Asian American firms participating in the Minority Demonstration Program have been disgruntled by some large corporations' willingness to enjoy the public relations aspect of program participation without making any serious efforts to work with these minority-owned law firms, citing the minority-owned firms' lack of expertise on various areas of law. Other Asian Americans

participating in these programs emphasize the well-intentioned nature of these programs but point out the actual number of cases or projects actually received through them. Minority ownership itself may not be sufficient to determine or direct opportunities intended to assist minority attorneys in advancing within the legal profession. At one minority-owned firm, at least half of the attorneys were European American males or Hispanic-surnamed attorneys who did not care to identify themselves as Hispanic. The firm was quite successful at attracting business through the program. When the firm had an opportunity to select an attorney to learn financial bond work, although a minority attorney requested the opportunity, it was given to a European American male.

Asian American Attorneys in Corporate Law

Working as in-house counsel has always been an alternative to private practice, but it has proven an elusive opportunity for Asian American attorneys. Only a handful have succeeded at finding in-house positions. While most seem to find it satisfactory, they have limited opportunities to choose local counsel or promote the use of other Asian American or minority attorneys by their respective corporations. Indeed, one tenuously retains a position as in-house counsel by virtue of the threat of filing a race discrimination suit against the employer.

Asian Americans in the Judiciary

If partnership in a law firm represents the pinnacle of success in one model of the legal profession, then perhaps the ascension to the bench represents another. Yet here too Asian American attorneys have faced a very low glass ceiling. Indeed, during the early years of the AABA's existence, when the Chicago Bar Association compiled a survey of judges in Illinois based upon their gender and race or ethnicity, the notion of judges of Asian ancestry was so foreign, Asian Americans were not even included as a category.

The first and only Asian American judge in Illinois was sworn in February 1991. That came after an intensive 2-year long lobbying effort by the AABA. Still, an associate judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County, the sole Asian American judge in the State serves at the very lowest level of the Illinois judiciary. Asian Americans who have run in elections for positions as judges have been defeated each time.

The situation is not much better at the Federal level. There, the sole Asian American serves as an immigration judge. The lack of Asian Americans in the judiciary in Illinois does not simply reflect a small population. Indeed, States with much smaller Asian American judges have elected Asian American judges. Arizona, for instance, has four judges of Asian American ancestry, including the Hon. Thomas Tang

of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Texas has eight judges of Asian American ancestry. Washington has 14, and Utah and Pennsylvania have 2 each.

Recent debate over judicial selection methods has served to underscore Asian American's lack of representation in the judiciary. Appointive selection proponents point to poor voter turnout and lack of voter education regarding judicial elections. Yet Asian Americans have not seen appointive selection as likely to increase opportunities for them to serve on the bench, especially given some of the same concerns about "qualified" minorities. Judicial subdistricts, on the other hand, which were promoted as a means of increasing minority representation on the bench have been successful for African Americans and Hispanics, but politics has prevented any subdistrict from having an Asian majority. Indeed, those areas where an Asian subdistrict could conceivably exist have been split to satisfy other interests. Thus neither approach realistically enhances opportunities for Asian Americans to reach the bench.

Asian American Attorneys in Government

The lack of Asian American judges may be tied to some degree to glass ceiling issues in private practice and also in government work. Regrettably, Asian American attorneys who seek a career in government service may not fare much better than their colleagues in private practice. Hiring is certainly one problem. When the AABA was solicited for names of Asian American attorneys who might be interested in being considered for a vacancy in the Northern District of Illinois, it had to evaluate its membership to determine who, if anyone, had the requisite skills and experience. The organization was forced to acknowledge that few had the Federal trial experience to match other potential candidates.

If an attorney wishes to be a viable candidate for the Federal bench, politics aside, the attorney would probably do well to seek Federal court and trial experience. The best sources for such experience are large law firms that have clients likely to be involved with other large business partners in deals or arrangements in excess of the jurisdictional minimum. While Asian American attorneys seem to be able to acquire entry-level positions in large firms, we've already discussed some of the obstacles making it unlikely that they will remain there.

Another source of Federal trial experience would be working for the government. Yet government hiring has been spotty at best and the working conditions sometimes painful. For instance, the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Northern District of Illinois, which offers significant opportunities for Federal trial experience, has 130 attorneys, but in the entire history of the office has hired only one Asian American attorney.

The Federal defenders have not hired any. Certainly it varies from agency to agency. We have heard very good reports from the Asian American attorneys working for the EPA. By contrast, however, the AABA has heard that an Asian American attorney who worked for the Department of Health and Human Services was ordered by a superior to arrive at the office before anyone else to make the coffee; that report has not been verified.

At State and local levels, government employment opportunities for attorneys who are Asian American have been more frequent than at the Federal level but still rather limited. According to the *Chicago Lawyer*, the Office of the Illinois Attorney General employs 256 attorneys, 5 of whom are Asian American. The Cook County State's Attorney employs 888 attorneys, 24 of whom are Asian American. The Cook County Public Defender employs 490 attorneys, 9 of whom are Asian American. The city of Chicago Corporation Counsel employs 246 attorneys, 4 of whom are Asian American. With the exception of the Cook County State's Attorney's Office, where a few Asian Americans have reached supervisory position, most other positions held by Asian American attorneys are at or near entry level.

Asian American Attorneys in Legal Academia

Since many positions in both government and private practice entail trial work, Asian American attorneys interested in pursuing such jobs are put at a disadvantage by stereotypes and other false perceptions about Asian Americans. For example, common stereotype qualities for Asian Americans include being quiet, passive, docile, meek, mild-mannered, inscrutable—traits one would not necessarily associate with or want in an attorney.

Part of the problem stems from the lack of Asian American role models for young lawyers and law students, both Asian and non-Asian ancestry. They have few opportunities to discover firsthand the fallacy of these stereotypes. Although the number of Asian Americans enrolled in law school is growing, both Asian American and non-Asian law students and lawyers need to see Asian American role models: Asian Americans as partners in law firms, as judges, as trial attorneys, as corporate counsels, and as law school professors.

Especially in the classroom, where a teacher or professor is presumed to command some modicum of respect, one would hope to find opportunities to challenge stereotypes and expand expectations as to who can be successful in the legal profession. Despite growing Asian American enrollment, law schools are not providing those models. According to Bruce Schulte, an assistant dean at IIT Kent College of Law, approximately one-third of his school's entering class this past fall was Asian American. At Northwestern University School of Law,

the enrollment is approximately 18 percent Asian American. In spite of the growing Asian American enrollment, however, of the six law schools in the metropolitan Chicago area, only one has an Asian American employed full time on tenure track. Two others share an Asian American adjunct professor.

Furthermore, caution should be exercised when discussing the growing Asian American enrollment in law schools. While record numbers of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Indian, Pakistani, and Filipino American students are indeed entering law school, some parts of the Asian American community are still grossly underrepresented in the legal profession. In Illinois, for instance, there is only one licensed attorney of Vietnamese ancestry, two of Indonesian ancestry, and, to the best of our knowledge, none from the Thai, Cambodian, or Laotian communities.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Model minority myths aside, record numbers of Asian Americans are pursuing a legal education and a career in law. Increasing law school admissions and entry level hiring can create a false perception that the legal profession may offer limitless opportunities to bright, energetic, ambitious young Asian American attorneys. In reality, Asian Americans in the legal profession face a low and rather thick glass ceiling that is based upon and reinforced by stereotypes and culturally modified behaviors that are almost a complete anathema to the traits desired in an attorney, limited or nonexistent political power, limited or no access to or control of corporate clients, and limited or narrowly confined areas of expertise.

In order to make the myth reality, to give Asian American attorneys access to real opportunities within and without the legal profession, the following 10 suggestions are offered:

1. Expand affirmative action admissions policies for law schools so as to include underrepresented segments of the Asian American community, particularly Southeast Asian Americans.
2. Encourage and implement programs to hire and retain Asian Americans in law school faculty where students of all races and ethnic backgrounds can become used to the notion of Asian Americans holding positions of authority and respect in the legal profession.
3. Encourage and implement programs to hire, retain, and promote Asian Americans working as government attorneys.
4. Encourage and implement programs to hire, retain, and promote Asian American attorneys in private practice.
5. Seek out and encourage the appointment of Asian Americans and other minorities to the bench.

6. Publicize and promote successful Asian American attorneys as role models.
7. Encourage and stimulate open discussion about the problems encountered by Asian American attorneys.
8. Encourage community and business support for and use of Asian American attorneys.
9. Educate judges, attorneys, and the public as to the many different ways and styles by which one can be an effective and excellent attorney.
10. Reexamine and redefine the attributes of a good attorney.

Asian American Professionals and Equal Employment Opportunity at Universities

By Ashish Sen, Ph.D.*

The issue of Asians in universities is extremely complex and it reflects the fact that the attitudes of the majority groups towards Asian Americans are ambivalent. Therefore, I am mentioning my major recommendations at the beginning.

The first point is, yes, there is a glass ceiling for Asians at universities.

Second, most universities that I know of are doing little or nothing to correct the situation.

Third, getting the kind of information necessary and doing appropriate analysis in order to propose specific remedies is beyond the capacity of any individual.

Fourth, the Commission should undertake or at least encourage strongly the analysis necessary so that corrective actions may be taken quickly. Quickly is a key word. With every passing day, the spirit of the prohibition against discrimination based on race and national origin is violated further.

People are often aghast when I talk about glass ceilings in academia. After all it is a bastion of liberal thinking. The fact is that universities are far from that and have been so for a long time. Someone studying the period from 1930 to 1940 found that in Ivy League schools there were very few faculty members who were not Anglo Saxons—and they too were often either professors of Hebrew or occupants of chairs endowed by (say) the Irish population of the area. This is not uniquely American: education is an area seldom trusted to anyone outside of the dominant culture. In the Indian caste system, teachers and priests had to be the most racially pure. Thus, given the current reality of cultural diversity, focusing on universities is most appropriate, if not overdue.

I do not believe that I would be teaching in an American university today had it not been for the rapid growth of the higher education sector following and perhaps prompted by the second World War. There was a shortage of quality faculty. Even then I owe a debt to Jewish

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Americans who penetrated the Anglo Saxon curtain and in effect started faculty integration—and won a whole bunch of Nobel Prizes.

The next issue that I would like to deal with is an often made statement that Asian Americans need no particular help; they are the highest income racial group in the U.S. But we need to examine this a little more closely. While a more detailed examination of this phenomenon is necessary, I will put forward the belief that this is largely due to immigration patterns. There were shortages in certain professions which caused incomes to rise. At the same time immigrants were brought in to fill the need. The result was that these immigrants had higher incomes.

The same thing happens in universities. In the seventies, there was a deep concern in, among other places, the National Academy of Engineering that very few native-born Americans were going into the teaching of engineering or even Ph.D.s. Nonacademic salaries were relatively much higher. Now engineering salaries in universities are higher than in the liberal arts and there are also more Asian faculty in the field. The situation may be similar in medicine. The result is that the average Asian faculty member makes more money than the average professor.

Two points follow from this observation:

1. When comparing incomes of Asian faculty, the comparison should be made only with respect to an equivalent comparison group—same subject, same qualifications, same experience, and same past performance or stature.
2. There are woefully small numbers of Asian American faculty in nonscientific departments. When Asian American students ask for more Asian American faculty to be their mentors, using the numbers of medical and engineering faculty to respond to them is misleading to say the least. Not all Asian American undergraduates are in engineering and no one enters medical school after high school.

I want to pay particular attention to the glass ceiling Asian American faculty face. That does not mean Asian Americans do not face other problems in universities. A recent study at the University of Illinois-Chicago showed that per capita financial aid was lowest for Asian Americans. Many faculty believe that Asian Americans face poorer odds with respect to securing tenure.

One key piece of *prima facie* evidence that there is a glass ceiling can be obtained by counting the number of Asian American presidents (or chancellors) of universities. The last time I looked, among all class I research universities, only one had ever been headed up by an Asian

American. (Shortly thereafter I heard him speak about his interview process; it was most illuminating.) There are 70-odd such class I universities. Assuming that each had several presidents and chancellors in the last 10 years, it is easy to see that there indeed is a case to be made here. If there were any, I would like to know how long they lasted. Of course, someone wishing to take issue with me could easily point out that most Asian Americans are in engineering and medicine and presidents usually come from other fields. All this may be true and needs to be looked into more closely.

I can tell of my personal experience. I applied off and on to get into administration. I succeeded sometimes but had to face tremendous odds. I had to hear things like, "You are too good for this job." "You are technically strong, but you're not an administrator." "You're an excellent scholar, you shouldn't be wasting your time." "You are too busy with your grants." I used to write them down. If I am so much better than everyone else, why am I not being paid much higher than everyone else? Why also are administrators paid so much more than faculty? Since I was asked not to waste my time, is it then wasting theirs? On one occasion, one of these administrators, who is now the provost of a nationally prominent university, fell asleep while interviewing me. Worse still, he was the only interviewer. Would you agree that the decision to skip me had been made before he met me?

I did make it on occasion. Survival was another story. It does not feel very good when you walk into a meeting and you know that other people have discussed the topic before and you found out about the topic by reading the agenda. It feels worse when people in the unit you head go around you and you find out when you see a memo from your boss approving something you never hear of. Worse still, sometimes when the approval involves money, you were left to figure out how you would balance the budget. All the while you attend every meeting lest something of importance to you come up without any advance notice and without anyone else there to protect your interests. And you live in fear that because of your race you might be damaging the unit that you are responsible for. Getting past the glass ceiling can get you very opaque walls.

On Wednesday of last week I was nominated to be a candidate for acting dean of a new college that is being formed. I declined largely for the reasons I just gave.

But this is not the way it should be. Some years ago I worked in the Indian Planning Commission. It was a totally different experience. I was an insider. I was part of the sociopolitical culture. I was given the opportunity to understand the real issues and motivations. I knew what was about to come up and others around me helped to protect my interests. I was a participant in the real decisionmaking.

I did come back to the United States although my rank in India was the same as that an Indian consul general would have if he or she were to return to India with a lateral move (and that was 15 years ago). So clearly there are aspects of this country I like.

I had some hand at least cracking the glass ceiling at the Chicago Board of Education. Recounting the experience there could be interesting. There are 10 grade levels at the board of education. When I got on it, no Asian American was above level 5. Partially because of my presence there, but also because the then superintendent and his colleagues were among the most color blind people I have met, some people were promoted. At least two Asian Americans reached Grade 10. Let me talk briefly about one of them.

During the early discussions regarding him, I was told that the reason he should not be promoted was that he was not "mean enough." Now he wants to retire and it has created a crises. He is so very competent. The reason for his success has to do with his competence and the fact that he got to work with some very good people who supported him, but also with two other factors which are really my main reasons for bringing this up:

- The atmosphere at the board of education is multiracial and multiethnic. Greater racial and ethnic diversity helps all minorities.
- The second thing is people knew I would be watching; which illustrates that even with people of good intentions, external pressure helps.

One of the reasons for the glass ceiling is that we do not fit the template of success that people have. We do not look like what people have seen successful people look like or behave like. We tend to be confrontation avoiders. We often do not like walking over people, and making snap decisions and in other ways showing what Americans call leadership. But there is no evidence that our style cannot be effective.

Let me now turn back to what the universities have done about it, about Asian Americans. The answer is nothing. To the best of my knowledge at the University of Illinois-Chicago, Asian Americans are not even included in the affirmative action plan. Just because Asian Americans are well-represented in the student body has been interpreted as reason enough to ignore recruitment of Asian American faculty and to ignore our interest to participate in the running of the institution.

I have discussed this issue with two chancellors. Chancellors are well-versed in being sympathetic listeners. They agree with you and then do nothing. I have discussed this with members of the board of

trustees. There seems to be a general understanding that something must be done. But nothing has been done, and if the past is any guide, nothing will be done without pressure from without.

What pressure? One form that I would like to propose is research. Pointed and well-publicized research findings are one of the mildest forms of pressure. As such it is a first step.

I do not imply for a moment that research has not occurred. The Civil Rights Commission has published several thoughtful reports.

What I am requesting is an attempt to use numbers that have been unavailable to us to construct evidence that is essentially irrefutable. I believe the type of analysis I am mentioning is fairly standard. I have already mentioned some of the topics I suggest be covered:

- ▶salary comparisons within appropriate stratifications;
- ▶distribution of faculty by disciplinary areas in comparison to Asian American student enrollment;
- ▶probabilities of being hired, tenured, and promoted;
- ▶probabilities of being given administrative positions at different levels.

There are other criteria that should also perhaps be looked at, e.g., distribution of campus perquisites—summer courses, internal research grants. I would like to propose one more. As we all know, major changes are usually surfaced by key committees. These committees, therefore, usually include people who are highly trusted by the administration and people who are seen as important. Thus, the membership of key committees would be most revealing. Moreover, some of these committees are entirely appointed by administrators who profess support of diversity. An examination of the composition of these committees could be most useful in assessing the seriousness of their commitment.

Asian Americans on College Campuses: Profiles and Trends

By Yvonne M. Lau, Ph.D.*

Introduction

Historically shrouded in mystery and misrepresentation, Asian Americans continue to be viewed with confusion. Burdened by general invisibility, Asian Americans are often excluded, whether from conversations on race relations in the United States or from institutional policymaking. Touted as the fastest growing demographic group, the dramatic increases of various Asian American constituencies have not brought recognition or representation. Nowhere is this more apparent than in higher education.

An example of Asian American invisibility in higher education are affirmative action programs on college campuses designed to increase minority student and faculty representation. Only recently the State of Connecticut, yielding to pressure from the Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education, agreed to expand its statewide college affirmative action program to include Asian Americans. The State had maintained that its decision to create a program limited to African American and Hispanic students and faculty members was legitimate as State population statistics showed those two groups were the only groups not present in the State's colleges in proportion to their share of the general population.¹

The controversy in Connecticut was over the Minority Advancement Plan, created by the general assembly in 1986 to provide funds to colleges to recruit minority students and faculty members. The law creating the program specified that the money should go for minority groups not represented at the State's colleges in proportion to their share of the State population. The Department of Education found that the program violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 because it "took no account of underrepresentation among different racial and ethnic groups at particular institutions."²

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¹ Scott Jaschik, "Asian Americans and American Indians Added to Connecticut's Affirmative-Action Program," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Oct. 5, 1994, p. A35.

² Ibid.

Nationally, in 1976 there were 198,000 Asian Americans enrolled in all higher education institutions. Twelve years later by 1988, this number had climbed to 497,000, or 4 percent of the higher education population.³ In 1994 it is estimated that Asian American enrollments are at 650,000.⁴ Nationally, Asian American faculty number 26,500, or 5 percent of all full-time faculty. Asian Americans are often the largest minority faculty group, especially in divisions like engineering and health sciences.⁵

However, as recent studies show, it is important to disaggregate the data for Asian Americans by ethnicity, nativity, generation, language, and class.⁶ Evidence of this need for subgroup distinctions comes from noting that among full-time Asian American faculty, foreign nationals constituted 42 percent. Only 2.8 percent of all higher education faculty are Asian American with U.S. citizenship. Further, data from a study of minority doctorates indicate disproportionately fewer doctorates are awarded to Asian Americans in the social sciences, humanities, and education.⁷

A critical area for analysis is the status of Asian American faculty and administrators. Despite the major increases in student enrollments, faculty and professional staff positions have not risen at the same rates. The gains that have occurred within full-time faculty slots have been disproportionately in nontenure track positions—positions less secure, less prestigious, and lower in pay.⁸

Another issue centers on the severe underrepresentation of Asian American administrators.⁹ Several studies have found that only 1 percent of executive and managerial positions in higher education are held by Asian Americans.¹⁰ This lack of presence in upper administration contributes to the omission of Asian Americans from institutional

³ Eugenia Escuta and Eileen O'Brien, "Asian Americans in Higher Education: Trends and Issues," ACE Research Briefs, vol. 2, no. 4, 1991, p. 1.

⁴ Kenyon Chan, Presidential Address delivered at the Association for Asian American Studies 11th Annual Meeting, Apr. 6–9, 1994, University of Michigan.

⁵ Deborah Carter and Eileen O'Brien, "Employment and Hiring Patterns for Faculty of Color," ACE Research Briefs, vol. 4, no. 6, 1993, p. 3.

⁶ Escueta and O'Brien, 1991.

⁷ Cecilia Ottinger, Robin Sikula, and Charles Washington, "Production of Minority Doctorates," ACE Research Briefs, vol. 4, no. 8, 1993, p. 4.

⁸ Shirley Hune, remarks from a presentation at the 1994 American Association for Higher Education Conference, Mar. 23–26, 1994, Chicago, Illinois.

⁹ See Sen paper in this publication; Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

policies and from the absence of "Asian American" in dialogues on race relations on college campuses.

Two forms of discrimination are usually experienced by Asian Americans on college campuses. First, while Asian Americans are an increasingly large segment of many student bodies, there is not a corresponding increase in Asian American faculty, administrators, or support staff. In the Chicago area, Asian Americans are entering the major Chicago area campuses at an increasing rate; the number of Asian American employees is static. And while Asian Americans do outnumber other minority faculty, they remain underrepresented in specific disciplines, and generally throughout the undergraduate divisions of arts and sciences. Asian American faculty are usually relegated to teaching science and mathematics. A survey of 10 major Chicago area universities found that Asian American faculty have the lowest tenure rate (47 percent) of all faculty.¹¹ In addition, the Asian American faculty who are employed are not generally observed in administrative positions.

Secondly, affirmative action programs designed for all minorities often specifically exclude Asian Americans. Because of the high percentage of Asian Americans on college campuses and the relatively high number of Asian Americans in faculty positions on campuses, there is the perception that discrimination does not exist against Asian Americans. These perceptions are untrue. Asian Americans are still encountering real discrimination on college campuses. Students with an Asian ancestry are often held to a higher standard than other students *because of their race*. They are stereotyped as high academic achievers, and usually excluded from special support services attuned to minority students.

This neglect by institutions persists during a period of major demographic changes in the Asian American population. Far from being a homogeneous group, Asian American students vary significantly by nativity, ethnicity, class, generation, language, religion, and other dimensions. To overlook the rising differences in English language proficiency or past educational and immigrant experiences, among diverse Asian American groups, relegates them to a false status of being uniformly members of the model minority. This occurs in both the education sector and the employment sector, so that both Asian American students and Asian American faculty are affected.

Many institutions do not consider Asian Americans as disadvantaged minorities. While they conveniently include Asian American numbers in their minority reports for government and other sources, institutions

¹¹ Diane Reiss, "Minorities on slow tenure track at Chicago universities," *The Chicago Reporter*, vol. 16, no. 5, 1987, pp.3-5.

seldom, in practice, acknowledge or attend to the needs and concerns of Asian Americans on campus. While presently the repercussions of this institutionalized "inattention" are difficult to document—because of the paucity of national longitudinal studies on minorities in higher education that include Asian Americans—anecdotal evidence suggests that an increasing number of today's Asian American students are facing troubling retention rates, and growing dropout rates compared to Asian American cohorts a decade earlier. Preliminary data indicate that larger cohorts of academically at-risk students are found among Asian Americans. With few professionals available to them who are sensitive to the cultural nuances underlying their problems, Asian American students may be deterred from seeking help from basic counseling or advising services.

The relatively smaller ratios of Asian American faculty and administrators, especially in the undergraduate divisions, exacerbates the problem of accessibility to role models and mentors for Asian American students. Even at institutions where there appear to be significant Asian American faculty numbers, it is important to disaggregate summary data by school or discipline.

Six Illinois institutions of higher education mainly in the Chicago area were surveyed for racial and ethnic undergraduate student and full-time faculty representation (see tables 1 and 2). They included the University of Chicago, Loyola University Chicago, DePaul University, Northwestern University, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and University of Illinois-Chicago. With the exception of DePaul University, Asian American undergraduates constitute the largest minority group. Anecdotal sources and case studies of midwest institutions indicate that this trend will continue.

In the Chicago metropolitan area, the University of Illinois at Chicago is the largest public institution. In the fall semester 1994 the total campus enrollment was 24,865, making it the largest campus in the Chicago area. Foreign students are 5.6 percent of the total student population. Students of Asian ancestry number 4,040 and are the second largest racial/ethnic group on the campus. Whites, the largest racial/ethnic group, are 12,954 of the student population. But although Asian Americans are the second largest student group, constituting 16 percent of the total student population and 19 percent of the undergraduate population, Asian Americans are just 10 percent of tenured faculty, 9 percent of administrators, and 7 percent of support staff at the university.¹²

¹² As noted in table 1, UIC has the second largest proportion of Asian faculty among institutions surveyed in the Chicago area.

TABLE 1

Full-time Faculty* Percentages by Race/Ethnicity, Selected Chicago Campuses, Fall 1993

	Asian	African Amer.	Hispanic	White
DePaul	5.2	4.4	4.4	85.8
Loyola Univ., Chicago	2.7	3.7	2.5	91.2
Loyola Univ., Maywood	14.4	1.9	2.5	80.7
Loyola Univ., All	8.3	2.9	2.5	86.3
Northwestern Univ., Evanston	7.6	2.4	1.6	83.6
Northwestern Univ., Chicago	7.3	2.1	1.2	81.4
Northwestern Univ., All**	7.5	2.3	1.4	82.4
Univ. of Chicago	6.6	1.6	1.6	90.0
Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign	7.6	2.3	1.9	87.9
Univ. of Illinois, Chicago	10.9	2.8	3.0	83.1

* Full-time faculty as defined by the institution.

** Excludes 6.4% "foreign."

Source: University EEO-6 reports.

TABLE 2

Total Undergraduate Enrollment Percentages by Race/Ethnicity, Selected Chicago Campuses, Fall 1993

	Asian	African Amer.	Hispanic	White
DePaul	5.4	12.1	10.2	72.0
Loyola ¹	11.2	8.9	8.0	67.0
Northwestern Univ. ²	13.6	5.4	1.7	62.4
Univ. of Chicago	24.5	4.6	3.4	63.3
Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign ³	11.9	7.0	5.2	72.8
Univ. of Illinois, Chicago ⁴	18.3	10.5	15.5	50.1

¹ Excludes 4.7% "uncollected."

² Evanston campus.

³ Excludes 2.6% "date not available" and "int'l."

⁴ Excludes 3.0% "unknown" and 2.3% "foreign."

Source: Affirmative action and institutional research offices of DePaul University, Loyola University, Northwestern University, University of Chicago, University of Illinois at Chicago, and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

In general, aggregate data on faculty distribution by discipline and rank are only an indication of disproportions in academia. Conclusions of disparate treatment can only be made from detailed analysis of individual positions and faculty members. Nevertheless, the aggregate data show the expected result of Asian American faculty overrepresented in the physical sciences, engineering, medicine, and other quantitative fields.

For example, at UIC, although 11 percent of the tenured and tenure-track faculty are Asian/Pacific Islander (API), a breakdown of the faculty by college provides some interesting data. Out of the 65 tenured and tenure-track API faculty, 47 percent of them are found in the five health related schools, 16 percent are in engineering, 15 percent in arts and sciences, 10 percent in business administration, and 0.6 percent in education. While Asian American faculty constitute 6 percent of all faculty in the college of liberal arts and sciences, they comprise 16 percent of all faculty in the school of clinical medicine, 17 percent in the college of business administration, and 26 percent in the college of engineering.

It might be speculated that a high proportion of the latter would be foreign-born faculty who may be disproportionately on nontenure-track lines facing lower mobility structures. If this is true, then access to an evenly distributed pool of mentors across disciplines for Asian American students may be limited. Unfortunately, faculty are denied positions and promotions *because of their race* since Asian American representation is already deemed "high enough." And Asian American candidates may be less targeted and/or considered when it comes to national searches for top positions, compounding the distortions of the occupational structure of Asian Americans. As others have found, Asian American faculty, primarily foreign born, tend not to receive rank and pay commensurate with their experience, credentials, and productivity.¹³

To widen the discussion on the status of Asian American faculty, data from another public institution, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), are examined. At first glance, Asian American faculty seem to fare well when compared with other groups, i.e., they represent 11 percent of all faculty compared to 2 percent for blacks and Hispanics. APIs constitute 7 percent of tenured faculty and 10 percent of tenure-track faculty. Yet APIs are most concentrated among "other faculty"—18 percent are nontenure-track faculty who are mainly postdoctorates, associates, or assistant professors. This pattern is consistent with other studies (Carter and O'Brien, 1993) which show

¹³ Jayjia Hsia, *Asian Americans in Higher Education and at Work*, Hillsdale: Erlbaum Associates, 1988; Escueta and O'Brien, 1991.

TABLE 3**University of Illinois at Chicago, Student Racial and Ethnic Distribution**

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
African American	9.7%	9.4%	9.6%	9.7%	10.0%
American Indian	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Asian American	3.8	4.3	14.7	15.4	16.2
Hispanic	9.3	10.2	10.9	11.9	12.7
White	57.1	56.4	55.1	53.6	52.1
Unknown	3.7	2.7	3.0	3.0	3.0
Foreign	6.1	6.7	6.4	6.1	5.6

Source: University of Illinois at Chicago; campus summary includes undergraduate and graduate divisions.

TABLE 4**University of Illinois at Chicago, Employee Race/Ethnic Profile**

	AIAN	White	Black	API	HISP	Total
Tenured faculty	1	954	18	116	28	1,117
%	0.1	85.4	1.6	10.4	2.5	
Tenure track faculty	1	304	24	49	18	396
%	0.3	76.8	6.1	12.4	4.6	
Other faculty	2	323	24	49	13	411
%	0.5	78.6	5.8	11.9	3.2	
Professional and administration	6	957	183	123	90	1,359
%	0.4	70.4	13.5	9.1	6.6	
Support staff	18	2,340	2,322	414	543	5,637
%	0.3	41.5	41.2	7.3	9.6	

Note: AIAN = American Indian/Alaskan Native, Black = African American, API = Asian/Pacific Islander, HISP = Hispanic/Latino.

Source: University of Illinois at Chicago, Office of the Chancellor, Affirmative Action Programs, October 1993.

a disproportionate representation of faculty of color in the lower ranks or in adjunct, part-time, temporary, nontenure track positions.

Even among faculty of color, however, Asian American faculty constitute the highest ratio of nontenure-track faculty, at 18 percent compared with 2 percent for African Americans and 3 percent for Hispanics. Table 6 shows the headcount of all groups by rank. Tenure status provides informative data on the progress of Asian American faculty. Other studies have shown that a high percentage of Asian American faculty are in nontenure-track lines and have not attained parity with other groups. Using national EEOC data, Asian American faculty were found to have one of the lowest tenure rates of all minority groups at 41 percent (the overall tenure rate is 52 percent). Three out of 10 (31 percent) Asian American faculty members are in nontenure-track positions (Escueta and O'Brien, 1991).

The data from UIUC reflect similar trends. Asian Americans show the second lowest number of professors having tenure (35 percent), only higher than a 21 percent rate for Native American faculty (see table 7). Whites had the highest tenure rate at 55 percent. Over 5 of every 10 Asian American faculty (55 percent) are in nontenure track lines, only slightly fewer than the ratio for Native American faculty (57 percent). Overall, though the pool of Asian American faculty has expanded, they have not attained the same tenure rates as other groups. Access to promotions and top administrative positions is contingent upon getting tenure; lower tenure rates further explain the relatively fewer number of high-level administrative positions held by Asian Americans.

The commitment of an institution to diversify its faculty is reflected by the number of high-level minority administrators. Leadership at the top, supporting the hiring and promotion of minority professors, would be a key factor in changing the culture and tone of an institution.

Affirmative Action and Higher Education

Affirmative action programs, which were designed to eliminate institutional employment barriers, are now being used as a barrier to Asian American employment and student enrollment, and this activity can be observed on Chicago area campuses. Part of this discrimination stems from the model minority myth. Individuals with Asian ancestry are assumed to have achieved the American dream and to have been "assimilated" by American culture.

Affirmative action is an action-oriented effort by employers and institutions to increase minority representation. Such attempts come with the recognition of the historical barriers of racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination which have precluded equal opportunity for minorities. In a recent paper on administrators' perceptions of affirmative action

in higher education, the affirmative action officers who administer affirmative action policies and the more general group of university administrators were examined.¹⁴ The authors cited early empirical evidence that "provided ample evidence of pervasive sex and race discrimination in the hiring, retention, and promotion of women and minorities in the faculty and administrative ranks of higher education."¹⁵

The authors made two findings. First, it was found that the need for affirmative action is related to personal characteristics. This implies that if institutional changes are to be made through affirmative action programs, then more women and minorities need to be in administrative positions. Second, there is little opposition to and widespread acceptance of the need for affirmative action; however, there was a much greater disagreement about the necessity of specific hiring goals than about the more general statements of either the need for or the impact of AA/EEO programs.

With this understanding, the impediments to equal employment opportunity for Asian Americans in higher education are clearer. Many theories of organizational power suggest that the attitudes and behaviors of individual members of groups who are victims of discrimination can be explained by their lack of power within the organization rather than by traits associated with minority status. If Asian Americans are excluded from administrative positions and positions of power, then both the recognition of discrimination and the elimination of such bias in higher education is curtailed. Asian Americans are often excluded from administrative positions, and viewed immune from discriminatory practices in higher education. As a result, Asian Americans face double barriers in higher education. First they face the institutional discrimination encountered by other minorities. Second they face the perception that there is no discrimination directed at Asian Americans and are, thereby, excluded from programs to overcome discrimination.

Belief in the model minority myth does two things for white America. First, it assuages the responsibility whites in this society have for the persistence of institutional racism against other minorities. Second, and most pernicious to Asian Americans, it absolves the white majority from any obligation to examine the plight of Asian Americans in the Eurocentric society. The result is an Asian American community denied equal access to education and equal employment opportunity at institutions of higher education.

¹⁴ An Tickamyer and Susan Scollay, Janet Bokemeier, Teresa Wood, "Administrators' Perceptions of Affirmative Action in Higher Education," *Affirmative Action in Perspective*, New York: Springer-Verlag, 1989, p. 125.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

Recently in Connecticut, the statewide college affirmative action program has been expanded to include Asian Americans. Connecticut had maintained that its decision to create a program limited to black and Hispanic students and faculty members was legitimate as State population statistics showed that those two groups were the only groups not present in the State's colleges in proportion to their share of the general population. Ever since the affirmative action program was implemented in the statewide college system, African American and Hispanic enrollment and employment rates at Connecticut colleges have been below their relative shares of the State population. Asian American figures have been at or above their shares of the population.

The controversy in Connecticut is over the Minority Advancement Plan, created by the general assembly in 1986 to provide funds to colleges to recruit minority students and faculty. The law creating the program specified that the money should go for minority groups not represented at the State's colleges in proportion to their share of the State's population. But the Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education, found that the program violated Title VI because of its reliance on statewide statistics that took no account of underrepresentation among different racial/ethnic groups at particular institutions.

The equal opportunity statutes in Title VI and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are designed to complement a program of affirmative action. Affirmative action programs are designed to expand the recruitment efforts of the institution to minorities. Once this expansion of recruitment takes place and minorities are included in the applicant pool, then laws of equal opportunity rule the selection process and all candidates are to be evaluated on race-neutral criteria.

Section 703 (a), Title VII, of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 reads: It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer—

(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Section 703 (j) reads:

Nothing contained in this title shall be interpreted to require any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee subject to this title to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of the race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer . . . in comparison with the total

number or percentage of persons of such race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any community, State, section, or other area.¹⁶

The University of Illinois at Chicago has engaged in a program to exclude Asian Americans from affirmative action programs and to give non-Asian minorities preferential work conditions. UIC has established a minority recruitment pool of "\$653,000 annually in recurring salary support for minority faculty" specifically earmarked to enhance salary offers to minority candidates. Writing in a June 24, 1994, memorandum, the executive associate vice chancellor of academic affairs wrote:

The campus will match, on a dollar-for-dollar basis, up to a \$20,000 share of recurring salary money for tenured or tenure-track faculty who are African American, Latino, or Native American. . . .

Units can apply for \$10,000 per year for each of three years for funds that African-American, Latino, and Native American faculty would use to assist in their research. This money can be used for equipment, travel, supplies, research assistants, summer salary if on a nine month contract, etc. It cannot be used to augment the base salary.¹⁷

In an earlier memorandum on this same program in 1990, Asian Americans are specifically excluded as a targeted minority:

For purposes of this pool, the classification of minority will be based on ethnicity rather than gender. . . . Further, Asians will not be considered minorities; only Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans.¹⁸

The efforts by UIC and other institutions to attract minority faculty are laudable, but such efforts may have a discriminatory impact on Asian faculty candidates. If Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 precludes discrimination in employment with respect to the compensation, terms, or conditions because of an individual's race, it appears that Asian Americans, because of their race, are being excluded from additional funding by the university for salary, i.e., compensation, and equipment or remodeling, i.e., conditions and terms, because they are Asian American.

Similar racial discrimination against Asian Americans is observed in programs for students. State law in Illinois addresses the need for

¹⁶ 42 U.S.C. 2000e-3.

¹⁷ John Wanat, executive associate vice chancellor for academic affairs, University of Illinois at Chicago, memorandum, June 24, 1994.

¹⁸ James J. Stukel, executive vice chancellor and vice chancellor academic affairs, University of Illinois at Chicago, memorandum, Feb. 14, 1990.

specific efforts to increase minority student enrollment and retention in higher education institutions. Illinois Public Law, 110 ILCS 205/9.16, underrepresentation of certain groups in higher education, is designed to increase the numbers of minorities, women, and handicapped who are traditionally underrepresented in higher education programs and activities. Asian Americans are included in this provision, and no group under this statute is offered preferential compensation, terms, or conditions because of their race or ethnicity.

However, when the Illinois State scholarship program for minorities seeking careers in teaching was first signed into law by Governor Jim Edgar in 1990, the primary focus was on African Americans and Hispanics. Asian Americans were excluded from consideration under the act. Mike Belletire, an Edgar aide who helped develop the scholarship idea during the 1990 gubernatorial campaign, was quoted, "There was a general sense that there was more success in the Asian American community."¹⁹

Pressure from the Asian American community resulted in the Illinois General Assembly amending the Minority Teachers of Illinois Scholarship Aid Program in 1992 to include Asian Americans. Nancy Chen summarized this effort and similar efforts in other areas, "It is an uphill battle for legislators not to forget Asian Americans."²⁰

Other State-supported financial aid for graduate students continues to exclude Asian Americans. The Abraham Lincoln Graduate Fellowship is designed to provide support to individuals from racial and ethnic minority groups that have been traditionally underrepresented in graduate education, specifically Native American, African American, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican students. Despite one tenured Asian American within the College of Education's 25 tenured faculty, Asian Americans are not considered underrepresented. Of the six graduate fellowship programs targeting minority students cited in UIC's Graduate Bulletin, none were open to Asian American applicants.²¹ The impact of these funding programs which exclude Asian Americans will result in a distorted opportunity structure in academe, similar to what Asian nationals have faced—with disproportionate positions with lower pay and rank, lower mobility, and often in quantitative and technical, research-oriented areas.

¹⁹ Kate Warkentin, "State Fixes Flawed Minority Scholarship Bill," *Chicago Reporter*, September 1992, p. 2.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ The University of Illinois at Chicago, Graduate College Catalog, 1993-95, pp.12-15.

Summary

Barred from many minority-targeted programs, services, and funding, Asian Americans experience two types of discrimination. The first is institutional, and second reflects a benign neglect of Asian Americans, delegitimizing their status or concerns, and transforming them into a quasi-minority group. Despite the high percentages of especially, Asian American undergraduates, the quality of life and civil rights of different Asian American constituencies have not progressed. Much work including further research is needed to respond to the increasing dissatisfaction expressed by Asian American students, faculty, and staff at their common invisibility and marginality.

Confusion over what constitutes a minority reigns in institutions of higher education and in their implementation of affirmative action programs. The status of Asian American—including the attribution of “minority” status or not—should be reviewed in relation to eligibility criteria for minority students, faculty, and staff, for participation in targeted programs or funding priorities.

Recommendations

► Asian Americans should not suffer discrimination because of their race on the campuses of higher education. Affirmative action programs that provide preferential treatment to individuals because of their race and exclude Asian Americans because of their race and “success”—in the absence of a court finding of intentional discrimination—should be reexamined for their legality and fairness. Faculty and staff special recruitment and hiring programs must be evaluated for their inclusiveness and equity.

► Institutions of higher education should examine whether they are providing adequate services to the growing Asian American population on their campuses. If there is an asserted need for student services for minority groups on campuses, then a similar need exists for Asian American students, who are the largest minority group on the Chicago campuses. Colleges and universities should examine the hiring pattern of administrators and professionals in student services, counselling, and advising positions, ensuring that individuals with a knowledge and sensitivity to the Asian American student are placed in these positions. Among the student cohort, access to fellowships, special recruitment and enrichment programs, scholarships, or need based financial aid, must be examined.

► Affirmative action personnel on college campuses should include Asian Americans. The impact of affirmative action is related to personal characteristics. Restricting Asian Americans from such positions

perpetuates the institutional patterns of discrimination encountered by Asian Americans on college campuses.

►Higher education institutions should review their tenure and promotion practices to address the low tenure rates of Asian American faculty, their disproportionate numbers in nontenure-track positions, and the glaring underrepresentation among high-level administrators.

TABLE 5**University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Minority Faculty Representation**

	AIAN	White	Black	API	HISP	Total
Tenured faculty	3	1,423	28	111	23	1,588
	0.2	89.6	1.8	7.0	1.4	
Tenure-track faculty	3	357	19	42	15	436
	0.7	81.9	4.4	9.6	3.4	
Other faculty	8	800	20	184	31	1,043
	0.8	76.7	1.9	17.6	3.0	
All faculty	13	2,575	67	336	69	3,060
	0.4	84.2	2.2	11.0	2.3	

Note: AIAN = American Indian/Alaskan Native, Black = African American, API = Asian/Pacific Islander, HISP = Hispanic/Latino.

TABLE 6

Minority Faculty Representation By Rank: Headcount, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Fall 1993

<i>Tenured faculty</i>	Black	Hispanic	API	AIAN	Minority	White	Total
Professor	11	11	73	0	95	890	985
Assoc. professor	16	12	37	3	68	621	589
Asst. professor	1	0	1	0	2	1	1
Instructor	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	28	23	111	3	165	1,423	1,588
<i>Tenure-track faculty</i>							
Professor	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Assoc. professor	0	0	1	1	2	12	14
Asst. professor	19	15	41	2	77	343	420
Total	19	15	42	3	79	357	436
<i>Tenured and tenure-track faculty</i>							
Professor	11	11	73	0	95	892	987
Assoc. professor	16	12	38	4	70		
Asst. professor	20	15	42	2	79	354	422
Instructor	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	47	38	153	6	244	1,780	2,024
<i>Other faculty</i>							
Professor	1	1	3	0	5	83	88
Assoc. professor	0	0	2	1	3	16	19
Asst. professor	1	1	25	3	30	138	168
Instructor	0	0	1	0	1	18	19
Associate	5	9	22	0	36	249	285
Lecturer	4	4	4	2	14	84	98
Post doctoral	9	13	108	1	131	172	303
Scholar/specialist	0	3	19	1	23	40	63
Total	20	31	184	8	243	800	1,043
<i>All faculty</i>							
Professor	12	12	76	0	100	971	1,071
Assoc. professor	16	12	40	4	72	548	620
Asst. professor	21	16	66	5	108	492	600
Instructor	0	0	1	0	1	19	20
Associate	5	9	22	0	36	249	285
Lecturer	4	4	4	2	14	84	98
Post doctoral	9	13	108	1	131	172	303
Scholar/specialist	0	3	19	1	23	40	63
Total	67	69	336	13	485	2,575	3,060

Note: AIAN = American Indian/Alaskan Native, Black = African American, API = Asian/Pacific Islander, HISP = Hispanic/Latino.

TABLE 7**Tenure Status of Faculty by Race/Ethnicity, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Fall 1993**

Race/ethnic group	Tenure track		Nontenure track
	Tenured	Not tenured	
All	51.9	14.2	34.0
Asian Pacific Islander	32.9	12.5	54.6
Black/African American	41.8	28.4	29.9
Hispanic/Latino	33.3	21.7	44.9
White	55.3	13.9	31.0
American Indian/ Alaskan Native	21.4	21.4	57.1

III. Intergroup Relations

Intergroup Relations and the Chicago Asian American Community in the 1990s

By Clarence Wood*

Human relations in the city of Chicago, as in nearly every other large city, are most often discussed in the wake of the social failing. The term itself, human relations, carries with it the coded meaning of racial strife. The search for good human relations has, during the past 70 years, always been undertaken during the wake of racial unrest. Tensions between any of our ethnic communities and the white community brings back talk of improving human relations in a way that the tensions between the Puerto Rican and the Ukrainian community in Wicker Park of a decade ago, for example, never did.

Race and ethnic relations is an issue that continues to haunt us. The reason it haunts us is because we have failed to resolve it. The black-white issue pervades this nation's history, and its residue is still in this State, in the county of Cook, and in metropolitan Chicago today.

So there is, today, a discussion of Asian American issues as they relate to human relations within the context of the unfinished business of the civil rights agenda. We do this because the black-white issue remains unresolved. This nation has failed to integrate and include others than those that are European.

The term Asian, which becomes an all-inclusive term, includes Pakistanian, Indian, Korean, Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and a Filipino populations. I think we are dealing with a myriad of languages and cultural differences. If we are talking about a people from a continent, a people who may have had some common investment in some point, then I understand the definition. I think what we have to do in the whole field of human relations in this country is to deal from a perspective of those who are ruled *out* of the system and those who are ruled *into* the system, based on discrimination, segregation, prejudice, some forms of oppression.

When I go to the south side of Chicago to deal with racial and ethnic tension myself, I am dealing primarily with a community of people on the south side of Chicago who are probably Korean who have

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invested in that community and who have businesses, who are not understood, for the most part do not live in that part of town, and who the African American or the Latino community may, in fact, decide to act out against, based on their own sense of rage, their sense of anger, the absence of job, the absence of other kinds of alternatives. At the same time, I can go to a part of that community and find one part of that community that may be having a very different kind of experience in terms of their relationship with the community because of their skin color and their nuances in the English language which could be the Pakistanian and the east Indian community.

For us to sit here and try to integrate into a discussion the notion of a prejudice against a community of Asians which is inclusive means that we do not give the specific kinds of considerations that I think are important for us to look at when we talk about the communities and the tension related to the Korean-African American or Latino community, or in some instances the Chinese community. And if I go to Chinatown and I see the school issues between the African American community and the Chinese community on the south side of Chicago, that is a very different issue than I see in the integration of the Pakistanian or the east Indian community, or in some instances, the Filipino community.

I think what we have to do is to look specifically within each community and see the differences in those communities so that we do not lump everything in together and miss some of the most critical issues. We must talk about creating a whole pluralistic, integrative, interactive society.

If the only way to get to it is to say Asian, then hopefully what we at the same time are willing to do is to understand the differences in the community, so we get to both the general and specific. I do not know if the Asian American community agrees with that, but I know in my work with the Human Relations Commission that is what we find most difficult to deal with.

Intergroup Relations in Chicago

In terms of intergroup relations in Chicago, there are a number of problems. The first is that there are two majorities in Chicago: a white community and an African American community. Then there are the others. The African American community in Chicago has never found its way into the fuller extension of the life of Chicago. It has for some time struggled for a piece of the pie and a position of power in the city. Now it is asked to share its portion of influence with other minorities as it relates to dealing with all of the issues that they are confronted with. Confronted by the reality that the other majority still dominates

the political and the policymaking life of the city of Chicago, all of those minorities are in conflict with the white population.

In the 1940s and the 1950s this nation defined race relations as a black-white issue. This nation has not bothered to recognize the Asian community and the Latino community as players on the field of race relation issues. We were not dealing with Asian diversity when we brought up the topic of human relations. What we were dealing with was the notion of integration between blacks and whites.

This was relatively easy to deal with. It was only two communities coming together. It was a community of guilt with a community of the oppressed trying to resolve those issues. The two groups, black and white, came together in a forum to sit down and talk and resolve the issues. Now we are confronted in the 1990s, and the next century, with the issue of bringing a number of communities into this dialogue.

We have not resolved the issue of economic competition, from which racial and ethnic strife comes. The Asian community is often found in the inner city attempting to run businesses, and there they are confronted by hate crimes and other crimes. These are crimes that the Asian community inherits from perpetrators with a past experience with another group that fuels their hostility.

The former businesses in the minority community, those of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, run by the whites are no longer there. The Asian community and the Arab community oftentimes opens businesses in those communities. But the unfinished business, the unfinished hate is still there. And so there are problems related to the absence of an understanding of a culture, the absence of understanding of language, the absence of understanding of all other kinds of factors.

Added to this as it relates to the Asian community is a particular problem. The all-inclusive community that we call Asian has a myriad of experiences, cultural backgrounds, educational experiences, and religious experiences. We lump them into one definition and say go forward and free yourself. We add to this the greater problem of all the stereotypes and the past relationships between the white community and minority communities as it relates to integration and interaction. What we, therefore, create is an insurmountable, if not probably an impossible agenda.

Remedies for Intergroup Tensions

Now what are the primary concerns that have to be resolved if, in fact, we are to deal with reduction of racial and ethnic tensions in an open, pluralistic, integrated, interactive society? There are probably only two directions in which we must progress in order to get this issue resolved. Understand that the two theories that I offer are not mine, but in fact Pinderhughes' theories.

The first issue to be resolved is the issue of housing and poverty. Unless we have an open, integrated, interactive society where people come together in their housing, which means they come together in their education and in their day to day activities both in terms of jobs and other interaction, there is not likely to be a resolution of the issue of the social tensions that go on between communities.

It is not any more difficult for us to resolve the tensions related to the Asian community than it would be for us to resolve the tensions related to the African American or the Latino community if, in fact, we move to deal with the issues of housing in this country. We, as a nation, have proven that it is possible to both interact and to integrate a society, a fact demonstrated by the integration of the European community: the Slavs, the Irish, the English, the French, and all of the others. We have a model by which we might explore how that was done and use that model to assure the accomplishment of our integration of the Asian community and all other communities into our fuller life.

I do not know anything that corrects that but for people to begin to have an interactivity with each other. I think the best interactivity that affords it and the most cost effective is housing. This nation spends inordinate amounts of money on public education trying to correct our deficiencies as it relates to having brought people together in a living condition. We would not have the need for these expenditures in public education as it relates to language and cultural training diversity and all of the other programs if we had people living together everyday.

If we had people living together we would learn what we eat, how we live, how we are as a culture, our differences. Housing, therefore, represents the most cost effective way of bringing all of the groups together in an open, diverse, interactive society. People can talk about diversity, but I think that when we talk about churches and schools and other people bringing folks together in this manner as we have in the past, it is indicative of a failure on the other issues.

The City of Chicago Commission on Human Relations is very much involved in that. We have an education staff that goes into this school system for the city of Chicago, and they vary a program dealing with education diversity, hate reduction, and prejudice reduction. There are eight councils: an Asian council, a Latino council, an Arab council. There are councils for every minority or ethnic community that is politically strong enough to demand a council. Those councils come together and deal with education. There is an active involvement from Asian heritage month to every other month it can possibly have. But again, if there is no commitment to an open, interactive society, these programs will not resolve the race problems.

What we find ourselves doing is talking to ourselves. Go to Asian heritage month. There are no African Americans and Latinos at Asian heritage month activities, for the most part, learning about each other. Go to Latino heritage month and there are a few African Americans or Asians learning about Latinos. Go to black history month and there will only be African Americans present. We are a balkanized, tribalized society. The only way to get around this is to work to create open, integrative, and interactive communities.

The second issue is politics. There is no way possible for us to resolve the tensions between communities unless something is done about the integration and interactivity of our political life. This is more than the symbolic identification of a few to participate in some positions without power and without integrity. Until we completely integrate the political life of our city, our State, our county, and our nation, we will continue to have the level of tensions that we now have.

I think when you see the splitting of wards and the splitting of those kinds of communities that have the stronger coalition potential, I think when you see that it is the knowledge of political leadership that suggests that stronger coalitional definition is not in the best interest of that leadership. So one sees that division, but I think minority communities have to work around that, all of those minority communities have to find a way. This goes back to my earlier statement, minority communities have to find a way not to be lulled into the balkanization process, the tribalization process that this nation is going through. I think minority communities have to understand that we have to find a way to consolidate our approach for proper and good public and social powers that the tribalization process works to our detriment, and therefore, we have to find ways to work together.

Coalitions between minorities have two opportunities, either to agree to share symbolic success by electing a person of a cultural, racial, ethnic, religious background, and they agree to do that. I think that is a potential in a coalition. The other potential in the coalition is to place less emphasis on necessarily having a person of racial, ethnic, religious, cultural identity and more commitment to a person who is, regardless of all of that, who is going to advocate in terms of public social policy the kind of things that are in their best interest. I think that kind of coalition is possible in minority communities. I think it takes leadership, and I think that leadership was what was being offered during another period in the history of the city of Chicago.

Once there is a split in that coalition, then I think what you get is a rivalry of some kind, and I would argue in that kind of rivalry you get one of two kinds of issues; that is going along to get along, or simply merely survival in getting whatever crumbs from the pie you can get, or you recognize the importance of the political power of the

symbolic person in that coalition, the symbolic person meaning the powerful person. You accept that and hope that the system out of your allegiance to that person will give you some benefit that will accrue to your cultural, racial, ethnic, religious community.

What do I recommend, therefore, that we do? I recommend that we have an open, pluralistic, integrated society as it relates to housing and politics. I recommend that we look at the models that we have used before as it relates to creating that society of European Americans so that we include the new minorities. When do I think we should do it? I think we do it now, and I think bodies like this, bodies like those over which I presided in the city of Chicago have a responsibility to hasten the pace for this open, pluralistic, integrated activity and to hold fewer sessions of dialogue and more sessions of activity.

The Balkanization of America

We are balkanized with political sectors in this country, and I think we have to face that issue and do something about it. The notion in a balkanized society is the notion of staying separate. We have a sanctioned balkanized society. Until we have otherwise, that balkanization prevents us from coming together in the notion of brotherhood. We are in a society competing for the same piece of cake as different tribes. The cake's not getting any bigger, it is simply the political commitment, the political power of the tribes that makes the decision as to what happens.

The racial and ethnic definitions relating to integration and group interaction in the 1990s are much different from those in the 1940s and 1950s. Today we are dealing not with a legally segregated society, but a balkanized society, which is very different than segregated. A segregated society that most of us identify with, the forties and fifties are very clearly defined between black and white. These societies, as defined in the nineties and in the future, are balkanized; there are tribes of people, and even in the institutions that are integrated, there are tribes.

The Chicago Commission on Human Relations will continue to advocate as it relates to an open, integrated, interactive society where the responsibility for teaching in this nation as it relates to the experience of a nation coming together in a unit rests on the individuals, the parents, and the whole house rather than only on teachers who may in fact themselves be balkanized, and many of whom may not be prepared to deal with the issue of multieducation from a multicultural perspective.

Anti-Asian Sentiment and Anti-Asian Violence

By William Yoshino*

The Asian American community is well-acquainted with anti-Asian sentiment and acts of racial violence. The incident that raised this to a level of community and public concern was the killing of Vincent Chin in Detroit in 1982. Vincent Chin was killed with a baseball bat wielded by an autoworker following a barroom altercation in which racist slurs provoked the incident at a time when Michigan and the industrial midwest were in the throes of an economic recession. Hate crimes directed at Asian Americans are occurring throughout the Nation. It has raised our level of apprehension and concern here in Illinois.

In Coral Springs, Florida, last August, Luyen Phan Nguyen, a 19-year-old student at the University of Miami, after objecting to racial slurs directed at him in a party, got into a fight, was chased, beaten, and kicked to death by a mob of young men after being called "Chink" and "Viet Cong."¹

In October 1993, the home of an Asian American city councilman in Sacramento was firebombed. A molotov cocktail was thrown at the bedroom window igniting the curtains and mattress and scorching the exterior of the house. This incident was preceded during the prior two months with the firebombing of the Sacramento NAACP Headquarters, Sacramento Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) offices, and the Congregation B'Nai Israel.²

In July 1993, Srinivas Chirukuri, a 23 year-old graduate student at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, died from second and third degree burns over 60 percent of his body. Before he died, Chirukuri told police he had been assaulted in the lab by two men who said they didn't want any more foreign students on campus. They then poured a flammable liquid on him and set him on fire. A physician who treated him at the medical center stated that the burns were consistent with the victim's story. However, the county coroner declared his death an accident.³

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¹ JACL, Anti-Asian Hate Crime Incidents, 1990-93.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

These are the current manifestations of anti-Asian sentiment and anti-Asian violence. It has a long history in this country and it provides a context for the recent hate crime incidents that continue to occur today.

Treatment of the Chinese

Prejudice and bigotry against Asian Americans began with the arrival of the first immigrants from Asia during the California gold rush. There was often violent competition for control of the gold mines, and ultimately for control of the territory of California. A large percentage of the miners in California during the gold rush came from China. Using acts of terrorism, the white newcomers drove the Chinese out of the mining areas.

The violence and terrorism directed against the Chinese became institutionalized into legal discrimination.

Article 19 of the California State Constitution authorized cities to totally expel or restrict Chinese persons to segregated areas and prohibited the employment of Chinese persons by public agencies and corporations. Other federal, state, or local laws or court decisions at various times prohibited the Chinese from becoming citizens, or voting, testifying in court against a white person, engaging in licensed businesses and professions, attending school with whites and marrying whites. Chinese persons alone were required to pay these special taxes. A major source of revenue for many cities, counties, and the State of California came from these assessments against the Chinese.⁴

Because the Chinese were a cheap source of labor, especially with the growing railroad industry, white labor unions pushed for the removal of all Chinese from the State. California officials who supported the white laborers lobbied for Federal restrictions on Chinese immigrations saying, "The Chinese must go!" Congress responded by passing a series of Chinese exclusion acts beginning in 1882.

The Chinese population in America rapidly declined with the return of many men to China. As a result, an acute labor shortage developed in the western States and in Hawaii in the 1880s. The agricultural industry needed laborers who would do the menial work for low wages and looked to Japanese as a new source of labor to replace the Chinese.

The Japanese policy, however, prohibited agricultural laborers from leaving the country. The United States pressured Japan to relax the ban on labor emigration, and Japan allowed laborers to leave in 1885.

⁴ *The Japanese Incarceration: A Case for Redress*, June 1981.

Animosity Toward the Japanese

The American agricultural industry recruited Japanese workers to work in the sugar cane fields of Hawaii and the fruit and vegetable farms in California. The Japanese replaced the Chinese as the largest nonwhite ethnic group in the West Coast and Hawaii.

For a time following their arrival, their hard work was welcomed, but they soon were perceived as threats to the majority. Since the major labor unions denied membership to workers of Asian ancestry, the Japanese farm laborers formed independent unions, and they, together with Mexican farm laborers, conducted the first successful agricultural strike in California in 1903. Japanese farm laborers also worked through labor contracting organizations, and their leaders aggressively negotiated for higher pay. Japanese workers soon achieved wage parity with white workers, and many saved enough money to go buy or lease farmland.

The Japanese farmers reclaimed much of the unwanted land and developed it into rich agricultural areas. In California, Japanese farmers produced 50 to 90 percent of some fruits and vegetables despite operating only 4 percent of the farmlands. This economic success stirred the prevailing anti-Asian animosities, which now became focused on the Japanese. The Japanese population became subject to acts of violence, including assaults, arson, and forcible expulsion from farming areas. This bigotry soon became institutionalized into law. As with the Chinese, the Japanese were denied citizenship, prohibited from certain occupations, forced to send their children to segregated schools, and prohibited from marrying whites. In addition, some laws were specifically directed against the Japanese, including the denial of the right to own, lease, or give gifts of agricultural land.⁵

Like the Chinese exclusion movement before, California lobbied the Federal Government to stop all immigration from Japan. As a result of these pressures Japanese laborers were excluded by executive action in 1907, and all Japanese immigration for permanent residence was prohibited by the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924. The Japanese population, however, did not rapidly decrease as the Chinese population did earlier. There were sufficient numbers of Japanese women pioneers who were married resulting in an American-born generation, and families decided to make the United States their permanent home. As the exclusionists intensified their efforts to get rid of the Japanese, their campaign was enhanced through the utilization of the mass media.

The media, which includes newspapers, radio, and motion pictures, stereotyped Japanese Americans as untrustworthy and inassimilable.

⁵ *Japanese American Incarceration: A Case for Redress*, 1981.

It was of no consequence that a large number of persons of Japanese ancestry living in the United States were American citizens. As Japan became a military power through the 1930s, the media falsely depicted Japanese Americans as agents for Japan.

Forced into segregated neighborhoods, Japanese Americans were unable to counteract the false stereotypes. Even though those born in the United States were culturally American, spoke English fluently, and were well-educated, they faced almost insurmountable discrimination in employment, housing, public accommodation, and social interaction.

Then, on December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor. The attack propelled our country into World War II and precipitated the series of governmental actions which caused a constitutional failure where the rights of an entire group of Americans were denied.

In 1942, virtually the entire population of 120,000 Japanese Americans was forcibly removed from their homes on the West Coast and incarcerated in internment camps in desolate areas of our country. They suffered humiliation and ostracism and became the victims of racial hatred because of an ancestry they shared with a country with which we were at war. Tragically, Japanese Americans lost their freedom for periods of up to 4 years.

Anti-Asian Sentiment in Chicago

The Japanese American internment, a defining example of anti-Asian sentiment, was the principal reason of the settlement of this population here in Chicago. Many Japanese Americans who settled here did not experience the blatant and vicious sentiment that existed on the West Coast for decades and which continued when they returned. Nevertheless, discrimination was a part of the lives of Japanese Americans in Chicago in hiring, in housing, burials, and in other facets of their existence.

The Rev. Michael Yasutake recalls the housing segregation in Oak Lawn during the 1950s despite his serving as part of the clergy at St. Raphael's Episcopal Church. Yasutake recalls being asked to assist in finding housing for Japanese Americans and the obstacles he encountered with potential sellers who would caution him away by declaring that if a Japanese moved in the fire department would not provide service.⁶

Within the Chinese community, Ping Tom remembers when his brother returned from service in Korea in 1953 he could not get

⁶ Interview with Rev. S. Michael Yasutake, May 12, 1994.

housing in the north shore. His brother was finally able to locate housing in Deerfield after a clergyman in the area scoured the neighborhood to determine whether his moving in would present a problem.⁷

Ping Tom also notes that many of these same attitudes persist today with the expansion of Chinatown southward into Bridgeport. It is most apparent in the parks in the neighborhood where fights occur between the Chinese and the whites and where Chinese are admonished to "get out and stay out." When the Chinese community wanted to construct elderly housing in Bridgeport, opposition was raised regarding the construction of high rise housing in an area zoned for low rise structures. However valid the reason may appear, for a community with a history of unfair treatment, it causes concern that the underlying reasons are based more in anti-Asian sentiment.⁸

The acceptance of Asian Americans for burial at cemeteries was an issue upon arrival in Chicago, as it had been in other places for Asian Americans where Asian Americans had settled. Ping Tom recalls that during the early Chinese immigration to this area, cemeteries would not accept the Chinese. The Chinese finally had to buy land or purchase lots from cemeteries that would then allow a Chinese section such as Mt. Auburn cemetery in Stickney.⁹

Despite efforts by the Japanese community during the 1940s to fight this form of discrimination, cemetery owners remained adamant in their denial toward our communities as well. Thus, like the Chinese, the Japanese had to purchase lots for burials.

Hate Crimes in Illinois

According to reports filed by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, in 1989 there were four hate crime incidents directed towards Asian Americans. In 1990 there were six incidents, and from June 1991 to December 1992, there were also six hate crime incidents involving Asian Americans. Although each incident is not always described, they appear to involve individual or group threats or damage to property.¹⁰

The seemingly low number of incidents of anti-Asian sentiment and hate crimes would give the appearance that this is not an issue for concern in the Asian American community. Community leaders,

⁷ Interview with Ping Tom, May 13, 1994.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Chicago Commission on Human Relations, Annual Reports, 1989, 1990, 1991.

however, stress that underreporting accounts for the low numbers. The most vulnerable segment of the community is newcomers who lack language proficiency, are unfamiliar with the nature of hate crimes and the justice system, or who have more immediate concerns surrounding their daily existence.

- ▶ During the 50th anniversary commemorative of Pearl Harbor in 1991, the Japanese community was concerned over the possibility for elevated levels of anti-Asian sentiment. It is known that those who may be disposed to committing acts may do so around significant anniversaries. On the west coast, incidents increased. In Chicago, while there were no dramatic incidents, signs were taped to a number of lampposts in the loop declaring "the Spirit of ToJo lives . . . The economic conquest of the USA. . . . Let's remember Pearl Harbor."
- ▶ In April 1994 the Queenship of Mary Church in Glen Ellyn, Illinois, which has a Vietnamese congregation, had its doors burned, windows broken, and graffiti proclaiming, "Go home gooks."
- ▶ San O, director of the Southeast Asian Center, recalls the recent incident of a Cambodian who had parked his car along the curb and became the object of police harassment when he was repeatedly told to move his car forward and back a number of times until he was told to exit the car at which time he was handcuffed in front of his family and taken to the police station.¹¹
- ▶ Incidents of verbal abuse, while seemingly harmless and routine, can be devastating to the psyche. Jasmin Tuan, director of the Asian American Institute, reported being called a "chink" by a group of teenaged girls as she was leaving Bloomingdales. Juanita Burris, a member of the board of the Asian American Institute, has spoken of being shoved off her seat in a bus by a white woman who stated, "What are you doing here? Go back where you came from."¹²

Causes of Anti-Asian Violence and Defamation

For a decade there has been a dramatic rise in hate crimes animosity against Asian Americans, caused by a number of factors.

¹¹ Interview with San O, May 12, 1994.

¹² Interviews with Jasmin Tuan and Juanita Salvador Burris, May 11, 1994.

Population and Visibility

By percentage increase, Asian Americans are the fastest growing minority group in the United States. The current population of 7.3 million is a fivefold increase over the past three decades. As a result, Asian Americans have a much greater degree of visibility, especially in States such as California, Hawaii, New York, and Illinois.

As record numbers of Asian Americans immigrate to the United States, the population growth is accompanied by more incidents of verbal and physical abuse expressing anti-Asian sentiment.

The heightened visibility is accompanied by assumptions that Asian Americans are foreigners—not American citizens or permanent residents. This due to the failure to distinguish foreigners from foreign-born and American-born citizens. It is true that over 60 percent of Asian Americans are foreign born; however, the insidious nature of being perceived as foreign is that you somehow do not belong in this country or somehow allied to the aspirations of other nations.

Immigration and Xenophobia

The large population gains of Asian Americans as immigrants and refugees has heightened nativist suspicions and antagonism. As with the early immigration of the Chinese and the Japanese, our past is prologue. Asian Americans can be seen as threats to the economic welfare, especially in times of rising unemployment and heavy cut-backs in government social service programs. Many communities that received a large inflow of newcomers from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos were neither prepared for, nor receptive to, the cultural differences of the newcomers.

Military History in Asia

The United States has a history of military action against Asian countries, so there is a tendency to equate Asian with the enemy. Much of the direct contact Americans have had with Asians occurred during periods of military conflict. The first such contact was in 1898 against the Philippine Islands. That was followed by World War II and the war with Japan, then the Korean War, the cold war with China, and the war in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

Those who were in military combat against an Asian enemy may have hostile memories of that experience, perhaps internalizing much of the anti-Asian propaganda they were then indoctrinated with. Persons who suffered losses may harbor strong anti-Asian feelings, equating Asian Americans with the enemy forces responsible for the death of someone they knew.

An aspect of this situation appeared to be acted out in the killing of Ming Hai Loo in 1989. Loo was the victim of an assault when he

was struck in the head with a handgun causing him to fall on glass which pierced his eye causing his death. This was precipitated with slurs such as “gooks” and the death of Americans in Vietnam.

Economic Concerns

The last 15 years have witnessed the emergence of Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and other Pacific countries as strong economic forces. Japan especially has created friction over the imbalance of trade with the United States, a situation often described in terms such as a “trade war.” In the United States, this economic emergence has been seen as a threat with the sector of an America owned and controlled by Japan and other Pacific rim nations. This was especially true during the recession of the early 1990s when Japanese interests purchased Rockefeller Center, Columbia Pictures, and CBS Records. Ignored in this emotionalism surrounding these purchases was the fact that Britain invested twice as much as Japan, and Canada holds nearly a quarter of all foreign-owned real estate in the United States or that little is made of the purchase of MGM/UA when it is purchased by Australians or of A&P when it is purchased by German interests.

Media Portrayal of Asian Americans

The media and movies are a powerful force for shaping attitudes and for exposing people to situations where they have little knowledge. Even today Asian Americans are not present in the media, and when they are it is often in situations that project negative characterizations. Rather than being cast as ordinary people in ordinary situations, as friends, neighbors, or colleagues, Asian Americans, instead, are often placed in the roles of economic competitor or as enemies in our past conflicts with Asian nations. The mass media has done much to shape the view of Asian Americans as villains, servants, and sexual objects creating and reinforcing generations of racial stereotypes.

Recommendations

- When hate crimes occur they must be deplored by public and private institutions and influential leadership.
- Education to create ethnic and racial understanding is vital. Fostering an appreciation for diversity must become a major goal. The great majority of hate crimes are committed by youth. Schools have an important role to play in teaching youth an appreciation and respect for cultural differences.

- State and local agencies responsible for the collection of hate crime data under the Federal Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990 must report that data in a timely manner.
- State and local law enforcement agencies must diversify their work force through active recruitment in the Asian American community.
- Interpreters must be provided throughout the system to avoid situations where non-English-speaking individuals may suffer from the inability to communicate.
- Governmental agencies and law enforcement must work with Asian American community organizations to provide education on hate crimes and their reporting.

A Micro Analysis of Korean and African American Conflict and Its Civil Rights Implications

By Shin Kim, Ph.D.*

I. Introduction

The 1992 April 29 Los Angeles disturbance, commonly referred to as Sa E Gu in Korean American communities, changed the normative dimension of Korean and African American conflict. It was an African American expression of anger against the American system oppressive to a racial group.¹ But such an expressive act led to massive scale looting and/or burning of local businesses in African American and Hispanic neighborhoods and several adjacent areas. The immediate cause of the unrest was white and African American conflict regarding the police beating of Rodney King. But African American residents' anger over the trial verdict resulted in the destruction of a large number of Korean small businesses located in African American and Hispanic communities as well as those located in Koreatown, which mainly served the Korean American community. More than 2,000 Korean-owned businesses are estimated to have been looted and or burned. It also disrupted the daily life of local residents and deprived them of a stable supply of daily necessities and job opportunities.² A large portion of the destroyed area is likely to remain as an urban wasteland for a long time to come as the past experiences of the urban riots suggest.

For several weeks after Sa E Gu, the news media coverage focused on the Korean and African American relationship. In their coverage, the main culprit was the Korean store owners. Korean store owners' traumatic experience of losing the result of their own and their family members' hard work was hardly mentioned. It seemed rather ironic that the victim was depicted as the victimizer. Whether this incorrect coverage was intentional or not, it increased the hostility between

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¹ Institute of Alternative Journalism, 1992; Madhubuti, 1993; *New York Times*, May 15, 1992.

² *New York Times*, May 3, 1992.

these two racial groups to a level counterproductive to both. Sa E Gu was truly a tragedy.

What happened to Los Angeles can happen in any of the major American cities, since many Korean immigrants today operate small businesses in inner-city, African American communities. Thus, their businesses emerge as highly visible and vulnerable targets of local residents' hatred against the system, as demonstrated by the cases of the Family Red Apple store in New York City, unrest in the Chicago Roseland area, and another recent Chicago experience after the Chicago Bulls championship games.

As a way to cope with such volatile racial issues, it is urgent to examine the nature of the relationship between store owners and African American residents. The relationship between these two groups must be investigated with both macro and micro perspectives. In the paucity of empirical studies on this issue, this paper explores limited aspects of their relationship with a small size sample on a micro level.

II. The Structural Sources of Korean and African American Conflict

The basic source of Korean and African American conflict is the historical pattern of white and African American relationships. Throughout American history, African Americans have been exploited and victimized as slaves, farm laborers, industrial workers, or reserve work forces. For the analysis of Korean and African American conflict, the critical issue is, therefore, to understand the relationship between whites and African Americans, particularly in the period in which large numbers of African Americans moved out of the rural South and settled in many American cities. Massey and Denton (1993) observe that in 1870, 80 percent of African Americans were in the rural South, but a century later in 1970, a similar proportion of African Americans lived in urban areas. Many of them have settled in the major American cities such as New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Los Angeles, etc.

In these major American cities, African Americans have been residentially segregated by white residents. As they are residentially segregated, they have also been occupationally discriminated. African Americans' living conditions in these double handicaps have been further deteriorated by the loss of manufacturing jobs in urban areas in recent years. This deprived situation creates an extreme form of concentrated poverty in urban ghettos (Massey and Denton, 1993). The ghetto life has been, therefore, plagued with crime, drug problems, teenage pregnancy, single-parent families, and so on (Wilson, 1987). Under such life conditions, ghetto residents are naturally despairing and resent the white-dominated institutions which are to a great extent responsible for ghetto residents' current deprived life.

As urban ghettos have socially and economically degenerated, the areas have also been commercially abandoned. White store owners left ghetto areas. Big chain stores also withdrew, and even the African American middle class moved out. As immigrants without a secure economic base in the United States, Korean immigrants have filled this business vacuum. They took over numerous existing businesses and also created new businesses in the abandoned areas. Korean store owners are now sellers to their African American customers and employers to their African American customers, and employers to their African American employees. These structural positions of Korean store owners tend to create conflict in urban ghettos.

Ghetto residents are now customers and employees in their relationship with Korean store owners. Local residents also often become defenders of the economic interests of their own communities. In these capacities, local residents are reported to express their complaints about Korean businesses or store owners as follows: (1) dominance of Korean businesses in African American communities, (2) store owner's disrespectful treatment of African American customers, (3) the owners' unwillingness to hire African American workers, (4) inferior quality of goods and/or higher prices of goods at Korean stores, (5) the owners' no refund policy, and (6) the owners' little concern with the welfare of African American communities (Light and Bonacich, 1988).

Korean store owners in turn see their relationship with local residents from the perspective of their economic positions as sellers and employers. From this perspective, many owners are reported to be gravely concerned with some local resident behavior, i.e., pilfering attempts, sporadic robbery attempts, or other violent attacks against Korean store owners, unreliable performance of the African American employees, including their pilferage, and protest movements (Shin Kim, 1991; Light and Bonacich, 1988).

The above two sets of issues reveal that Korean store owners and local residents see their relationship with different perspectives and therefore are concerned with different sets of issues. As a preliminary study for a systematic understanding of the nature of the relationship between the two groups, this study will select the following four issues: (1) customers' view of Korean stores and Korean store owners' behavior, (2) local residents' pilferage as perceived by store owners and local residents, (3) African American employees' performance as perceived by store owners and local residents, and (4) store owners' perceptions of community involvement.

III. Data Analysis

With the financial support from the office of sponsored programs, Chicago State University, a small preliminary test was conducted

in the spring of 1990. A small number of Korean store owners were interviewed ($n=17$). They were selected on the basis of availability from those who managed businesses in four African American areas in Chicago: the Madison-Pulaski business area, Maxwell Street, Englewood shopping mall, and the Roseland area. For this study, small numbers of African American employees ($n=17$) and customers ($n=24$) were also interviewed. Altogether, 58 respondents were interviewed with different sets of interview schedules in January and February of 1990.

A. Characteristics of the Respondents

On the average, Korean store owners have been in the United States slightly for more than 10 years (mean=13.7 years) and managed their current business for 6 years (mean=6.1 years). Most of them completed college education in Korea before immigration (15, 88.2 percent), are currently married (15, 88.2 percent), own their own homes (14, 82.4 percent), and live in suburban areas (12, 70.6 percent). The owners operate the following lines of business: (1) clothes, (2) shoes, (3) varieties, (4) beauty supplies, and (5) others. Virtually all the owners (16, 94.1 percent) report a heavy pressure of competition in their current businesses. With such a competitive pressure, the majority of Korean store owners (9, 52.9 percent) are hard pressed and wish to have another business, possibly in other areas.

African American employees of Korean stores are found to be younger (mean=31.6 years) than the owners (mean=45.3 years). Most of the employees are single (9, 52.9 percent), though the majority of them (13, 76.5 percent) have a family to support. Social backgrounds of local customers of Korean stores are similar to those of the employees. The customers are on the average 30 years old (mean=30.7) and generally single (15, 62.5 percent). Most of the customers (19, 79.2 percent) are currently employed. On the average, these customers have been employed in their current job for 27.6 months, work for slightly more than 40 hours a week and are paid \$4.95 an hour on the average.

B. Local Residents' View of Korean Stores and Store Owners' Behavior

As good things about Korean stores in the African American communities, half of the customers (12, 50 percent) mention convenience; Korean stores are located near their homes. Some customers also indicate that they like the low price of goods (5, 25 percent), the good quality of goods (4, 16.6 percent), or the variety of goods (3, 12.5 percent) at Korean stores.

Many customers (8, 33.3 percent) report that Korean store owners are polite, nice, or courteous. Few customers (3, 12.5 percent) mention that some owners are good and other owners are bad. But the majority

of the customers (13, 54.2 percent) express negative views of Korean store owners. They bitterly complain about the owners (1) disrespectful treatment of African American customers, (2) no refund policy, and (3) constant surveillance over the customers. Some customers simply hate the presence of Korean stores and store owners in African American communities or resent price discrimination or low quality of goods at Korean stores.

C. Local Residents' Pilferage at Korean Stores

Local resident pilferage at Korean stores is tested by the following question administered to store owners, employees, and customers: "Do you think that many customers (or employees) try to take goods from this store without paying the price?" Most of the store owners (15, 88.2 percent) and African American employees (15, 88.2 percent) and two-thirds of customers (15, 62.5 percent) believe that many customers attempt shoplifting at Korean stores. At the same time, most of the store owners (14, 82.4 percent) and half of the employees (10, 58.8 percent) indicate that many African American employees also attempt pilfering at Korean stores. These findings show that there is a wide recognition that many local residents (customers and employees) attempt pilferage at Korean stores, though some customers and employees are reluctant to admit their own attempt at pilferage.

To the question of why local residents attempt shoplifting at Korean stores, most of the employees and customers answer that customers are economically motivated: "Customers want certain goods, but do not have enough money to pay for the goods" (7, 29.2 percent) or "Customers want to make money by selling those goods" (8, 33.3 percent).

The employees attribute the same economic motives to many employees who attempt pilferage. Consistent with these views, virtually all of Korean store owners (16, 94.1 percent) think that local residents and employees are generally economically motivated in their pilferage attempts. Additionally, half of the owners (9, 52.3 percent) indicate that local residents' pilferage is a way of life for some of the community residents.

Store owners are divided as to the punishment of those who get caught for pilferage. Some owners (5, 29.4 percent) believe that such attempts should be severely punished and other owners (5, 29.4 percent) support only a mild punishment. The rest of the owners (7, 41.2 percent) believe that when customers get caught for pilferage they feel ashamed, while some customers (7, 29.2 percent) think that such customers would not feel any shame.

Interestingly, many customers indicate that customers are more tempted to pilfer at Korean stores than at white stores (11, 47.8 percent) or at African American stores (9, 39.1 percent). Customers offer

the following explanations for such a temptation: (1) because some black residents hate Koreans, (2) it is easier to pilfer at Korean stores than at other stores, (3) when customers get caught many Korean store owners do not severely punish customers or let the customers go, and (4) Korean store owners are less likely to call police than other owners.

D. African American Employees of Korean Stores

All of the Korean stores but one were found to hire black workers. While half of these stores hired two African American workers, four stores hired more than one African American worker and another four stores hired three or more African American workers.

Nine Korean stores were found to hire Korean workers. Four stores hired one Korean worker and another four stores hired two Korean workers. The remaining one store hired three Korean workers. These findings show that: (1) virtually all Korean stores hire African American workers and (2) more African American workers than Korean workers are hired by Korean stores in African American communities.

A majority of African American employees (11, 64.7 percent) have been employed by their current stores for a short period of time (one year or less), but the remaining employees (6, 35.3 percent) have worked for their current stores for a relatively long period of time (two and a half years or more), showing some employment stability. On the average, they have been employed at Korean stores for 24.4 months, work for 40 hours a week (mean=39.2 hours), and are paid \$4.25 an hour. Regardless of the length of employment and amount of pay, however, most of the employees (15, 93.8 percent) would like to change their current job.

Korean store owners are not satisfied with the performance of their African American employees. Most of the owners feel that, in addition to the attempt to pilfer, African American employees are generally lazy, frequently absent without advance notice, and hardly motivated to work responsibly. In a sharp contrast, African American employees generally believe that they do a good job at Korean stores, particularly so, considering the low wage and hours of work. The employees are also generally satisfied with wage, hours of work, and the owners' treatment of the employees and customers. At the same time, they express their satisfaction with some aspects of customer service—assisting customers, working with people, or sales promotion.

E. Store Owners' Perceptions of Community Involvement

Most of the store owners (13, 76.5 percent) do not personally know any African American community leaders, nor do they (12, 70.6 percent) remember that any African American community leader ever visit their stores for community affairs. But half of the store owners (8,

47.1 percent) report that they attended some community-related meetings.

Most of the African American employees (16, 94.1 percent) and customers (20, 83.3 percent) do not believe that their community leaders are capable of mobilizing local people to affect Korean businesses in African American communities. Contrary to local residents, most of the store owners (13, 76.5 percent) think that African American communities are capable of doing so. With this view of the community leaders' ability, two-thirds of the store owners (11, 64.7 percent) express their desire to do something for the welfare of African American communities. In reality, however, only two of the store owners are found actually to be involved in community activities.

IV. Discussion and Conclusion

With the recognition of the two structural sources of Korean and African American conflict, this study has examined the micro level source of the conflict: conflict occurring in the daily contact of Korean store owners with African American customers and employees in inner-city African American neighborhoods. Thus the conflict is economic in nature and devoid of personal or cultural interactions. The Chicago data reveal that both Korean store owners and African American local residents (customers and employers) view each other with mixed attitudes.

The presence of Korean stores suggests that Korean store owners apparently see profitmaking opportunity in the Chicago south. But as part of management problems, they are found to struggle with African American customer pilfering and perceived unreliable performance of African American employees. African American customers recognize several positive aspects of Korean business in their communities: stable supply of daily necessities at a convenient location with prices set under the pressure of business competition.

Virtually all of the Korean stores are found to hire many local residents as their employees — creating jobs for local residents. Some customers enjoy relatively low price merchandise of good quality at Korean stores. However, many customers bitterly complain about the rude way they are treated at Korean stores. Many customers thus feel humiliated and express their sense of anger and indignation at Korean store owners. Some local residents resent the presence of Korean stores in their communities.

What are the civil rights implications of these findings? As demonstrated by Korean and African American conflict in Los Angeles and New York, open or violent conflict involves a gross violation of civil rights of both Korean store owners and African American residents. For Korean merchants, their physical safety is threatened, normal

business transaction is disrupted, and local businesses can be destroyed. For local residents, job opportunities are lost, supply of daily necessities slows down or stops, and this interruption disrupts their daily life. As a whole, the normal legal and moral mechanism which regulates the relationship between store owners and local residents would be broken down—creating an anomic state.

In light of the volatile reality of the urban ghetto economy, African American residents and leaders need to view the presence of Korean stores and their business activities with a realistic understanding. The Chicago data demonstrate that local residents recognize the positive role Korean stores play in their communities. In spite of this role, however, some local community leaders and residents see Korean stores with the nationalistic perspective and, thus, consider Korean store owners as outside invaders and an extension of the white mechanism of exploitation.

This position views Korean stores with a preconceived ideological commitment rather than with a realistic understanding of numerous roles that Korean businesses play in urban ghettos. This perspective stimulates inflammable action and is prone to open and violent conflict.

As already reviewed, many customers think that it is easier to pilfer at Korean stores than other stores. They often attempt to pilfer at Korean stores, but feel indignant for the way they are treated by the owners. At the same time, the owners indicate their daily experience of shoplifting. This is a typical case of statistical discrimination.

These findings suggest that Korean store owners need intensive training for these issues: how to lay out merchandise, how to monitor customers, how to recognize the potential shoplifter, and how to handle customers caught for pilferage. The owners should be trained to respect human dignity and the civil rights of customers. Both store owners and local residents seem to currently violate each other's civil rights, and an accumulation of such violations is fertile ground for open and violent conflict.

The owners' relationships with their African American employees is another issue. As data analysis shows, the two sides hold different expectations of employee performance. Owners see the employee's obligations from the point of their business need, while the employees see their performance obligation in the context of their experience with low-wage jobs. Both sides should be aware of each other's expectations of performance. The owners should be made aware that the secondary labor market breeds inferior workers and be informed of the current American labor law related to small business management. It is necessary for owners to manage African American employees in such a way

that the owners can utilize the employees effectively and also respect the human dignity and civil rights of the African American employees.

Vicious cycles found in both dimensions of the Korean-African American relationship reinforce negative stereotyping by both sides. As much as such stereotyping is condemned, given the race-specific nature of American society, such stereotyping will continue without awareness-raising training of each other's civil right to conduct one's economic life freely.

Some groups promote cultural exchanges as a method to reduce racial tension. It cannot be a sufficient one, though, and must be supplemented with this understanding of the civil rights aspect. Another issue of contention is store owner community involvement. It seems mainly used by leaders without much of a community development perspective (Lee, 1993). Community leaders must understand that community involvement must be voluntary, not coerced.

The above suggestions are concerned with the issues on the micro level. Any effort on the micro level may reduce the occurrence of an open or violent conflict between the Korean community and the African American community, but it does not deal with the basic source of the conflict: the deprived living conditions of African American residents and the concentration of Korean businesses in the impoverished areas. It is necessary for Korean stores and local residents to develop some common strategies to improve the economic positions of local residents and welfare of minority groups as a whole.

Macro is not just a summation of micros. Thus micro and macro level solutions must be carried out simultaneously and continuously. Otherwise, the conflict between Korean merchants, or any other ethnic group of merchants, and the African American community will never be solved.

Toward Understanding and Mitigating Black-Korean Conflict in Chicago

By InChul Choi, M.S.*

"No respect, no dollars" and "no exchange, no refund" are frequently shouted slogans of African American boycotters in front of Korean American stores.¹ Why are African Americans boycotting Korean American stores? How much is authentic of what the marchers complain about the merchants? What needs to be done to mitigate the so-called "black-Korean conflict"? What may be the significance of this relatively new urban phenomenon for the Korean American community in the United States? These are the questions that I try to answer in this paper.

Like all major U.S. cities, Chicago has experienced its share of black-Korean conflict in the past 4 years. Although the conflict was neither as enduring as the Red Apple incident in New York nor as dramatic as the Rodney King riots in Los Angeles, Korean American merchants in Chicago were threatened with the boycotts and their stores were damaged in the aftermath of the celebration of the Chicago Bulls NBA championship. Though there were agonizing and tormenting moments on several occasions, it seems the conflict has been relatively well contained in Chicago, partly due to the concerted mediation efforts of the Korean American community and sheer luck, namely, the lack of fortuitous events such as the death of Latasha Harlins in Los Angeles.

I

In the past 4 years, there have been three boycotts being staged in Korean American shopping strips in Chicago. The first one erupted in Roseland on the far south side of the city on June 30, 1990, and continued for almost 2 weeks till July 11.² The second boycott was

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¹ The terms African American and Korean American are used in this paper instead of blacks and Koreans. Although the former still sound like a political rhetoric they connote that blacks and Koreans are meaningful constituents of American society, not second-class citizens nor mere sojourners.

² Yoon Mo Lee, "Perception and Reality of the Relationship Between Korean Merchants and African-American Customers," in Ho-Youn Kwon (ed.) *Korean Americans: Conflict and Harmony*, Chicago: North Park College and Theological Seminary, 1994, pp. 191-207.

staged on August 3, 1991, and several subsequent Saturdays and the third, on December 18, 1993, both of which happened in Englewood and lasted just 2-3 hours. In all three boycotts, the demand of the marchers included such standard repertoire as respectful treatment of customers, employment opportunities, a fair refund and return policy, community contributions, banking in African American banks, etc.

The first Roseland boycott, organized by a local alderman, ended in a peaceful manner when all of 42 Korean American store owners paid membership dues in total of \$6,300, or \$150 per store, to the Roseland Business Development Council (RBDC), a local economic development organization, which had close ties with the alderman. It was later found out that collecting the fees for RBDC was the ulterior motive of the boycott leaders. The two Englewood boycotts were respectively organized by the Majestic Eagles, a national organization to support small and minority businesses, which had a chapter in Chicago, and the 21st Century V.O.T.E. (Voices of Total Empowerment), a political group which is alleged to have links with a local gang organization called the Gangster Disciples (GD). In the Majestic Eagles boycott, only 20-some people marched, including high school students. In retrospect, the boycott organizers had a doublefold aim to promote an African American-operated minimall, which they had just then opened in the middle of a Korean American shopping strip, and to support an ousted alderman, who fell into the status of "paper tiger," but was trying desperately to regain his fading base in the community. Despite their apparent protest against Korean American business practices, the 21st Century V.O.T.E. leaders had two ulterior motives, as well. They were cruising to test their mobilizing capacity in order to showcase their support for two local candidates running for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives and Illinois State House of Representatives in the primary election on March 15, 1994, and to market their own merchandise in Korean American stores. Their alleged link to a gang organization, however, has raised a question of legitimacy in the eyes of Korean American merchants, mainstream media, city officials, and other African American community leaders.

Why were these boycotts relatively contained in Chicago? The containment does not mean at all that the degree of African American discontent is negligible, the merchants are particularly "nicer," or socioeconomic indicators in urban ghettos are more promising. There are, however, several factors that have led to the boycott containment, some specific to Chicago and some general to the overall national situation.

First, leadership with vision and selfless commitment for the common good is a rare quality that can make the followers have something equivalent to a "conversion" experience as illustrated in the

charismatic leadership of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.³ The boycott organizers in Chicago, however, showed such "petty" leadership that they desired to capitalize African American discontent with Korean American merchants in order to enhance their own ends, namely, to make their own private economic gains or to promote their political ambition by using the merchants as scapegoats. They did not seem to care to change the situation, i.e., to improve relations between the two groups, as long as their own self-interests were fulfilled. Leadership with contaminated motives, dictated by overt or covert selfish agenda, cannot create a volcanic power in any organized activities.

Second, the dichotomy of good guys-bad guys is hard to draw in black-Korean conflict. A target group must be portrayed as bad guys in order to intensify the magnitude of mobilization. It is not difficult to rebuke white supremacists, the Ku Klux Klan, or Jim Crow legislation as immoral. Initially, Korean Americans may naturally be sympathetic to the merchants and African Americans, antipathetic to the merchants, but a thorough observation leads many concerned citizens of both communities to a conclusion that the merchants and consumers are equally understandable in their agonies and complaints. Problems of a tree are magnified by media, at the cost of losing the bigger picture of the forest. Blocking eyes with hands, however, will not erase the scenery of the forest in urban America, which is indeed bleak, blighted, and broken.

Third, there was no concrete sparkling incident in Chicago that ignited lengthy and potent boycotts such as the Church Avenue incident in New York or the Soon Ja Du incident in Los Angeles. Had there been a Haitian woman or a Latasha Harlins, a concrete singled-out "victim" of the black-Korean conflict, the situation would have been different.

Fourth, a well-funded and a skillfully orchestrated program with the merchants, community leaders, organizers, on the one hand, and African American city officials and community leaders, on the other, has contributed to ease the tension and contain the boycott. The Korean American Community Services in Chicago received a 3-year grant in the amount of \$230,000 from the United Way of Chicago in July 1991 to launch the Community Mediation Project (CMP) to improve African-Korean American relations. This grant allowed KACS to hire two full-time community mediators, one Korean American and one African American, who assisted the merchants to establish amicable links with community organizations in the area where they

³ Cornell West, "The Crisis of Black Leadership," *Race Matters*, 1993, Boston: Beacon Press.

trade. The mediators also endeavored to expose the residents to Korean culture and to publicize the merchants' contribution to the community. Hand in hand with the Korean American Merchants Association of Chicago (KAMAC), an affiliate of KACS, which has its office at KACS headquarters, a rigorous programming has been carried out in the past 4 years to alleviate the tension. It is much more efficient and effective to establish a durable and systemic apparatus in the Korean American organizational setting than the African American counterpart, because the conflict is much more urgent and threatening to Korean Americans than African Americans, to whom it may be merely one of many issues, perhaps toward the very bottom of their agenda. The apparatus, however, cannot succeed, if it does not coordinate with the African American community both extensively and intensively.

II

Despite the containment of boycotts and a concerted mediation program, Korean American merchants in Chicago experienced their share of looting and destruction when the Chicago Bulls won the National Basketball Association (NBA) championship in June of 1991 and 1992. When the Bulls won the first championship, seven Korean American stores were looted, resulting in total financial damage of about \$500,000. This unexpected happening led the Korean American community to extensively lobby for police protection when the likelihood of the Bulls' repeating the championship increased in the spring of 1992. The Los Angeles riots on April 29, 1992, alarmed the community in Chicago, which then escalated its efforts to lobby the Chicago Police Department, the City Commission on Human Relations, Governor Jim Edgar's office, Cook County State's attorney's office, and Illinois State Police. Although an additional 1,300 policemen were deployed during the final game of the Bulls championship game on June 14, 1992, 45 Korean stores were still set fire and looted, resulting in financial damage of roughly \$5 million.⁴ Of the additional officers dispatched throughout the city on the night of the disturbance, 700 were sent to the north side area to protect white neighborhoods and businesses, 300 were positioned around the Bulls stadium, and 300 were scattered on the south and west sides, predominantly African American neighborhoods where many of Korean and Arab American businesses were located.⁵ Past midnight, the police were transferred from the north to south side, but most of the damage then had been

⁴ Most of the damaged merchants managed to reopen their shops or relocate their businesses to "safer" middle-class African American neighborhoods.

⁵ Private telephone conversation with deputy chief of patrol on the night of June 14, 1992. A 3-day, 24-hour hotline was operating at KACS headquarters.

done. This situation appears to be an analog of the Los Angeles riots when the preferential police protection was given to the Beverly Hills area, while South Central and Koreatown were largely ignored.

The 1992 Bulls riots, however, were not a Korean American-targeted incident as illustrated by the damage data collected by the Korean American Community Services (table 1) and Chicago Police Department (table 2). Whereas 61 African American and 116 Arab American stores were affected, only 43 Korean American stores were damaged (table 1). The police preliminary report (table 2) differs from the KACS figures (table 1), but illustrates the point that the riots were not racially motivated. Only 16 percent of the total damaged stores were Asian American owned, while 43 percent were both Arab and African American owned.

When the Bulls won the third NBA championship on June 20, 1993, the Chicago Police Department deployed 2,500 additional officers on the streets, spending \$1.5 million per game in extra police budget. Intensive community lobbying paid off and resulted in five minor incidents of window breakage with the total damage of less than \$1,000. According to the police report, while roughly 200 stores were damaged citywide, including 33 Arab American and 37 African American stores, there was only 1 incident of Korean American damage (table 3). The five Korean American merchants affected by minor incidents, who reported the damage to the Korean American merchants hotline, perhaps did not even bother to file a report with police or they were categorized as Asians in the CPD summary report.

TABLE 1

1992 Damage in the Aftermath of the Chicago Bulls Championship, Private Assessments

	African American	Arab American	Korean American	Total
No. of stores damaged	61	116	43 ^a	220
Estimated amount of damage	2,950,440	6,578,900	4,929,210 ^b	14,458,550

^a Two more affected stores were reported after we compiled the damage report and submitted a copy to the city of Chicago. So the actual figure must be changed to 45.

^b A five-story department store was totally destroyed by arson. The estimated damage of that store was \$3 million.

Source: Korean American Community Services in collaboration with African and Arab American merchants organizations.

TABLE 2**1992 Damage in the Aftermath of the Chicago Bulls Championship, Police Assessments**

Ethnicity	Stores damaged	Percent
Arab	89	26.33
Asian	55	16.27
Black	56	16.57
White	33	9.76
Hispanic	4	1.18
Unknown	97	28.70
Other	4	1.18
Total	338	99.99

Source: Chicago Police Department Preliminary Report, June 26, 1992.

TABLE 3**1993 Damage Estimates in Aftermath of Chicago Bulls Championship**

Ethnicity	Stores damaged	Percent
Asian	7	3.55
Korean	1	0.51
Arab	33	16.75
Black	37	18.78
Hispanic	7	3.55
White	7	3.55
Indian	1	0.51
Jewish	2	1.02
Unknown	102	51.78
Total	197	100.00

Source: Summary Report of the Superintendent of Police, from Commander Anthony Chiesa, July 12, 1993.

Immediately following the final game, there was a sense of relief and widespread jubilant mood in the entire Korean American community in Chicago (the damage to the other stores was known to us 3 weeks later). The 1993 Bulls experience illustrates how much the concerted grassroots effort can influence policymakers with their decisionmaking process, thus to benefit the community.

III

In order for programming to reduce black-Korean tension to be viable, if not successful, it is indispensable to have a core group, or shall I say, an inner circle, consisting of committed merchant leaders, full-time staffers, which must include African Americans, and respected community activists who can strategize and theorize. It is also essential to secure program funds and to generate moral and financial support from the community.⁶

The merchants have direct interest in easing the tension, thus making their commercial activities more profitable and safer. The merchants are not, however, genuinely interested in building durable links with African Americans, say, to enhance societal equity in pluralistic America. Despite this limitation of the merchants, they constitute the pivotal part of the Community Mediation Project in mobilizing their own membership and human and monetary resources within the Korean American community at large.

It is, however, dangerous for the merchants alone to mediate the conflict, for conflict resolution involves political, social, cultural, religious, and other extra-mercantile dimensions. To develop and manage a public grant would require a seasoned nonprofit agency administrator. To implement numerous programs such as religious, musical, cultural, youth, journalistic, athletic exchanges, it is necessary for community organizers to orchestrate the input of community leaders, clergymen, artists, athletes, and concerned journalists. Moreover, most of the merchants, who have not mastered the English tongue, have no choice but to take recourse in articulate community strategists who can link them to elected and appointed city and State officials and African American leadership.

In order to accomplish a mission, be it commercial, governmental, or religious, it is essential to win the support of a core group of endogenous people who can better communicate with their peers on behalf of the actors who are initiating the mission. To outreach a racial/ethnic minority community, the government is likely to employ a

⁶ The merchants have increasingly raised more money than previous years from their fellow members and the Korean American community at large. In 1990 they raised \$24,000; in 1991, \$31,000; and in 1992, \$52,000.

person from that community to be its liaison. To propagate the Christian gospel and expand the mission, a core cadre of natives must be converted first. Likewise, African American staff in a Korean American agency can immensely contribute to ease the conflict. He can balance or objectify the situation, smooth and establish relations with African American officials, community leaders, and journalists, and organize superbly his component of exchange programs. He may be perceived of as a "sell-out" by his peers, regardless of his noble intention, but as programs bring in more interaction with his peers and the merchants, as his clients begin to increase their participation in African American community affairs, his balanced position would be appreciated by the both sides. As Korean American colleagues develop extensive networks and meaningful friendships with African Americans, their authenticity will also be known and respected. Finally, events such as food baskets, scholarships, and choral concerts cannot be implemented unless financial and moral support is rendered by the Korean American community at large. The efforts to mobilize these resources cannot be successful unless there is present a systemic, durable, and centralized apparatus.

Numerous exchange programs can create effervescence in the audience, thus to generate or renew commitment to interracial harmony. For example, when several hundreds of African-Korean Americans sing Hallelujah together, a feeling of brotherhood can resonate in the auditorium. It is questionable how long this feeling will be sustained by the merchants in the stores, but periodic and ritualistic cleansing may help them look into themselves for possible troublesome spots in their attitudes. By exposing the community at large to a different culture, we are also helping the people of both communities, not only to conceptualize diversity but also to experience and appreciate it.

IV

It is estimated that there are roughly 700 Korean American stores on the south and west sides of Chicago, where African Americans and some Latino Americans are mostly segregated. A majority of these stores are in men, women, and children's clothing, with the remaining being shoe, sportswear, jewelry, cosmetics, and general merchandise stores. Of these stores, there are no groceries or liquor stores.

Poverty and unemployment rates of citywide African Americans in 1989 were 33.2 percent and 19.4 percent, respectively. More depressingly, youth unemployment rate for 16-19-year-old African Americans

was 45.8 percent in Chicago.⁷ According to the 1990 U.S. census data, some communities such as Grand Boulevard, which currently has 20 Korean American stores, had 64.7 percent of its residents below the poverty line; Near West Side with 32 stores, 54.5 percent; and East Garfield Park with 40 stores, 48.1 percent.⁸

Aggravated by male incarceration, female-headed households, drugs, gang violence, high school dropouts, and teen pregnancy, the entire community is disarticulated, losing social control, i.e., the ability to regulate themselves.⁹ As middle-class African Americans, equipped with educational credentials and benefiting from affirmative action, climb the social echelon and leave the inner city, urban ghettos are left with the underclass, the truly disadvantaged.¹⁰ Korean American merchants are not dealing with African Americans in a generic sense, but the urban poor of African American descent. Eclipse of hope, overwhelming sense of powerlessness, perpetuating culture of poverty, and frustration and aggression, which must find an outlet to remain sane, are some of the colors that help depict the area where the merchants are doing businesses.

Neither white nor black middle class will venture into the ghetto area to start a business. In fact, most of the major department stores fled the inner city in the 1970s, and Korean American businesses re-invested in the blighted area and filled in the gap. On the other hand, many of the African American underclass are not yet quite ready to start a store. As society becomes postindustrial, therefore losing a significant number of manufacturing jobs, it has had a detrimental effect on more and more people in the inner-city area, and for Korean American immigrants, they have no choice but to start a small business. If their capital is less, they go south; if it is more, they start a dry cleaner on the north side.

Black-Korean conflict is, then, a pathological dramatization of an American dilemma. No doubt interminority relations between the two communities need to be improved, but a greater focus must be given to a depressing macro-societal picture. Decontextualization has its merits for students of humanities to interpreting sacred texts, but for students of social sciences, any social phenomenon must be seen in its

⁷ Chicago Urban League, Latino Institute, Northern Illinois University interim report, "The Changing Economic Standing of Minorities in the Chicago Metropolitan Area," 1992.

⁸ *The Chicago Reporter*, July 1992, p. A-9.

⁹ Morris Janowitz, *The Last Half Century: Societal Change and Politics in America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978, *passim*.

¹⁰ William J. Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

TABLE 4
Korean Merchant Crime Victims

Date	Victim	Nature of crime	Business type	Community
01-31-90	Tae Ho Kim	Death	Beauty supply	Austin
02-07-90	Kyung Min Pang	Death	Gen. mrchdse.	Garfield Pk.
06-29-90	Terrance Suh	Serious injury	Gen. mrchdse.	Garfield Pk.
12-18-90	Keith Jhang	Serious injury	Apparel	Garfield Pk.
03-28-91	Kyung Ho Lee	Death	Laundry	Chicago Lawn
11-03-92	Keun Ho Yi	Minor injury	Gen. mrchdse.	Humboldt Pk.
03-27-93	Young Ok Kim	Death	Wig	Beverly
04-03-93	Hak Jin Jeon	Serious injury	Shoes	Rogers Park
04-03-93	Kun Hwan Oh	Serious injury	Shoes	Rogers Park

Source: Korean American Community Service.

context as comprehensive as possible. To decontextualize and assert the current dysfunctional relation as black-Korean conflict is partial, incomplete, and half-truths. Half-truths can have more malignant ramifications than outright lies.

V

Business safety is perhaps the most acute concern of Korean American merchants in African American neighborhoods. The merchants often make a joke among themselves that their lives are at stake for their livelihood. Homicide, life-threatening incidents of armed robbery, and burglary happen from time to time, and countless shoplifting is experienced by the merchants on a daily basis. In the past 4 years, the Korean American Community Services has filed with the Illinois attorney general's office four cases of homicide and five cases of personal injury of the merchants in African American neighborhoods, thus to enable the victims or their families to receive monetary compensation of up to \$25,000 (table 4). Four homicide cases of the merchants are the Korean American community total in Chicago, but injury cases may be partial since only some of them have sought assistance with KACS.

In the past 3 years, congenial working relations with the police department have dramatically contributed to enhance business safety. The CMP staff gathered business safety data from the merchants to present at workshops in 1991 and 1992 with the Chicago Police Department. Since the workshops aimed to bring about strengthened police protection, the merchants, either consciously or unconsciously,

TABLE 5
Korean Merchant Safety Survey

	October 1991^a	October 1992^b
Number of stores responding	180	162
Type of crime		
Robbery	20	11
Attempted robbery	82	13
Burglary	170	59
Attempted burglary	151	115
Group robbery	9	22
Shoplifting	N/A	799
Holdup	12	13
Reporting crime to police	109 (61%)	137 (85%)
Testify in court (of those who file reports)	71 (65%)	73 (53%)
Financial loss	\$141,310^c	\$461,940

^a The 1991 figures cover up to late October. A questionnaire was prepared by the CMP and given to area presidents of the merchants, who then distributed and gathered the forms from individual merchants. The findings were presented on Nov. 7, 1991.

^b The 1992 figures cover up to early October. The method of collecting the data was the same as the previous year. These data were presented on Oct. 14, 1992.

^c This figure does not include loss from shoplifting.

Source: Korean American Community Service.

might have exaggerated their experience of crime. Assuming that this propensity for exaggeration is the same for these 2 years, the data show the improved situation (table 5). Robbery and attempted robbery dropped from 102 cases (0.57 per store) to 24 cases (0.15 per store). Burglary and attempted burglary dropped from 321 cases in 1991 (1.78 per store) to 174 cases in 1992 (1.07 per store). Raising sensitivity on business safety by KAMAC and KACS might have encouraged the merchants to report crime to police, an increase from 61 percent to 85 percent, and yet only 65 percent and 53 percent of those who filed police reports went to court to testify. The merchants explain that their testimony may contribute to deter crime, but they find it very inconvenient and costly to close the store for several hours in order to testify at court. In 1992, 162 merchants reported 799 cases of shoplifting, roughly 5 incidents per store per year. If a shoplifter is caught on average once every 2–3 months, this seems to imply that the merchants are perhaps exaggerating the problem of shoplifting. Or they might have

become, by now, experts in guarding their merchandise and screening potential shoplifters.

Whatever the numbers may indicate, the issues related to shoplifting deteriorate relations between the merchants and customers. Rude treatment by the merchants, including suspicious looks and following after customers, indeed upset innocent shoppers. Their resentment is quite authentic and understandable; however, occasional life-threatening situations and merchandise loss are encountered by the merchants on a daily basis. In this routinized "at-risk" setting, the merchants, if they are humans, are prone to be programmed to doubt their customers than to trust them. Do not we humans tend to generalize or theorize with just one or two examples? When this generalization is done in a negative way, it is called stereotyping.

However inaccurate and unfortunate, stealing has been deeply embedded as a stereotype of African Americans in the collective conscious of Korean American merchants. The merchants are not saints who can close their eyes and let stealing be done. How to deprogram this automated propensity to be suspicious of their customers would require not only painstaking self-cultivation and a possible recourse to religion on the part of the merchants, but also drastic behavioral change on the part of African American customers. As three merchants in their 1992 survey confess:

In my opinion, two out of ten blacks are very innocent and affectionate. The rest eight are obsessed with inferiority both economically and socially or with groundless superiority. It seems they feel that they are entitled to certain compensation, despite their behavior's inflicting harmful effects on others.

Those with jobs and family, and who live a normal life, even if they are asked to steal, they would never do it. For troublemakers, however, even if jobs are given to them, it is just for short time and they would repeat troubles. . . . In my experience, they seem to feel that "why should I work? I can feed myself without working."

Their lifestyle is problematic. But I think our attitude also has to change. It must be on top priority on the part of the merchants that with genuine human concerns, we have to yield and make compromises.¹¹

The vicious cycle of stealing and suspicion, which then reinforces "disgusted" feelings for innocent shoppers, in short, this racial merchant-consumer dispute, is one of the major elements in understanding the black-Korean conflict. Be they merchants or customers, be they Korean Americans or African Americans, people get angry over little things. A small store is not a classroom where students discourse on ideology, the civil rights movement, or multiracial coalition, but a

¹¹ Korean American Community Services, Community Mediation Project, 1992 survey.

place where these little things happen often everyday and make people angry instantly.

VI

The boycott leaders complain that Korean Americans do not hire African Americans. What is the rationale of this complaint? Are Korean American merchants obligated to create job opportunities for African Americans since they make money in their neighborhoods? Is providing jobs one of meaningful ways to contribute to the community where they trade? To read between the lines of this demand on employment, we may easily deduce the scarcity of jobs in African American neighborhoods. Be there plenty of jobs in neighborhoods, say, in industrial plants, people would never make such a demand on the merchants who can provide only a handful of jobs.

In the early 1970s when Korean Americans went to African American neighborhoods to open their shops, they all started as mom and pop operations. They could establish themselves precisely by working 70-80 hours a week and by sharing labor only among man and his wife, and in some cases, with their relatives. As business operations became large enough to afford to hire other nonfamily members, and as the merchants increasingly saw the necessity of hiring local people for better customer relations, some employment opportunities began to be created for African Americans.

To respond to the demand on African American employment, we have surveyed the merchants on several occasions. Our findings consistently indicate that over 75 percent of Korean American stores hire African Americans, and they have many more African American employees than Korean American employees; in the May 1992 survey, for example, 80 percent of all employees were African Americans. The average number of African American employees, however, does not exceed 2.07 per store, indicating the very small-size operation of these Korean American stores.

In October 1992, we also asked the merchants whether or not they were hiring African Americans as managers. Twenty-seven of 162 respondents (17 percent) answered affirmatively, while 107 merchants responded negatively, and 28 did not reply. One may further research what caused the merchants to hire African Americans as managers and whether or not this hiring of managers is positively correlated to the length of business experience in African American neighborhoods.

Although it is insufficient to conclude with the information above, table 6 seems to imply that the number of Korean American stores in the inner city is decreasing and that business has been slow in the past 2 years as the average number of African American employees has decreased to 1.4 person per store by October 1992. In fact, many

TABLE 6**African American Employment at Korean American Stores**

	July 1990		May 1992	Oct. 1992
Total no. of stores	238	176	162	
Hiring African Americans				
Yes	189	(79%)	N/A	121 (75%)
No	46	(19%)	N/A	28 (17%)
Unknown	3	(1%)	N/A	13 (8%)
Total employees				
	N/A		483	N/A
African American employees	459		364 (80%)	227
Average AA employees				
per store	1.93		2.07	1.40
Korean American employees	N/A		119 (20%)	N/A
Stores hiring African Americans as managers				
Yes	N/A		N/A	27 (17%)
No	N/A		N/A	107 (66%)
No response	N/A		N/A	28 (17%)

Source: Chicago Commission on Human Relations, Advisory Council on Asian American Affairs, 1990 data. Korean American Community Service, 1992 data.

merchants have closed their shops and left the area. Four years ago, the merchant leaders estimated 1,200 stores in the inner city, but they have recently decreased the figure to 700 stores.¹²

The Englewood shopping strip currently has 55 Korean American stores, the highest number of Korean American stores clustered among all commercial districts on the south and west sides of Chicago. The area is also considered the most profitable by the merchants. In order to respond to the demand of the 21st century V.O.T.E. on employment opportunity, we gathered the data in late December in 1993 (table 7), which again approximated the earlier figures (table 6). Three out of four employees were African Americans, that is, 72 percent in May 1992 and 77 percent in December 1993, and the merchants were hiring over four African Americans per store, adumbrating relatively larger

¹² Interview with Chang Kun Kim and Sung Bae Kim, chairman and president of the Korean American Merchants Association of Chicago.

TABLE 7
Englewood Shopping Strip and Employment

	May 1992	December 1993
Total number of stores	52	41
No. of stores hiring African Americans	N/A	41
Total employees	217	167
No. of African Amer. employees	157 (72%)	129 (77%)
No. of Korean Amer. employees	60 (28%)	38 (23%)
Average no. of employees per store	4.17	4.07
Average no. of African Amer. employees per store	3.02	3.15

Source: Korean American Community Service.

size business operations than other areas.

VII

Refund and exchange policy also emerges as one of the major issues in black-Korean conflict. Do Korean American merchants refuse to give refunds and exchanges because they were enculturated with common mercantile practice in Korea that every sale is final? Are they then failing to adapt to the American way of doing businesses? This consumer side of the argument may contain a grain of truth. A typical merchant argument goes, "They just buy and wear an evening dress for party, then next day bring it in for a refund" or "they buy a shirt, get broke for money a couple of days later, tear off the shirt, then ask for a refund for the damaged good." This may also contain a grain of truth. Complaints of both the consumers and merchants are equally making points, but are all partial. Statistics may be collected to see whether or not there are more claims of refunds and returns in the inner-city area than better-off neighborhoods. We may also investigate a hypothesis that the longer the merchant has been in the inner city, the less dispute over refunds and returns he would encounter.

To address this issue of refunds and returns, the city of Chicago passed a city ordinance on November 16, 1992, requiring every store to post a policy at the cash register or other conspicuous location and

TABLE 8**Refund and Exchange Policies of Korean Merchants**

	July 1990	October 1992
Total no. of stores	238	162
Is the return policy posted at visible place?		
Yes	134 (56%)	142 (88%)
No	30 (13%)	6 (4%)
No cash refunds	N/A	53 (33%)
No exchanges	N/A	3 (2%)
Refunds with receipts	N/A	66 (39%)
Exchanges with receipts	N/A	136 (84%)
Unknown	N/A	

Source: Korean American Community Service.

to give out a receipt with the store name and address on it.¹³ Even prior to this ordinance, however, a majority of the merchants, 88 percent of the merchants in October 1992 and 56 percent in July 1990, had already been complying with this policy (table 8). And as of October 1992, 84 percent of the merchants were implementing exchanges with receipts, 39 percent, refunds with receipts. Since the ordinance, rigorous campaign and policy poster distributions by KACS Community Mediation Project and KAMAC, as well as citation for violation by the department of consumer services, increased the compliance rate to almost 100 percent. Should a reasonable policy be implemented by the merchants, responsible shopping should be equally encouraged for African Americans.

VIII

What may be the significance of black-Korean conflict? Is no one blamable or everyone blamable? What lessons should be learned from this conflict, which is not finished but still goes on? Has not this conflict been portrayed exclusively as a microscopic malfunctioning? Why are people, especially policymakers and opinion leaders, refusing to survey the macroscopic urban terrain in present America? Pain is

¹³ City of Chicago, Rules and Regulations Applicable to Merchandise Retailers Other than Establishments with Certified Alternative Price Systems, effective Nov. 16, 1992.

painful and pleasure, pleasant, but however tormenting and agonizing, should not societal ills be encountered directly with courage?

The conflict has enlightened the Korean American community to see life beyond ethnic confinement, as the frog comes out of the well to plunge into the ocean.¹⁴ To socialize within the ethnic boundary is perhaps natural and comforting. To participate in building a multiracial coalition and to invite non-Korean Americans to appreciate and accommodate into Korean values, as much as Korean Americans acculturate into the American way of living, ethnic confinement must be cheerfully destroyed at least in the realm of *gessellschaft*, although it may be impossible in that of *gemeinschaft*. However fragile, Korean Americans are now building an interracial bridge with African Americans. The merchants have supported generously the candidacies of African American office seekers. Although political participation is done for their interests, this, in consequence, helps build a coalition with non-Korean Americans. Moreover, white and Latino communities need to partake future exchange programs between African-Korean American communities both as participants and audience, especially, given that the white community is not only residentially but also culturally too segregated from the underclass. This type of multiracial programming and exchanges would be an effort to correct the misperception that black-Korean conflict is a biracial phenomenon, and to narrow the widening sociocultural distance between black and white people.¹⁵

The L.A. riots and Bulls riots in Chicago, and the merchants' conscious and subconscious, day and night, desire to retreat from the ghetto area, have made the community as a whole explore the possibility of diversifying businesses. The merchants are increasingly talking these days about starting a franchise or developing a shopping strip in white neighborhoods. A business development center, which is often visualized and can materialize soon, can help this community agenda on diversification of businesses.

For African Americans, the memories of the civil rights movement are fading. Malcolm X is mythologized at the cost of losing a grip on painful reality. Passion, responsibility, and a sense of proportion, required of political leaders, are hard to find in present African American leadership.¹⁶ The boycott leaders, driven only by their self-interests, are far off from the ideal type of leadership. Selflessness is

¹⁴ Chinese philosopher Zhuangzi metaphor.

¹⁵ For a related discussion, see Kwang Chung Kim and Shin Kim, "The Multi-Race/Ethnic Nature of Los Angeles Unrest in 1992."

¹⁶ Max Weber, "Politics as Vocation," from *Max Weber*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

not a virtue to be cultivated in a monastery, but it is an imminent value attainable in a mundane setting. To encourage Korean Americans to share in the glorious moments of the 1960s and to enlighten them that they are direct beneficiaries of the civil rights' era, African Americans must be twice-born themselves.

The data presented in this paper were gathered with the aim to defend the merchants from African American demands. The merchants might have inflated figures or lied for their advantage. Neither CMP staff nor I verified these data in person through interviews. Although the validity of methodology may be questioned, they seem to reflect the reality fairly well and serve to refute the misperception of African Americans on the merchants. But hiring African Americans, implementing a refund and return policy, and daily encounters with violence do not necessarily make the merchants innocent. Even though economic structure may have dictated Korean American immigrants to go to the inner city, after all, it was their decision for which they should share responsibility. However the structure shapes one's behavior, are we not capable of declaring that "I as man am not 100 percent a product of the environment, therefore I can change my attitude, in spite of all obstacles?" As one merchant testifies:

Honestly speaking, we have looked down upon blacks, and this has not changed at all. Of course, a bigger problem lies with blacks than with the merchants, but in the long run our attitude must change. Making little money makes some merchants restless and arrogant in front of blacks, and they break morals and ethics among the merchants. We must also think over how we treat each one of our customers and how we treat each one of our employees, too. Being a merchant in the inner city is perhaps a precious ontological opportunity to practice broad-heartedness. I am pessimistic about this possibility, but should not a dream be dreamed? Likewise, African Americans must stop blaming the others while they remain the same. Structural evils must be criticized and changed in collaboration with other Americans, including Korean Americans; however, unless behavioral changes on the part of African Americans accompany the societal consensus to change the structure, the energy simply will not generate, as two wheels are required to rotate an axle. The easiest, individual behavioral change, can always be done first in undertaking a grand task.

To portray black-Korean conflict as black-Korean conflict does not make it a black-Korean conflict. In the past few years, however, the mainstream media have excessively depicted the interracial dimension of the conflict either consciously or unconsciously. As words like poverty and violence have degenerated into cliché, becoming too much of dull statistics and losing spiciness, the media, which by their intrinsic nature must pursue new items, found their niche in the conflict.

It was wholly a novelty to journalists, so they covered the conflict ardently, but too textually. If the conflict is contextualized, the white majority, especially their decisionmakers, are pretty much the participants of this urban phenomenon, however invisible they are. They can be most effective in revitalizing urban America and creating job opportunities. The merchants are troubled with African Americans for at most several hundred jobs that they can offer in the entire city, while white industrialists can evade this issue and remain blameless for relocating their plants and headquarters, and therefore thousands of jobs, in suburbs, other States, and foreign countries. This is perhaps a reason why African American leadership on a national level has not taken up a position on this conflict. To be divisive and appear divisive among minorities is a fatal mistake that any minority activist would want to avoid.

IX

In social conflict, it seems issues come and go without changing anything. Especially when it is virtually impossible to designate who the bad guys are, anger alone has a limitation to sustain and propel the conflict. It is unlikely that the merchants will be targeted again and again. Societal attention will shift from housing to health care, and from Bosnia to South Africa. Black-Korean conflict as an issue that will fade in years to come. If the Rodney King verdict in April 1992 was the climax, the aftermath of the Rodney King verdict in March 1993 was its anticlimax. The same repertoire over and over will someday make the inner-city African Americans tiresome, too. In the next 20–30 years, Korean Americans will be out of the ghettos, and a harbinger of ethnic succession is already felt as Arab and Pakistani Americans penetrate into the inner-city neighborhoods and compete with Korean American merchants. Rude treatment of customers, however, will consolidate as a stereotype of all Korean Americans, whose debris will then pass on to the next generation. The predecessors of Korean Americans in ghettos are haunted with the specters of blood-suckers in their children's generation. Should not something be done here and now?¹⁷

¹⁷ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1994 National Conference of the Association of Asian American Studies at the University of Michigan. The author is indebted to Kwang Chung Kim and Shin Kim for their critique of earlier drafts, to Joseph Chang Kun Kim, Sung Bae Kim, the merchant leaders in Chicago, and to Karen Gunn, C. Rae Jung, and John Yoon, former colleagues with the community mediation project at the Korean American Community Services.

Chicago's Devon Avenue: A Prototype for Interethnic Relations

By Ann P. Kalayil, M.S.*

A quick glance at the demographic map of the Chicago metropolitan area reveals nothing unusual in comparison to other urban centers in the United States. However, Chicago remains one of the most residentially segregated cities in the United States. Amidst this scenario in the far north side of the city exists "Chicago's Multicultural Corridor" located on Devon Avenue, intersected by Ridge Avenue on the east, and Kedzie Avenue on the west (see chart of census area tracts 205-209).

In a drive down Devon, one observes portions of the street and adjacent roads renamed after important ethnic figures like Gandhi, King Sargon, Jinnah, etc. This geographic strip represents the ethnic kaleidoscope that aptly describes America's pluralistic society today.¹ While many of the city's neighborhoods remain segregated along ethnic lines, Devon Avenue exemplifies how ethnic economic specialization can set the pace for improved interethnic relations because of economic interdependency.

The first part of this paper briefly examines the theoretical concepts which explain the nature of interethnic relations in Chicago. This is followed by a historical overview of the residential ethnic composition of Devon Avenue from the early 1900s, with a look into the past decade and how patterns of migration affected intercommunity relations within the area. In this context, Devon Avenue's functionality within its neighborhood is addressed, and a further look into how the business community might capitalize on marketing ethnicity will illuminate some light on the possibility of maintaining the permanency of Devon Avenue's international flavor.

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¹ Lawrence H. Fuchs describes American ethnicity as kaleidoscopic because it is complex, varied, changing in form, pattern, color, and continually shifting from one set of relations to another. *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture*, Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1990, p. 276.

In the conclusion there are suggestions how and why this area serves as a model for interethnic relations. Recommendations are proposed that can help strengthen Devon's economic vitality.

Theoretical Framework

Ethnicity here is described by following such variables as separate languages, religions, rituals, cuisine, organizational patterns, and modes of habitation.² More importantly, there is a shared feeling of "we" or "us" within a collective group. The result is a form of collective identity which defines space and behavior.

Social scientists have often used the "melting pot" metaphor in analyzing race and or ethnic relations in the United States. This label is based on the assimilation paradigm, which implies that over time ethnic groups will shed their cultural peculiarities and become submerged into the dominant culture. However, more contemporary terms used are "mosaic," "rainbow" and "salad bowl" in describing the complexity of ethnicity in America.³

Chicago's neighborhoods resemble this pluralism, but even today communities remain quite segregated. Although there are residential areas with a multiethnic population, generally communities cohabit by class, which can also be linked to ethnicity. Often people self-segregate themselves because as a collective group they propose to have their own political, social, and economic interests.

The Asian concentration in the 1990 census area tracts 205, 206, 207, 208, and 209 is indicative of how recently arrived immigrants have consolidated themselves into a vicinity (see charts for individual census tract demographics). This pattern of segregation resembles communalism, generally used to understand relations among religio-ethnic groups in the Indian subcontinent.

Communalism in many ways aptly describes ethnic relations in Chicago, especially since identity evolves around ethnicity and/or race. Consequently, communities in Chicago congregate together, politically mobilize themselves along communal lines, and socialize predominantly within themselves.

Media, political institutions, and education encourage this process of self-segregation. For example, voting blocs in Chicago are generally identified along racial or ethnic lines not only by the media but by the

² Mason, David, "Race Relations, Group Formation and Power: A Framework for Analysis," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 5, no. 4, October 1982, pp. 421-39.

³ The "mosaic" metaphor assumes that ethnicity is static; whereas the "salad bowl" concept points out the separate entities that make a whole. The "rainbow," though multi-colored, is not permanent, but short-term in nature.

existing political parties. The mayoral campaign of Harold Washington mobilized the African American community to vote collectively in support of "their" candidate. Thus, political mobilization and representation along ethnic/racial lines appear to further complicate class relations.

A History of the Devon Avenue Locale

Some of the older immigrant groups that came to Chicago were the Germans, Irish, Italians, Ukrainians, Polish, Jews, and Greeks. These groups resided in their own enclaves throughout the city and migrated to other areas in groups. Historically in Chicago, ethnic groups prefer to live together or practice "self-segregation."⁴

For example, in the early 1900s, the Jewish community resided predominantly in the west and south sides of Chicago. Earlier in 1907 when the Ravenswood rail line was extended to Lawrence and Kimball, the Jewish population began to move towards what is known as Albany Park, bordering the western skirts of Rogers Park. They created their own support systems by building facilities like Jewish synagogues and schools in the area. Concurrently, as the railroad expanded to Howard Street in the early 1900s, the influx of Jews increased in the Lake Shore area. Improved transportation facilities attracted many ethnic groups to the locality, whereby apartment buildings began to emerge around Sheridan Road and Michigan Avenue, creating an economically vibrant neighborhood.

By 1963, some 48,000 Jews of Polish or Russian descent lived in west Rogers Park.⁵ Devon Avenue became the central mercantile hub in the region, where many of the Jewish vendors relocated their businesses from Roosevelt Road. According to Irving Loundy, president of the Northtown Professional and Business Association, "women would come to Devon Avenue for a fine selection of evening gowns." Small businesses or "mom and pop" shops were established throughout this commercial strip. These stores not only catered to the local Jewish population, but attracted people from outside of the region. Cut-Rate Toys is an example of a business that catered to clientele throughout the city by selling toys at a discount rate not found anywhere in the city. Also, Devon Avenue was renowned for its fine bakeries.

⁴ Galster, George C. and W. Mark Keeney, "Race, Residence, Discrimination, and Economic Opportunity: Modeling the Nexus of Urban Racial Phenomena," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, September 1988, vol. 24, no. 1, p. 93.

⁵ Cutler, Irving, "The Jews of Chicago: From Shetl to Suburb," in *Ethnic Chicago*, ed. Peter d'A. Jones and Melvin Holli, Michigan: William E. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1981, pp. 40-79.

The Jewish population centered around this area and fostered their identity by building several synagogues throughout this area, which was sufficient reason to attract newly arrived Jewish immigrants to the region. Today, some 20 synagogues exist along Peterson, Granville, Devon, Pratt, Touhy, and California.⁶ These institutions provided support for the recent immigrants by teaching them English and helping them establish a productive role in their new country. Once the immigrants became financially secure, they migrated to the neighboring suburbs like Skokie and Lincolnwood. However, they still maintained ties to the area by conducting their shopping on Devon Avenue, visiting their synagogues and relatives. Restaurants like "The Bagel," for years had a strong clientele base, as it strictly served only kosher food.

In 1965, as immigration laws became more liberal, Asians migrated to America in larger numbers. Mostly professionals, these immigrants came mainly from Korea, the Phillipines, India, and Pakistan. As the population of these individual Asian ethnic groups increased in numbers, they began to import their culture into the country through social activities. Soon the demand for an ethnic market arose. For example, in the mid-1960s, the Sikand family established one of the first Indian grocery stores in Chicago, India Food and Gifts, which still exists on Belmont Avenue. The store was easily accessible by public transportation to the majority of the South Asian immigrants.⁷ As the Indian population migrated further north, some Indians foresaw the viability of an ethnic market in Rogers Park.

By the early 1970s, there was still a large concentration of the Jewish population in the Rogers Park area, but there was a small but growing presence of Greeks, Asians, Middle Easterners, and Eastern Europeans. According to Irving Loundy, Uma Sari Palace was the first Indian store opened on Devon Avenue, which was initially located further east, closer to Ridge Avenue. Some other stores that followed were Patel Brothers' Groceries and India Sari Palace. The Greeks found an economic niche in fruit markets and restaurants, which they established on Devon Avenue.

During the 1970s, a significant number of Asians moved into Skokie, Evanston, and DesPlaines. The proximity of these suburbs to Chicago's north side attracted many "out-migrating urbanites rather

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁷ Indian Gift and Foods offered several items ranging from spices to Indian music. The store attracted many South Asians, especially when the Indian Students' Association at I.I.T. began showing Indian films, as people went to the store to purchase the record of the latest movie shown.

than the southern suburbs carved out of farmland."⁸ Easy access to transportation was an important factor for many residents who worked or went to school in the city. By the late 1970s, many of the Jewish-owned businesses were slowly replaced by Asian-owned restaurants, grocery stores, gift shops, and electronic shops.

This transformation rapidly escalated as the old vendors retired and their stores became vacant. With the dramatic increase of the Asian population came the growing demand for ethnic products. The newly arrived immigrants saw an opportunity to establish themselves in small businesses that catered to their own ethnic community. The steady flow of new immigrants helped sustain the emerging small businesses on Devon Avenue.

Contemporary Patterns of Ethnic Migration

Demographic changes definitely contributed to the rapid development of Devon Avenue as primarily "India Town," but more so as a multiethnic commercial center. The pattern of migration into this area resembles "chain migration," where immigrants follow their community members to the new land.

According to the 1980 census, there were 172,213 Asians in Illinois, of which Asian Indians numbered 37,438.⁹ By 1990 the Asian population increased by 66 percent to 285,311; with the Asian Indian population at 64,224, a 72 percent increase. Similar expansions occurred in the Chinese and Korean communities. The 1990 census also indicates that of the 221,462 Asians who live in the Chicago metropolitan area, the larger ethnic groups are Filipinos (52,907), Asian Indians (52,221), Chinese (39,088) and Koreans (32,533).¹⁰ As a result of international events, like the demise of communism in Eastern Europe, the Iran-Iraq war, the conflict in Afghanistan, etc., many more people from these countries have recently emigrated to the United States.

The Assyrians, having mainly migrated from Iran and Iraq, have a long history in the Devon area. However, very little data exists on this group. The census figures do not list this group separately, but includes them with the white population. Other statistics by "ancestry" and "language spoken" only lists Arab and Arabic. Since the Assyrians

⁸ "Integration and Racial Change in Six Chicago Suburban Communities," report by the University of Chicago's Committee on Public Policy, August 1986, p. 158.

⁹ "Our Ten Years of Growth: A Demographic Analysis on Asian and Pacific Islander Americans," a report by the Asian and Pacific Islander Center for Census Information and Services, 1992.

¹⁰ Ibid.

do not consider themselves as Arabs, they are not accounted for in the census as a separate group.¹¹ The lack of data on Assyrians make it hard to distinguish their numbers in the area.

However, their presence in the Devon area is visible, and in the past decade, their influence has increased significantly in the community as key players in the economy: owning restaurants, beauty shops, fruit markets, and other enterprises. This community shares many common features and experiences with Asians, e.g., close familial relations, discrimination, language barriers, and lack of political representation. The Assyrian community lobbied to rename the portion of Western Avenue between Devon and Peterson, King Sargon Boulevard, after the ruler in the seventh century B.C. neo-Assyrian empire.

Recent Jewish emigres from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe also have a strong presence in Devon Avenue.¹² Many of them settled in the region because of the existing facilities that assisted them to become productive members. While the Jewish synagogues regained a following in the emigres, the latter benefited from the offerings of English classes, job training, and family counseling services. Similarly, the recent immigrants help sustain the Jewish bookstores, bakeries, and kosher food markets that were faltering from the out-migration of large numbers of Jews to the suburbs.

Devon Avenue's Functionality

The need to represent commercially one's own culture has had a positive economic affect in the area. Devon Avenue provides to its residents and others an opportunity to sense one's own culture. Many of these businesses are dependent upon support they receive from their family and the community as clientele. This designated strip has three commercial core centers: eastern, central, and western districts. The eastern district is largely Assyrian, Middle Eastern, and South Asian and is located between Ridge and Western Avenues; the central district is ethnically South Asian and is found between Western and California Avenues; and the western district is a Jewish area in the California/Kedzie area.

¹¹ This problem of missing identity is reflected in the 1990 census figures on Arabs. For example, in census area tract 205, there are 60 individuals who are Arabs of first ancestry. However, no one above 5 years of age speaks Arabic. Perhaps during the census, some Assyrians identified themselves as Arabs, but indicated that they did not speak the language. Hence, it is difficult to determine the exact population of this ethnic group.

¹² The 1990 census population tape file 3A indicates that 1,500 people live in census tracts 205 and 209 who speak Russian.

The eastern district has several restaurants, e.g., the Garden of Eden, Babylon, King Sargon's Coffee House, Afghan Kabab, and Arabella, catering primarily to the Assyrian and Middle Eastern community. However, Assyrian/Middle Eastern grocery stores and butcher shops like Farm City, Old City, and Lawando's Fruit Market are key shopping areas for various ethnic groups. Similarly, the South Asian video and electronic stores are visited by different nationalities, because they offer appliances that can be used overseas and can convert foreign video tapes into the American viewing system.

Census area tracts 205 and 209 have the highest concentration of Asians residing in the Devon Avenue area. Of the Asians, the census numbers indicate a large proportion of Asian Indians live in this district. This does not necessarily correlate to the type of businesses established in the area, and one will not find the same volume of South Asian restaurants that exists west of Devon Avenue. Clearly, vendors try not to compete in other ethnic groups' specialty. However, while merchants benefit from strong family ties, their businesses are extremely competitive within the ethnic trade.

The central core, focused around the parking lot on Rockwell and Devon, is primarily South Asian businesses. They rely heavily on a clientele that primarily lives outside of the region. On a weekend, the license plates on the cars parked in this part of the street show many vehicles from the near suburbs to those registered out of State. South Asians come here to buy the latest clothing, fashions from India, gold jewelry, rent Indian videos, or buy the latest CD. Shopping on Devon is also a social event for many, as they meet friends for lunch or gossip over a cup of tea.

Area tracts 208 and part of 206 comprise the central district, where the Koreans and Filipinos have a larger presence among Asians. Since there is no census breakdown of Assyrians or other Middle Easterners, the "white" population remains predominant. However, intereconomic dependency helps sustain the economy of this area. The Greek fruit markets located in the central area are successful because of the patronage of their multiethnic customers, like the Eastern European Jews, the Assyrians, and most of all South Asians, who are predominantly vegetarian. Under the creative leadership of the late Ken Pillay, the Indo-American Center, located in the central core, provides immigration services and language classes to various ethnic groups. The center's advisory board, representing the various ethnic groups in the

area, illustrates the beginning of a dialogue and coalition building needed across communities.¹³

The western district, located west of California Avenue, remains influenced by the Jewish population. This region includes census area tracts 207 and portions of 206, where the Asian population is a mix of mainly Indians, Filipinos, and Koreans. However, the predominant businesses are owned by Greeks and Jews. While the fruit markets and some restaurants are owned by Greeks, the bakeries and bookstores, are retained by the Jewish population. However, there is an increasing number of professional services, medical, legal, tourism, etc., that has an ethnic monopoly by focusing on the newly arrived Jewish emigres. Asian Indian stores are currently sparse but slowly emerging on this side of the street.

In general, the majority of the stores on Devon operate in a highly competitive manner, because there are relatively a small number of buyers. Store owners try to create a client base by offering low prices. Bargaining is very common, particularly in the Asian Indian stores. There is very little product differentiation. Most of the businesses are family owned. Therefore, store hours are long and the family labor force helps operate the business.

Devon's Internationalism—A Commodity

The success of the Devon area depends on its capability to attract customers. Someone strolling down Devon Avenue can hear, witness, smell, and feel the diverse cultures. Shopping on Devon Avenue itself becomes a cultural experience, something that can lead to the commoditization of culture. If this "multicultural" experience can be successfully marketed through the Chicago Tourist Office or other forms of media, then the business community can improve its economy. In November 1994, under the leadership of Irving Loundy and other businessmen, the Devon merchants celebrated "Diwali" or the India's Festival of Lights. Devon was lit with lights, strung with colorful banners, and cultural programs presented to the public. This is an example of a program that can promote ethnic interactions.

Institutional actors, like the merchants' association, and local politicians can play a positive role in communities to promote economic development. For instance, Devon Avenue's major problem is the lack of parking, which needs to be addressed prior to any promotional activity. As a result of the efforts of the DANTBPA in coalition with Alderman Bernie Stone, Mayor Richard M. Daley has agreed to make

¹³ Hon. Jesse White, Dan Soliz, David Roth, May Jo Doyle, and Homer Ashurian are the names of some of the individuals who currently serve on the Indo-American Center's Advisory Board.

arrangements for diagonal parking on Devon Avenue.¹⁴ Increased protection and better upkeep were some issues also addressed at recent meetings with the mayor and community leaders. Economic prosperity will help keep property values high and encourage residents to stay in the area.

Even though Chicago's neighborhoods remain segregated along ethnic lines, in Devon Avenue the pace of ethnic interaction has advanced considerably. But although ethnic clubs and social service centers remain the focal point of association, economic specialization and, therefore, interdependency has set the course for interethnic relations. Devon Avenue is a good example of what Rahul Jacobs describes immigrants do, they "release value to the countries they adopt."¹⁵

Recommendations

Some proposed suggestions to improve the vitality of this area are:

- 1) Northtown Professional and Business Association should take the leadership in working towards the establishment of a chamber of commerce. The merchant community must play an increasingly active role in this organization.
- 2) Corporate sponsorship of community events and increased marketing can help maintain the economic vitality of Devon Avenue.
- 3) City government must assist the merchants in maintaining Devon's international flavor as it can prove to be a tourist attraction for Chicago. The city can aid in improving parking facilities, provide safety, and work with the local community towards the beautification of the neighborhood. A look into ethnic architecture and signage would be profitable.
- 4) Existing organizations and community and business leaders must begin a dialogue across ethnic boundaries at the political and social arenas.
- 5) A systematic profile of Devon Avenue, Chinatown, Koreatown, and other ethnic business enclaves can offer a further understanding of the commodification of ethnicity and its role in interethnic relations.

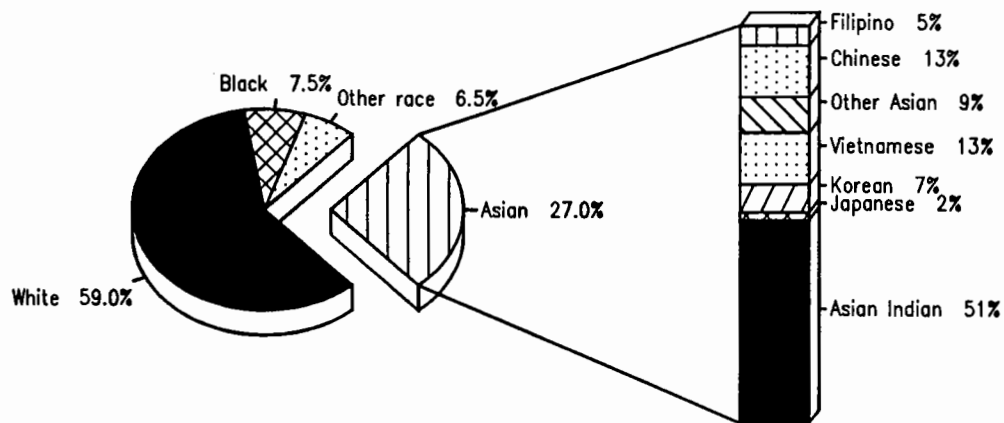
¹⁴ *Spotlight*, Mar. 18, 1994.

¹⁵ Rahul, Jacob, "Overseas Indians Make It Big," *Fortune*, Nov. 15, 1993, p. 174.

1990 Census Area Tracts: Tract 205

Total Population=6,040

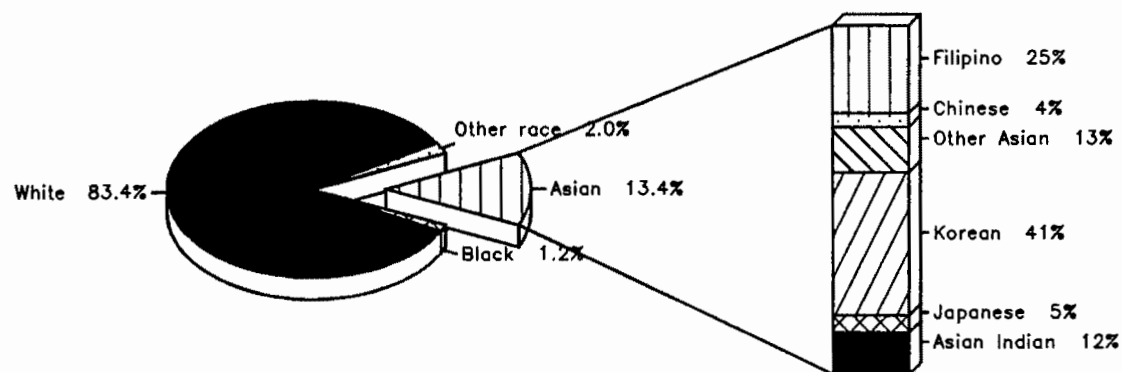
Total Asian Population=1,647



1990 Census Area Tracts: Tract 206

Total Population=9,166

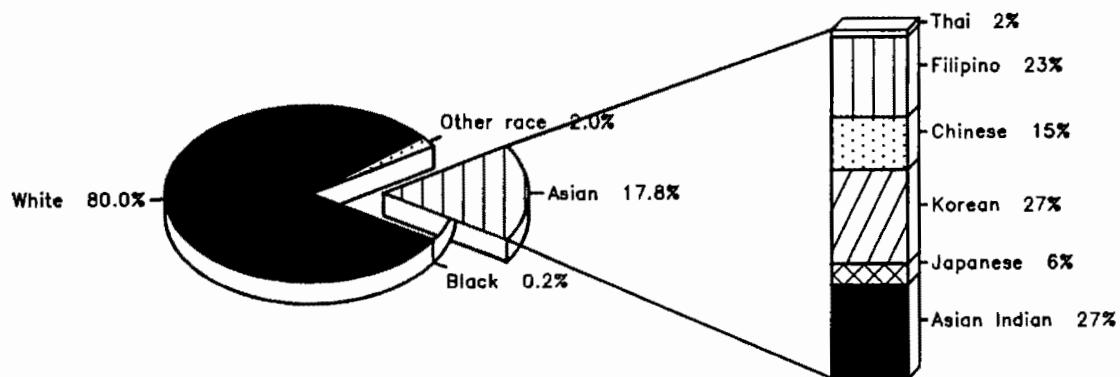
Total Asian Population=1,226



1990 Census Area Tracts: Tract 207

Total Population=7,931

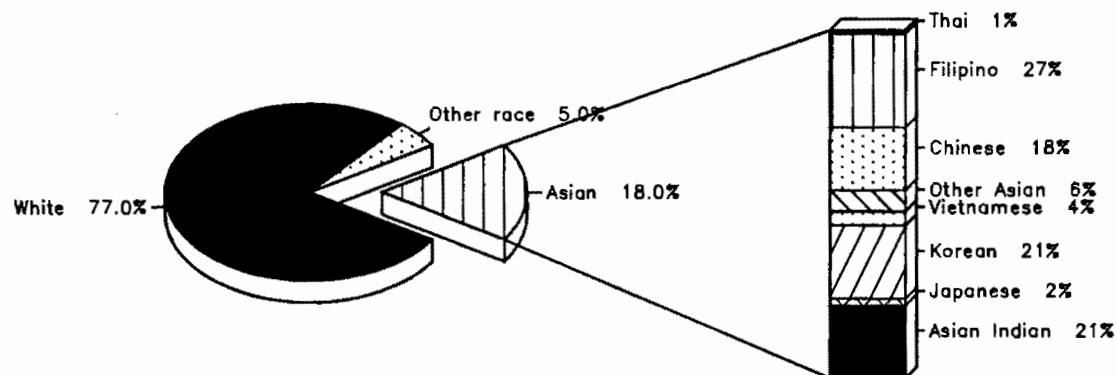
Total Asian Population=1,407



1990 Census Area Tracts: Tract 208

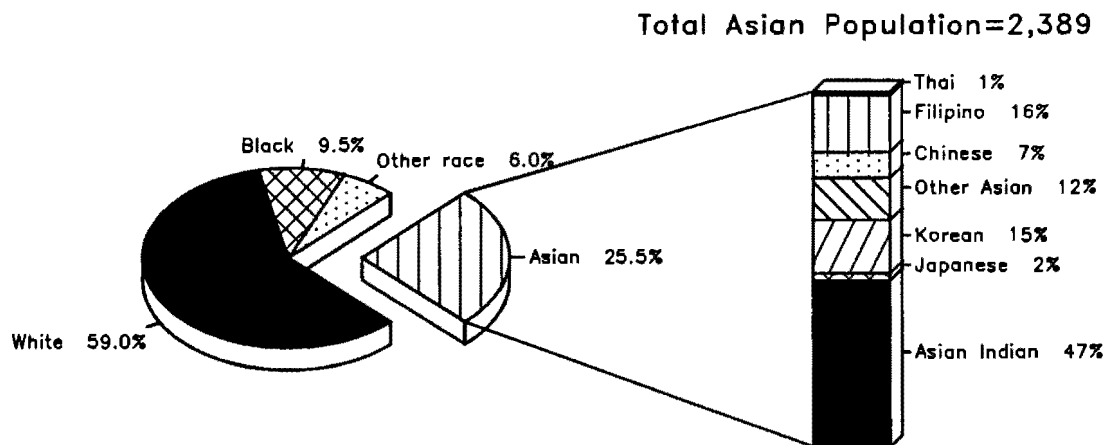
Total Population=11,524

Total Asian Population=2,075



1990 Census Area Tracts: Tract 209

Total Population=9,349



Asian Americans in Chicago: Citizens of the United States and Citizens of the World

By Juanita Salvador-Burris, Ph.D.*

My paper is primarily social observations and insights of our society as well as by my values and hopes for our society as ordinary citizens rather than from research data compiled by me as a social scientist. I offer the perspective of an informed and concerned citizen rather than that of an expert witness.

Racism as Structures of Economic Injustice

Let me begin with the basic belief. I believe that in the United States today racism continues to manifest itself in the often not too visible structures of economic injustice where the domination of one racial group over many others is perpetrated by an economic system with little accountability for the inequalities in wealth that it creates in the entire society. Too many Americans of all racial groups are not adequately benefiting from the prosperity of this country, nor are they benefiting from the fruits of their own labor. The justification that actions of outright denial of economic access, overt withholding or insufficient investment of economic resources are actually determined by "market forces," uninfluenced by racial bias, ought to be more and more challenged.

Beyond Being an Asian American in Chicago

Two years ago I experienced what it was like to be an American citizen among citizens of many other countries in the world. I was one of 12,000 citizen participants in the Global Forum at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in June of 1992. It was then and there that I experienced and realized deeply that as an American, I was an organic part of the dominant superpower in the world today, despite my own minority position within the United States. I, a minority among minority groups in the United States, together with other Americans, were perceived as a dominating global force that people were constantly challenging and resisting.

Thousands of people of color from hundreds of countries made it possible for me to see the close connection between the economic inequality I was familiar with in the United States and the even more

* Juanita Burris does private consulting on public policy and international development.

gross inequality between the developed countries of the north and the developing countries of the south. I understood that the sustainability of the ecosystems could not be guaranteed for future generations unless the international economic system and exchanges were transformed to be more equitable.

The United States together with other developed countries dominate the global economy so much that since the 1980s "the traditional flow of capital from north to south has been reversed: the poor countries pay more to the rich countries than they receive in return; a net hemorrhage that now stands at more than \$50 billion a year. Third world external debts stand at \$1.2 trillion, 44 percent of its collective gross national product."¹

I understood that, as an American, I was part of the reason why development in poor countries could not occur with economic resources controlled in large measure by us. And it is from this global perspective that I have since learned that the struggle for justice is to work for human development rights which are fundamentally economic. It is the same struggle we have in the United States where I see racism as inherent in the structures of economic injustice.

I realize that structures of economic injustice in the United States and in the world are larger than the civil rights issues the U.S. Commission deals with in its present position. But I also believe that the Commission's mission is truly embedded in the everyday context of social relations among people and in the larger context of American society.

Thus, while I am personally committed to working for the advancement of Asian Americans as a minority group, about which you have received testimony, I have a deeper commitment to something larger than the Asian American community. This deeper commitment is to the whole American society rather than the parts. The commitment to the city as a specific place in which people live and act as individual parts of American society; a commitment to the whole world as an embodiment of interdependent people whose lives impact one another in ways we seldom understand.

Together with many others in the Asian American community, we have, over many years, put forward Asian American group interests just like any other political interest group. In addition, we have joined interethnic coalitions whenever group interests are truly common or strongly shared. We have tried to advance common interests with other groups in a cooperative way. But today I want to lift up for your consideration the critical importance of reframing the way we think and

¹ Brown (1991) *State of the World*.

talk about civil rights in America in terms of human development rights and individual citizenship.

Advancing the Whole Society by Reclaiming Individual Citizenship

William Greider, author of *Who Will Tell the People*, writes: over the past 40 years, "voting in presidential elections has gone down 20 percent. Roughly half of adult Americans stay home for presidential elections, despite the expensive campaigns to reach them. Elected power in the representative branch rests on an even narrower base; a third or less of the electorate. In typical off-year elections, important senators and representatives are returned to office on the votes of small minorities, often as little as 15 percent of their constituents." The disenchanted are saying that the politics of elections often seem pointless—these no longer seem connected to anything that really matters to them.

This lack of connectiveness to the larger society on matters vital to the individual speaks of the missing bonds of citizenship that individual citizens have with social institutions that govern our civil society. Many other social observers have noted the decline in the shared sense of public concern or concern for the public interests. Every day countless citizens retreat to their privatized worlds, many feeling powerless to impact the large complex of social problems way beyond their individual scale of action.

I believe that this decline in this sense of citizenship is the long term result of the devastating effects of large-scale urbanization. Over several generations our communities are being destroyed and dehumanized, reducing us to a collection of anonymous residents, busy at daily economic and personal leisure pursuits. We have limited time for social relationships which build community and a collective sense of being parts of a whole larger than ourselves. We need to build community by affirming individual citizenship.

We all have experienced that relationships are nourished and kept alive by face to face communication and interaction, reinforced by activities and knowledge that create a sense of caring and loyalty for one another. It is these kinds of social relationships that are disappearing today which we need to reconstruct. As common urban problems like youth gangs, poor public schools, traffic and congestion, guns and other forms of urban violence impinge on the individual citizen, he or she is not expected to get involved in resolving these issues at the personal or the interpersonal level. Instead public discourse is framed to appeal to him or her as a "taxpayer," having bought into a residential area and expecting "services" like police protection and water for money that he has already put in.

We cannot buy relationships which bind us together as a society. The ordinary taxpayer citizen does not become a civic leader only when he or she is free of economic pressures and can afford to make a "gift" of public service. We need to develop citizenship identities that foster participation in ordinary ways which keep people related to one another.

I propose that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights engage actively in educating the citizens as a public being, developing individual orientations and competencies to act in the public interest and not merely through periodic rituals of participation, enlarging the narrow sensibilities that are based on race, ethnicity, gender, religion, etc., into sensibilities that are based on economic justice and common humanity.

I propose that agencies that deal with human rights or human relations create programs and activities at the neighborhood and community level bring their multiracial and multicultural citizens into face to face dialogue to experience mutual levels of concern and care for one another as well as adjudicating differences.

We need to counteract the urban pressures that fragment our social bonds and the unconnectiveness we have with large scale organizations. We need to affirm the large area of commonality we have as ordinary citizens, loyal to a community of people rather than a territory, and responsible for the common welfare of all people, despite our economic inequalities. For I believe it is really in acknowledging our human interdependence that our inequalities are more likely to be transcended.

Recommendations

Selected recommendations are offered in the areas of (1) political empowerment, (2) employment, education, and health care, and (3) intergroup relations.¹ The recommendations are made to the Asian American community, the community at large, law enforcement agencies, the Republican and Democratic political parties, the United States Commission on Civil Rights, and the education and medical institutions.

Political Empowerment

1. Education

The Asian American community should promote self-help mechanisms to gain political empowerment, e.g., hosting or cosponsoring leadership and/or issue conferences. The individualism of the American society and culture is different from most Asian cultures, and the Asian community needs to recognize this to be effective in American politics. (Manshio, Tom)

Further, Asian Americans should take up the challenge of conducting the political analysis necessary to understand how Asian Americans vote, and the extent to which members of other racial/ethnic groups vote for them, including analysis relevant in the use of the Voting Rights Act. (Lewis)

2. Registration and Voting

Asian American communities need to register and vote. Until the commitment is made to fully register all voters in the Asian communities and vote in substantial numbers, Asians will be relegated to accepting the mandates of those who do the voting. (Lewis, Otaka, Tom)

3. Political Action

Currently, the Asian American community is not monolithic in its party affiliation, open equally to both parties. The major political parties would be wise to address their futures by looking at the interests of the Asian American community. In addition, Asian Americans should become active in Democratic and Republican party politics. (Harano, Lewis, Otaka)

¹ Recommendations included in this section are identified by author.

One of the most important issues for the survival of a political party is voter registration. Parties could direct efforts toward voter registration in the Asian American community. Such an effort would be beneficial for the political party, the Asian American community, and the democratic process in its entirety. (Lewis, Otaka)

4. The Census and Citizenship

The Asian American community needs to understand the importance of participating in the census. To be recognized as a legitimate player in this competitive and individualistic society, numbers matter. The Asian communities need to prepare for the 2000 census, and work during the census in ensuring a complete count. (Tom)

In addition, Asians need to become citizens. Recent entrants to the United States are a large proportion of Chicago's Asian American population. (Lewis)

5. Building Coalitions

Asian Americans should work at building coalitions with other racial/ethnic groups in their neighborhoods who may share similar concerns about disenfranchisement and lack of political power. Asian American candidates, even with a 20 percent district, cannot win, so their base must expand beyond the Asian American community. (Otaka)

The Asian American community cannot continue to fractionalize and focus on individual ethnic issues. It must begin to view itself as one community in order to maximize its voting strength. There must be an Asian American identity and all members of the coalition must be participants in this coalition on an equal basis. (Otaka)

6. An Asian American Agenda

The Asian American community must define issues and agree upon common goals. These coherent political agendas should be set for different levels of government that integrate the interests of the various Asian subgroups. (Lewis)

Any such coalition must have a domestic agenda, and must not be involved in the politics of Asian countries or bring in the old world conflicts. The members of the coalition must forget the historical conflicts between the countries of their origins. (Harano)

7. Candidates for Public Office

Political parties should be encouraged to slate Asian American candidates for office, and more Asian Americans must run for political office. (Otaka)

Included in this is the need for individuals in the Asian American community to participate in government through employment and internship programs. (Manshio)

In addition, the Asian American community needs to financially support its candidates. Financial support will increase influence so that services and contracts can be obtained for the various Asian American communities. (Otaka)

Employment, Education, and Health Care

8. Employment in the Legal Profession

There needs to be a greater effort to give Asian American attorneys access to real opportunities within and outside the legal profession. Affirmative action admission policies for law schools should be expanded so as to include underrepresented segments of the Asian American community, and programs implemented to hire and retain Asian Americans in law school faculties. (Yamate)

9. Employment of Internationally Trained Physicians

The United States Commission on Civil Rights and/or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission should investigate discrimination against physicians and other health professionals based on race and national origin. A formal clearinghouse should provide analytical information on these matters to individuals, and State and Federal public officials who are seeking to reduce discrimination in this area. (Olsen)

10. Employment of Asian American Faculty

Government agencies charged with enforcing equal employment opportunity should investigate discrimination against Asian American faculty in higher education. Such investigations should include: salary comparisons within appropriate stratifications; distribution of faculty by disciplinary areas in comparison to Asian American student enrollment; probabilities of being hired, tenured and promoted; and probabilities of being given administrative positions at different levels. (Sen)

Institutions of higher education should on their own initiative examine faculty and staff special recruitment and hiring programs for their inclusiveness and equity. (Lau)

11. Service to Asian American Students in Higher Education

Institutions of higher education should examine whether they are providing adequate services to the growing Asian American student population on their campuses, including counseling, academic advising, fellowships, special recruitment and enrichment programs, scholarships, and need-based financial aid. (Lau)

12. Health Care Delivery to Asian Americans

There must be vigilance within any health care reform, assuring that Asian Americans are allowed equitable participation in alliances. (Silverman)

If discrimination based on national origin is to be avoided, there must be a concerted effort to train, license, and deploy interpreters for America's growing limited-English-speaking population. (Silverman)

13. Poverty and Southeast Asian Refugees

Public and private institutions concerned with alleviating poverty should not overlook the Southeast Asian communities, whose problems may be hidden through lumping together with other Asian Americans who have achieved a relative degree of economic success. There is a lack of knowledge about conditions in Southeast Asian communities. Further studies are necessary to understand the reasons for the shortcomings and to explore strategies and programs which could help those communities gain economic and social self-sufficiency. (Le)

Because of their economic conditions, Southeast Asians generally live among other ethnic and minority populations who face many of the same social and economic barriers. For this reason, investment in programs to build interethnic and interracial relations skills must be developed by and for community leaders to combat the perceptions of others that the refugees are receiving preferential treatment or are competing with others for limited resources. (Le)

14. Asian American Students with English as a Second Language

School districts need to provide language assistance services in a manner that takes into account the cultural and linguistic diversity among Asian American students. (Nguyen)

Teachers should take a basic course in multicultural education, aimed at increasing their abilities to teach in a culturally diverse environment and improving their abilities to provide effective instruction to second language learners. (Nguyen)

Intergroup Relations

15. Hate Crimes

When hate crimes occur, they must be deplored by public and private institutions and influential leadership. Along these lines, education to create ethnic and racial understanding is vital as the great majority of hate crimes are committed by youth. Schools have an important role to play in teaching youth an appreciation and respect for cultural differences. (Yoshino)

State and local agencies responsible for the collection of hate crime data under the Federal Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990 must report that data in a timely manner. Governmental agencies and law enforcement must work with the Asian American community to provide education on hate crimes and their reporting. (Yoshino)

16. Community Relations

The political and economic integrative model as it relates to European Americans should be studied, so that new minorities are included in an open, pluralistic, and integrated society. (Wood)

Existing organizations, community organizations, business leaders, and government should assist merchants and citizens in a dialogue across ethnic boundaries, as this will enhance the economic vitality of the community. (Kalayil)

17. Asian American Merchants and Other Minorities

Residents and leaders in inner-city neighborhoods need to view the presence of Asian American stores and businesses within the context of the positive role these enterprises play in their communities. (Choi, Kim)

Any effort to decrease tensions between Asian American merchants and inner-city neighborhood residents may reduce the occurrence of an open or violent conflict, but it does not deal with the basic source of the conflict, which is the deprived living conditions of minority residents and the concentration of Asian American businesses in those impoverished areas. It is necessary for Asian American merchants and local residents to develop some common strategies to improve the economic positions of local residents and welfare of minority groups as a whole. (Choi, Kim)

18. Human Rights Organizations and the Community

Agencies that deal with human rights and human relations issues should create programs and activities at the neighborhood and community level to bring their multiracial and multicultural citizens into face to face dialogue in order to experience mutual levels of concern for one another as well as adjudicating for differences. (Burris)

Authors

Juanita Salvador-Burris received her doctorate in human development from the University of Chicago in 1977. She currently is an independent consultant for the social sciences, public policy, and international development. Most recently, she was the project director for Asian American Community Leadership in the 1990s and taught the first course on Asian American studies at the Associated Colleges of the Midwest. In addition, Ms. Burris is active with numerous community organizations, including being a board member of the Asian American Institute, the Chicago Foundation for Women, and the Hyde Park Environmental Action Committee.

InChul Choi is program director at the Korean American Community Services where he has been pivotal in developing and implementing the African American-Korean American community mediation project in the past 3 years. Mr. Choi is also responsible for program development, community organizing, community area programming, and public relations at the agency. For his efforts on behalf of Korean immigrants, he received the President's Award from the Republic of Korea in 1992. Mr. Choi emigrated to Chicago from Korea and received a B.A. from the University of Chicago where he is currently completing his doctorate.

Tom Corfman joined the staff of the *Chicago Reporter* in 1991 as its multicultural affairs writer after 6 years in private practice as a criminal defense attorney. The Chicago native earned his law degree from DePaul University in 1983 and has a master's degree in journalism from the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University and a master's in literature from Vanderbilt. In his practice as an attorney, he has worked on several high profile cases, including the Greylord investigation of Cook County judges.

Ross Harano is a former banker, businessman, and State government executive. Currently he is president of the World Trade Center Chicago Association. Prior to his being at the World Trade Center, he was chief of the crime victim's division for the Office of the Attorney General where he also served as director of the Advisory Council and the EEO officer. As a businessman he was the operating partner for two international trading companies and served as a chief financial officer for a third company doing business internationally as a banker. He was vice president at the Bank of Chicago and later at the Community

Bank of Edgewater. He is the president of the Illinois Ethnic Coalition and also the chairperson of the Chicago chapter of the Japanese American Citizen's League. In 1992 he was also the first Asian American to be appointed as an elector for the electoral college in Illinois.

Ann P. Kalayil is a senior analyst with the department of networking, telecommunications, and computing services at the University of Chicago. Ms. Kalayil is a native of Chicago and is actively involved in various organizations to advance an understanding of Asian American issues and community interests, including the governing board of the Asian American Institute, a vice president of the Indo-American Democratic Organization, and the attorney general's advisory panel to the division of child advocacy. Ms. Kalayil is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

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Shin Kim came to the United States as a student from Korea in 1970 and was naturalized in 1980. A graduate of Slippery Rock State University in Pennsylvania, Western Illinois University, and the University of Illinois (Ph.D.), she is currently an assistant professor of economics at Chicago State University, active in both academic research and community service. Her areas of specialty include labor economics and urban labor markets and race relations, while her community activities revolve around the issues of the second generation Korean Americans and the bridging of Korean churches with American churches.

Yvonne M. Lau is president and one of the founders of the Asian American Institute, a not-for-profit organization dedicated to the advancement of Asian Americans and their community. Ms. Lau also serves as assistant dean of students and adjunct professor of sociology at Loyola University Chicago. She is the author of several papers on Asian American issues. She received her Ph.D. from Illinois University in 1986.

Ngoan Le is currently the deputy administrator of the Illinois Department of Public Aid's division of planning and community services. She

came to the United States as a refugee from Vietnam in 1975. A graduate of Illinois State University, she served as the executive director of the Vietnamese Association of Illinois and as special assistant for Asian American Affairs to former Governor James Thompson. She is a highly regarded national expert on refugee resettlement issues and has often been called upon in advisory capacities to assist Federal agencies concerned with refugee matters.

James H. Lewis is vice president for research and planning at the Chicago Urban League and holds a Ph.D. in American history from Northwestern University. Lewis supervised the Chicago Urban League's research and advocacy efforts regarding redistricting following the 1990 U.S. census, designing the league's map proposal for the Latino and African American congressional districts, which were eventually adopted by a Federal court and provided sworn affidavits in *Hastert v. State of Illinois*. Lewis is coauthor of the *Metro Chicago Political Atlas: 1994* with Paul Kleppner and D. Garth Taylor (Institute for Public Affairs, 1994). Prior to joining the Urban League, he worked extensively with Asian immigrant groups in Chicago as associate director of the Cambodian Association of Illinois.

Calvin K. Manshio is an attorney in private practice in Chicago. He is president of the Japanese American Service Committee, a Chicago area not-for-profit corporation. He is also an adjunct professor of law at the John Marshall Law School and the Chicago Kent School of Law. From 1985–1992 he served as a commissioner on the Illinois Commerce Commission. From 1990–1992 he was president of the Asian American Bar Association of the Greater Chicago Area and still serves on their board of directors.

Ngoc-Diep Thi Nguyen is a senior consultant at the Illinois Resource Center and an adjunct professor at the National Louis University. Ms. Nguyen came to the United States as a refugee from Vietnam in 1975. A graduate of Ohio State University, she is highly regarded in the State of Illinois as an expert on multilingual/multicultural education and teacher training. She was the 1992-1994 president of the National Association for the Education and Advancement of Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans, an organization dedicated to the betterment of Southeast Asian Americans.

Layton E. Olson has a private practice specializing in tax-exempt organizations, professional licensing, and discrimination. He has represented internationally trained physicians for over a decade, including work with the International Medical Council of Illinois, the

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Sandra R. Otaka is the assistant regional counsel for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). In 1993 she was appointed to the Illinois Judiciary Inquiry Board for Governor Edgar. She has also served as chairperson of the Asian American Advisory Committee to Senator Paul Simon, vice president of the Asian American Bar Association (AABA) of the Greater Chicago Area, and vice chairperson of the editorial board of the *Chicago Reporter*. She graduated Phi Beta Kappa from UC Berkeley with a B.A. in psychology and received her J.D. from the UCLA School of Law.

Ashish Sen is a professor of urban planning at the University of Illinois-Chicago (UIC). He was the acting dean of the College of Urban Sciences at UIC, and became its first director when it became a school. He is a member of the Chicago Board of Education, is on the board of directors of the Asian American Institute and the Indo-American Center, and has worked for the Indian Planning Commission. Dr. Sen received his Ph.D. in statistics and has published numerous articles on intergroup relations and other topics.

Edwin Silverman has served as coordinator of Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement for the State of Illinois since 1976. In that role he has worked with the Asian American community and dedicated his energies to development of Southeast Asian mutual assistance associations. He is known for a variety of programmatic innovations that have influenced Federal policy, including the first multilingual refugee health screening program in the Nation.

Kishore Julian Thampy is a practicing physician board certified in psychiatry and neurology. Currently, he is a clinical assistant professor at Rush Medical College, Chicago. He is past president of the Indo-Democratic Organization, a trustee of the American College of International Physicians, editor of the journal *International Physician*, and also serves on the Asian advisory councils of Senator Paul Simon, the Illinois attorney general, and the Chicago Human Rights Commission. He has written numerous articles on the problems facing foreign medical graduates in the practice of medicine in the United States.

Ping Tom is president of the Mah Chena Corporation, a Chicago firm producing Cantonese foods. Tom has been active for two decades in

Chicago business, community, and political affairs. He is on the board of the Chicago Chinatown Chamber of Commerce and the Chinatown Merchants Association. He sits on the boards of several community and charitable groups. Ping Tom was a member of the south Chicago Chinatown coalition that worked to keep the district intact during the recent aldermanic ward remapping.

Clarence Wood is the director and chief executive officer of the Chicago Community Trust Human Relations Task Force and the chair/commissioner of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations. Prior to joining the Chicago Community Trust, he was with the National Urban League, most recently serving as vice president for external affairs of the National Urban League. Mr. Wood serves on the board of directors of several social agencies and community organizations, including Associated Colleges of Illinois, Operation PUSH, the Chicago Peace Center, and the Chicago School of Professional Psychology. He is a graduate of Fisk University.

Sandra S. Yamate is the founder and president of Polychrome Publishing Corporation, the only publishing company in the nation dedicated to producing children's books that offer an Asian American perspective on the world. An attorney who graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Harvard Law School, she spent 10 years in private practice. She is a founding member and immediate past president of the Asian American Bar Association of the Greater Chicago Area. She represented the midwest as the first central region governor for the National Asian Pacific American Bar Association and compiled the first nationwide survey identifying judges of Asian American ancestry. In addition to serving on the boards of a number of Asian American community organizations, she is the author of several children's books and research articles.

William Yoshino is the midwest director of the Japanese Citizens League (JACL), the largest Asian American civil rights organization in the United States with 24,000 members and 113 chapters. He has served as a member of the Illinois Asian American Advisory Council to the Governor and as a member of the former Chicago Commission on Asian American Affairs. He currently serves on the board of governors of the Asian American Institute.

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