

Community Literacy Journal

Volume 3
Issue 2 *Spring*

Article 6

Spring 2009

Literacy, Place, and Migration in Philadelphia among Ethnic Chinese

Michael J. Rovito

University of Central Florida, michael.rovito@ucf.edu

Michele Masucci

Temple University, masucci@temple.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/communityliteracy>

Recommended Citation

Rovito, Michael J., and Michele Masucci. "Literacy, Place, and Migration in Philadelphia among Ethnic Chinese." *Community Literacy Journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2009, pp. 79–92, doi:10.25148/clj.3.2.009470.

This work is brought to you for free and open access by FIU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in *Community Literacy Journal* by an authorized administrator of FIU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact dcc@fiu.edu.

LITERACY, PLACE, AND MIGRATION IN PHILADELPHIA AMONG ETHNIC CHINESE

Michael Rovito and Michele Masucci

We introduce the need for scholars interested in literacy, geography, and cultural studies to examine the role of English language literacy in shaping assimilation experiences of recent immigrant groups. We consider a case study of English language self-efficacy among ethnic Chinese immigrants in the Philadelphia metropolitan area to suggest how language, place, and economic participation are mutually constructed. We conducted interviews with 21 individuals to gain insights about how they perceived this relationship. We also considered the effects of English language self-efficacy on the geographic extent of their daily activities. Perhaps it is not surprising that those who reported stronger English language skills had larger activity spheres in the metropolitan region. Among those who did not note strong language skills, Philadelphia's historic Chinatown remained prominent as a place of economic participation and center for daily activities and cultural cohesion. We suggest that more attention to the role of literacy and language self-efficacy is warranted among geographers interested in migration studies, assimilation experiences, and workforce participation issues related to immigrant groups.

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the intersection between English language literacy, place, and immigration by examining how language self-efficacy shapes daily activities among recent ethnic Chinese immigrants in the Philadelphia region. The aim is to gain insights about the continued prominence of Philadelphia's Chinatown as a destination for recent immigrants and context within which the activities of their new daily lives are managed and negotiated. We also seek to understand why Philadelphia's Chinatown has been central in the lives of recent immigrants we interviewed, especially in light of the current trend for new immigrants to locate in suburban centers within the Philadelphia region. Finally, we will address how an understanding of the experiences of ethnic Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia relates to community literacy planning and advocacy within the local context of Chinatown. This work is similar to the efforts of Coogan (95), who analyzed African-Americans communities across "material and discursive boundaries" in order to bridge the knowledge disparity between cultural groups surrounding potential communication and literacy issues.

One recent work, *Espejos y Viejos* (Lyons 45), illustrates the need for more thorough examination of the relationship between place, English language use, and literacy among immigrant groups. *Espejos y Viejos* shares English and Spanish language narratives of Mexican immigrants who have moved into the Kennett Square region of Philadelphia. The narratives illustrate the ways in which individuals form community to challenge their marginalization

from mainstream society through building and using social connections to navigate daily activities in their new settings. It also provides an example of the importance of framing the problems of assimilation in terms of the experiences held among immigrants even though it does not present a view that assimilation or acculturation is beneficial.

We suggest that assimilation processes can be viewed as constructs that immigrant groups encounter and recognize as significant to their individual journeys. We will contribute to the case-study evidence from large urban enclaves of ethnic Chinese through examining how such journeys are shaped by English language use and literacy (Brown and Pannell; Ellis et al. 620; Fang and Brown 137; Newbold; Reardon and Yun 79; Yang). Our work highlights the continued role that large enclaves in traditional urban centers continue to have in context of the assimilation experiences of recent immigrants despite the trends towards a suburbanization of immigration. It also shows the importance of developing approaches to foster community literacy that take into account the ways in which place and literacy are mutually constituted.

We argue that the continued prominence of these enclaves is directly related to self-efficacy with respect to English language use and literacy among recent immigrants. Our approach was to conduct interviews with 21 ethnic Chinese immigrants living in the Philadelphia metropolitan region in order to learn about how English language use and literacy is connected to their movements and geographic choices, or spatiality. Our interviews show that Chinatown is the most important locus of activities among those with the least self-efficacy with respect to English language use and literacy. This underscores the trend for its continued economic and service importance within the region. It also illustrates the importance of documenting experiences of recent immigrants as a basis for examining the intersection of literacy and place. Finally, it illustrates the need for evolving methods to improve community literacy through a careful analysis of place-based experiences and constraints faced by immigrant groups.

The importance of understanding English language use and literacy among recent immigrants

One of the current trends in immigration studies by social scientists is to focus on deepening an understanding of the following aspects of the immigration experience in the United States: (a) assimilation dynamics among immigrant groups into mainstream social, economic and cultural institutions and activities, (b) economic stratification and geographic residential and economic patterns related to immigrant groups, and (c) acculturation of immigrant groups to the supposed 'American way of life,' or dominant culture. Place related studies tend to view immigration in terms of their spatial movements or migration experiences in connection to participation in economic systems (Hardwick 163; Light et al. 5; Zelinsky and Lee 282). Another aspect of place studies relates to the empowerment and disempowerment that may be associated with how and where immigrant groups engage in mainstream society (Cravey 357; Logan et al. 299; Pulido 768). Yet other place studies focus

on changing geographic patterns of immigration, including the trend for new immigrants to move directly to suburban areas (Alba et al. 590; Baldassare 480; Massey 100). Collectively, immigration and place studies have emphasized the importance of place as a context for immigrant experiences. However, less attention has been paid to giving voice to the perceptions of place among immigrants themselves. In particular few studies directly focus on the role that English language use and literacy plays in relationship to immigrant experiences and overall perceptions about the places that comprise their daily activities (Chacko 20; Hornberger 72; Winders).

The specific experiences of ethnic Chinese immigrants living in the Philadelphia metropolitan area serves as an example that can provide insights about the iterative relationship between literacy and spatiality and about assimilation processes. Philadelphia, a city which is home to the third largest Chinatown in the U.S., has been the locus of a long historical pattern of Asian immigration, with ethnic Chinese immigrants comprising the largest group of Asian immigrants during the past century (De Dunn and Paul 415; McGlenn 430; Rovito 20). Cybriwsky (17) and others (Wright et al. 235) have analyzed the urban social geography of some ethnic immigrant groups, and there is a large literature focusing on culture and immigration of various groups who have lived in Philadelphia (McCarthy 80; Taplin et al. 80; Whalen; Wokeck 174). There has been limited attention on the specific experiences of ethnic Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia (Guan 170; Rovito 23). Further, this work has not connected literacy with the spatiality of daily lives as a means analyzing the relationships among the processes of assimilation, socioeconomic mobility, cultural adaptation patterns, and community organization.

Many scholars on immigration have focused on the impact of English language literacy on assimilation and civic engagement processes by examining the communication practices between immigrant and non-immigrant populations. Moss argues that interaction between the two groups is one of the primary driving forces behind how immigrant groups are integrated within mainstream societal structures. They specifically examines the power relations around literacy and societal participation, by examining: (a) who has power, (b) how individuals use language, and (c) how individuals view literacy. The works of Lie (16) and Moss (85) underscore the need for those who research literacy to consider how it fits within the social structure of a given immigrant community. Lie and Moss show that the power structure of society is inherent in the communication process between mainstream and immigrant groups.

Conversely, Canieso-Doronila (50) suggests that one has to look at the social fabric of culture to understand the context within which literacy, learning, and language proficiency have meaning for immigrant groups. She argues that the lingua franca and languages of necessity or privilege within a given society are not necessarily the same. She further notes that this dichotomy can pose a potential problem within immigrant groups, leading to a dearth of community communication skills among immigrant groups. Espenshade and Fu (292) argue that the overarching perception

about immigrant groups by mainstream society is that immigrant groups are unwilling (or unable) to learn and use English. Their study demonstrates that pre- and post-immigration factors, such as duration of stay in a country along with characteristics of specific individuals, gender, education, age, marital status, number of children, and labor force status, play a significant role in the level of proficiency an individual may have in literacy of whatever language is used as the lingua franca of mainstream society. Chiswick and Miller (475) Espinosa and Massey (28), have described the importance of gaining language proficiency by immigrant groups as the defining characteristic of their ability to gain socio-economic status in their setting.

Linguistic distance and its impact on language proficiency is another factor that is cited by some scholars as especially relevant to acculturation and assimilation processes (Beenstock et al. 33; Chiswick 149). Linguistic distance is characterized as the deviation between the language commonly used among

a given immigrant group and the lingua franca of the mainstream society where they now reside. Geographic distance, or the physical distance of the immigrant's home country in relationship to their new country of residence, may exacerbate linguistic differences in some cases. For instance, among ethnic Chinese, the root of the language is

In this view, the physical, geographic distance between China and the U.S. is seen as a deterrent to maintaining language use cohesiveness among ethnic Chinese, while simultaneously contributing to the social and geographic isolation among immigrants who do not acquire English language proficiency.

not Germanic/Romantic-based as is the English language. Espenshade and Fu (290) and Chiswick and Miller (474) would suggest that Chinese dialects have a far linguistic distance between Cantonese Chinese most commonly used by ethnic Chinese immigrants and English used in mainstream society in the United States. In this view, the physical, geographic distance between China and the U.S. is seen as a deterrent to maintaining language use cohesiveness among ethnic Chinese, while simultaneously contributing to the social and geographic isolation among immigrants who do not acquire English language proficiency. This view underscores the need for geographers to continue to engage in nuanced and contextual research to move beyond a deterministic view of the impacts of English language literacy on spatiality, assimilation experiences, and workforce participation issues related to immigrant groups. As Pennell indicates, researchers need to expand the field of literacy into non-traditional spheres of interaction, means of discourse, and outcomes due to literacy issues. Our work answers this call to action by scrutinizing immigrant constructions of space and place stemming from varying degrees of operative literacy in host languages.

The persistence of urban ethnic enclaves as a context for daily activities among recent immigrants

Researchers have noted that recent immigrants follow the same patterns of prior generations in forming ethnic islands within the metropolitan areas in order to help one another adjust to a new and alien culture and place (Alba et al. 590). Gilbertson (660) and Stark view the process of immigrant enclaving as a “means of ascent,” or integration into society. Enclaving assuages the integration experience by allowing immigrants to adjust to new societal surroundings through drawing on support from their ethnic community. Zhou and Logan (390) suggest that recent immigrants rely extensively on the ethnic social networks formed in enclaves to navigate social and economic mobility processes within their new surroundings.

The study of ethnic enclaves also involves analyzing suburban settlements. Scholars have noted that suburban enclaves tend to resemble those of the inner city and are forming at increasing rates (Massey 640; Dorsett). Some have suggested that this is due to the purposeful spatial segregation imposed by majority populations in the U.S. along with the ethnic “intradependence” of immigrants (Noble; Portes and Jensen 770). The importance of being able to conduct everyday transactions in Chinese as a contributing factor that accounts for the geographic concentration of people, housing, and businesses in both urban and suburban enclaves. In such settings, English is unnecessary for navigating the activities of daily life among recent immigrants. Espenshade and Fu (288) and Chiswick and Miller (469) go further to suggest that living and transacting in large ethnic enclaves mitigates the exposure and use of English language among recent immigrants. On the one hand, urban enclaves and ethnic social networks facilitate transitions to and survival within, new places. On the other, integration into mainstream society and places is constrained for recent immigrants whose experiences are contextualized within ethnic enclaves (Massey 632; Fang and Brown 140). Further, processes of segregation of recent immigrants to ethnic enclaves by mainstream society reinforce their isolation and limit their acculturation and assimilation experiences as individuals and groups (Fong and Ooka 125).

Kwong (23) focus specifically on the experiences of ethnic Chinese immigrants. They argue that despite the fact that many ethnic Chinese immigrants know and use English to communicate with individuals who are not Chinese, most Chinese living in Chinatowns and surrounding Chinese enclaves in metropolitan areas use Chinese dialects among each other instead of English. They argue that this practice: (a) fosters the development of close-knit structures of families and friends, (b) increases reliance of immigrant ethnic Chinese on each other to adjust to society in the United States reduces the need to speak English, and (c) helps preserve cultural affiliation with their ethnic roots. Goad (2002) observes that ethnic Chinese immigrants in the U.S. are often operatively illiterate in English and remain so for years after they immigrate due to the persistent use of Chinese dialects to communicate within the population of ethnic Chinese in American society.

Study Design

Our aim was to examine how English language use and literacy among ethnic Chinese immigrants in the Philadelphia context is connected to place. We have suggested that a deeper examination of the routine experiences of daily life and perceptions about how language relates to economic and place opportunities and choices is an important factor in the continued importance of urban enclaves and ethnic social networks. We argued that this in turn matters for enhancing community literacy because of the extent to which English language use relates to empowerment for immigrants within employment, education, and civic institutions.

Our study employed a mixed methods approach to assess the role English language use and literacy has on the spatiality and assimilation of ethnic Chinese immigrants in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. We conducted 21 interviews among recent ethnic Chinese immigrants currently living in the Philadelphia metropolitan area in 2006. Interviewees were selected through informal contacts with key informants and service providers living in Philadelphia as well as through at-large calls for participation in the study advertised on fliers and email postings to Chinese community groups and bulletin boards. We chose not to interview more than one member of the same family or social peer group as a means of broadening our understanding of the range of responses from participants. Participants chosen were ethnic Chinese immigrants living within the metropolitan region of Philadelphia between the ages of 18-65. We sought to interview an equal number of males and females. All were physically able to navigate their built environments and urban transportation systems without assistance. Participants needed to be able to understand and respond to questions either in English or with the assistance of interpreters.

Interviewees completed 24 open-ended questions during face-to-face interviews that lasted from 30 minutes to 2 hours (see Figure 1). The interviews were designed to gain information about: (a) self-assessments related to English language literacy and use, (b) perspectives on the relationship between English language literacy and access to education, services and workforce participation (referred to as assimilation processes), and (c) the geographic extent of daily activities. We assessed this information to better understand patterns among the interviewees related to English language use and the locus of daily activities in and around Philadelphia.

Solicited survey information allowed for the study participant's history related to immigration and acculturation to be understood in relationship to the locations where their activities occur. This information was triangulated with data from secondary sources, such as demographic information from the U.S. Census, informal interviews with key informants involved in providing educational services among ethnic Chinese immigrants living in the Philadelphia area, and archival sources of information. In particular, interacting with key informants involved gaining access to resources to support the study. This included interacting around identifying and selecting

study participants, as well as securing space and interpretation services from community organizations.

Study participants were grouped into three categories from derivative interview information, specifically from questions 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15: low English proficiency (LP), medium English proficiency (MP), and high English proficiency (HP). Figure 2 shows the self-assessed literacy characteristics of each group. The specific questions used to assess English language literacy asked after the primary interview was concluded was: (a) Do you feel comfortable speaking and using English? (b) How literate/proficient do you consider yourself to be in English? (c) How well do you speak English? (d) How well do you read English? (e) How well do you write English? A sum of scores was used to rank the participants into categories.

We used language self-efficacy categories to examine such processes as: (a) intra-urban migration patterns among recent immigrants; (b) the impact of social networks among recent immigrants on measures of assimilation such as employment, education, and accessing social services; and (c) immigrant perspectives on engaging local community decision making processes and the role that the urban-based Chinatown affects ethnic Chinese life in and around the Philadelphia metropolitan area—the between group comparison of such key construct. The information solicited provides us with the evidence necessary to support past research and to project our own theories about community-building, literacy, and migration. Espenshade and Fu's work is supported in the interviews as pre- and post-immigration factors, as well as the overall strength of centralized Chinatown community, do indeed play significant roles in developing and/or limiting English literacy levels of participants. Further, the interviews support Chen's, as well as Yu Zhou's, research by highlighting the use of a Chinese dialect (Cantonese, Mandarin, or any hybrid dialect) in everyday transactions as a contributing factor accounting for the geographic concentration of people, housing, and businesses in Chinatown.

The interviews dictate that English is unnecessary for navigating the activities of daily life among participants, which supports Fang and Brown's research. Despite the fact that many ethnic Chinese immigrants know and use English to communicate with individuals who are not Chinese, most Chinese living in Chinatowns and surrounding Chinese enclaves in metropolitan areas use Chinese dialects among each other instead of English. Again, they argue that this practice: (a) fosters the development of close-knit structures of families and friends, (b) increases reliance of immigrant ethnic Chinese on each other to adjust to society in the United States reduces the need to speak English, and (c) helps preserve cultural affiliation with their ethnic roots. And, Goad's arguments on ethnic Chinese immigrants operative illiteracy in English for years after initial immigration is also supported in the interviews. Again, the persistent use of Chinese dialects to communicate within the population of ethnic Chinese in American society, and the social, economic, and cultural influence wielded by Chinatown, creates a situation where English takes a subordinate role in communication.

An important issue to highlight is that historically, Cantonese was the primary dialect used, due to the geographic region where immigrants hailed from, namely Canton. However, Mandarin Chinese is becoming more influential in everyday life in Chinatown. Some of the participants noted that because of this use of two dialects, many times they cannot understand each other. The use of a hybrid dialect called “*putong hua*”, meaning “common language” to communicate with each other. The most important part of this finding is that Chinese are willing to speak a new Chinese dialect instead of using English. Most, if not all, participants knew *putong hua* with at least 1/3 claiming it was their primary language. This issue further buttresses the overall argument that the overpowering influence of Chinatown and the cultural cohesion of ethnic Chinese assists in mitigating recent immigrants’ lives here in the United States. Such unity trumps the need to speak with the English speaking population, which is having a negative effect among many immigrants’ spatial activity and ability, or even desire, to assimilate into mainstream society. The Chinatown community is cyclically strengthened by new waves of immigrants choosing to speak other languages besides English. This can either be construed as positive in terms of preserving culture and ethnicity, or negative, where sums of people are systematically disadvantaged in mainstream society due to the initial immigration barriers, including language issues, unfamiliarity in the landscape, or economic disposition. Negatively, the influence of Chinatown allows few immigrants to progress beyond the initial phases of immigration due to the overwhelming influence it has over shaping the pathways how a given immigrant learns English and assimilates into society.

Implications for Future Research

The qualitative analyses of data support the conclusion that English language proficiency ultimately affects assimilation experiences either positively (community-building) or negatively (assimilation stagnation), as indicated above. It also supports the conclusion that geographic extent of activities and community construction is both reflective of and integral to those processes. Our results support Min Zhou’s research on the role that Chinatown plays in the lives of the entire region’s minority population. Also within the confines of this study, Portes & Jensen’s (768) Ethnic Resources Model is given merit as the results indicate that the ethnic enclave plays a larger role in the lives of immigrants than what was previously thought about minority populations of the past.

The differences in activity levels for the 3 participant groups (HIGH, MEDIUM, and LOW) are associated with the level of proficiency of the given group. As suggested at the onset of this study, high proficiency in English results in higher spatial spread (less geographic boundedness, less reliant upon the ethnic community) and low proficiency in English results in lower spatial spread (more geographic boundedness, more reliant upon the ethnic community). There were some variations to these conclusions, particularly among the MP participant outcomes where the geographic distribution of

activity locations did not correspond completely to the trends described by the theory advanced related to acculturation, English Language proficiency and mobility. However, the prime mitigator of this anomaly was the efficiency of the transportation network and ease of public transportation in the Philadelphia metropolitan region.

Based upon the presence of outlier daily activity pattern data (specifically among the MP data), it can be further stated that even the most basic increases in English language proficiency can be associated with an expansion of the geographic distribution of activities. Medium proficiency in English, was associated with accessing locations throughout the metropolitan area. This observation supports the decentralization theory of Massey & Denton (94). They note that in order for an immigrant to be able to extend spatially into the cityscape and surrounding region, that individual must begin the process of raising his/her level of English language proficiency to jumpstart the pattern of movement.

There are three major implications of our study that relate to the development of appropriate community literacy strategies for meeting the needs of the population we worked with. First, we found that there are sharply differing perspectives about place among participants in our study that correspond with level of English language self-efficacy. For instance, it is clear from our interviews that those with greater self-efficacy had fewer geographic constraints and broader movement elasticity within the Philadelphia region. This seemed to translate into better educational and job opportunities as well as a broader array of residential choices. Because of this, we suggest that community literacy programs should reflect the deep connection between literacy and place in the daily lives of immigrants. We call upon advocacy groups to account for this hierarchical split in the population and tailor specific services for each level of English-proficient immigrant groups. For example, for the highly-proficient group, advocacy groups could possibly focus on job interviewing skills and citizenship exams, if needed. For the low-proficiency level, advocacy groups could possibly focus on teaching English and learning life skills not only in Chinatown, but also outside the physical geographic boundaries of the immigrant enclave. The ultimate goal for advocacy groups should be to prepare or assist the individual to adjust to their new environs, but at the same time, help preserve their Chinese culture.

Second, map literacy seems to be an essential component of basic literacy for recent immigrants. We found that the two forms of literacy are mutually reinforcing, that is better ability to read in English related to better ability to read maps and navigate the city and vice versa. Community literacy programs that incorporate the importance of navigating local environments as a component of basic literacy would be of strong benefit to immigrant groups. Finally, participants in our study made intricate decisions about how best to apply their efforts to improve and expand literacy. Many chose to improve skills in mainstream Chinese dialects as opposed to English because of the importance of using a common Chinese dialect within their social and place based networks. We suggest that it is essential for community literacy

programs to understand the constraints immigrants face in navigating multiple ethnic realms in managing their daily lives.

Pre- and post-immigration factors were present in the analysis of the data; however they did not play the role that was first suspected in the beginning of the study. The amount of time spent study participants had lived in the United States tended to equate with engagement of English. However, there were no significant differences in the length of residence in the U.S. and English Language proficiency among the LP, MP and HP groups. However, some significant differences were found on an individual basis; for instance, there is some outlier data where participants had 30 or 45 years of living experience here in the United States and the rest of the given proficiency group having single-digit values for the amount of years spent here in the US. Therefore, time spent in the host society does affect the proficiency levels of the individuals.

And those with higher proficiency levels were overall more educated than those with lower proficiencies, a finding that is consistent with prior research. Outlying observations included three examples of LPs having 20, 25, and 27 years of formal schooling. Education does play a role in the advancement of language skill accrument, but this study points out that a large social network support system can remedy the language barrier and provide Chinese dialect services to the individuals, thus negating the immediate need to learn the dominant-tongue. This was found among participants in all three proficiency groups. For example, participants I-20 and I-21 expressed their on the support system of the ethnic Chinese community in the area where they live.

The influence of Philadelphia's Chinatown is still very strong in the ethnic Chinese minority population. All groups - LP, MP and HP - frequented Chinatown for food, culture, groceries, recreation, spiritual services, and/or social consultation. The fact that the majority of daily activity locations among LP participants are located in Chinatown and its vicinity suggests that the historical importance of Chinatown is still significant. Chinatown continues to be a center for self-efficacious, constantly regenerating, self-supporting social and economic systems among the study participants.

WORKS CITED

- Alba, Richard, John Logan, and Brian Stults. "The Changing Neighborhood Contexts of the Immigrant Metropolis." *Social Forces* 79.2 (2000): 587-621.
- Baldassare, Mark. "Suburban Communities." *Annual Review of Sociology* 18 (1992): 474-94.
- Beenstock, Michael, Barry Chiswick, and Gaston Repetto. "The Effect of Linguistic Distance and Country of Origin on Immigrant Language Skills: Application to Israel." *International Migration Review* 39.3 (2001): 33.
- Brown, Catherine and Clifton W. Pannell. "The Chinese in America." *Ethnicity in Contemporary America: A Geographical Appraisal*. Ed. Jesse McKee 2nd ed. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2000.

- Canieso- Doronila, Maria Luisa. *Landscapes of Literacy: An Ethnographic Study of Functional Literacy in Marginal Philippine Communities*. London: Unesco Institute for Education, Luzac Oriental, 1996.
- Chacko, Elizabeth "Ethiopian Ethos and the Making of Ethnic Places in the Washington Metropolitan Area." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 20 (2003).
- Chen, Hsiang-shui. *Chinatown no More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York*. Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Chiswick, Barry. "Reading, and Earnings among Low-Skilled Immigrants." *Journal of Labor Economics* 9.2 (1991): 149-70.
- Chiswick, Barry and Paul Miller. "The Complementarity of Language and Other Human Capital: Immigrant Earnings in Canada." *Economics of Education Review* 22.5 (2003): 469-80.
- Coogan, David. "Community Literacy as Civic Dialogue." *Community Literacy Journal*. 1.1 (2006).
- Cravey, Altha. "Desire, Work and Transnational Identity." *Ethnography* 6.3 (2005): 357-83.
- Cybrivsky, Roman. "Social Aspects of Neighborhood Change." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 68.1 (1978): 17.
- De Dunn, Sunjate and Bimal Kanti Paul. «Labour-Market Participation of Asian Indian Immigrant Women in the Greater Kansas City Metropolitan Area, USA.» *International Journal of Population Geography*. 8.6 (2002): 409-28.
- Dorsett, Ruth. *Ethnic Minorities in the Inner-City*. Ed. The Policy Press., 1998.
- Ellis, Mark, Richard Wright, and Virginia Parks. "Work Together, Live Apart?: Geographies of Racial and Ethnic Segregation at Home and at Work." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94.3 (2004): 620-37.
- Espenshade, Thomas and Haishan Fu. "An Analysis of English-Language Proficiency among U.S. Immigrants." *American Sociological Review* 62.2 (1997): 288-305.
- Espinosa, Kristin and Douglas Massey. "Determinants of English Proficiency among Mexican Migrants to the United States." *International Migration Review* 31.1 (1997): 28-50.
- Fang, Di and David Brown. "Geographic Mobility of the Foreign-Born Chinese in Large Metropolises, 1985-1990." *International Migration Review* 33.1 (1999): 137-55.
- Fong, Eric and Emi Ooka. "The Social Consequences of Participating in the Ethnic Enclave." *International Migration Review* 36.1 (2002): 125-46.
- Gilbertson, Greta. "Women's Labor and Enclave Employment: The Case of Dominican and Columbian Women in New York City." *International Migration Review* 29.3 (1995): 656-71.
- Goad, Tom. *Information Literacy and Workplace Performance*. Greenwood Publishing Group 2002.

- Guan, Jian. "Ethnic Consciousness Arises on Facing Spatial Threats to Philadelphia Chinatown." *Urban Ethnic Encounters: The Spatial Consequences*. Ed. Freek Colombijn and Aygen Erdetel. London: Routledge, 2002. 126-141.
- Hardwick, Susan. "Migration, Embedded Networks and Social Capital: Towards Theorising North American Ethnic Geography." *International Journal of Population Geography* 9.2 (2003): 163-79.
- Hornberger, Nancy. "Mother-Tongue Literacy in the Cambodian Community of Philadelphia." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 119 (1996): 69-86.
- Lie, Rico. *Space of Intercultural Communication: An Interdisciplinary Introduction to Communication, Culture, and Globalizing/Localizing Identities*. Hampton Press, Inc., 2003.
- Light, Ivan, Richard Bernard, and Rebecca Kim. "Immigrant Incorporation in the Garment Industry of Los Angeles." *International Migration Review* 33.1 (1999): 5-25.
- Logan, John, Wenquan Zhang, and Richard Alba. "Immigrant Enclaves and Ethnic Communities in New York and Los Angeles." *American Sociological Review* 67.2 (2002): 299-322.
- Lyons, Mark, Ed. *Espesjos y Ventanas: Historias Orales De Trabajadores Agricolas Mexicanos y Sus Familias*. Philadelphia: New City Community Press, 2004.
- Massey, Douglas. «The New Immigration and Ethnicity in the United States.» *Population and Development Review* 21.3 (1995): 631-52.
- Massey, Douglas and Nancy Denton. "Spatial Assimilation as a Socioeconomic Outcome." *American Sociological Review* 50.1: 94-106.
- McCarthy, John. "Extraordinary Uses of Ordinary Objects: Material Reflections of Ethnicity and Community Identity at the Cemeteries of the First African Baptist Church, Philadelphia." *Archaeological Review from Cambridge, Special Issue: Reconsidering Ethnicity: Material Culture and Identity in the Past* 19.2 (2004): 73-83.
- McGlinn, Lawrence. "Power Networks and Early Chinese Immigrants in Pennsylvania." *Journal of Historical Geography* 21.4 (1995): 430-45.
- Moss, Beverly. *Literacy Across Communities*. Hampton Press, Inc., 1994.
- Newbold, K. Bruce. "Immigration, Spatial Assimilation and Segmented Paths within the Metropolis." *Geography Research Forum* 23 (2003): 55-77.
- Noble, Allen. "The Character and Composition of Rural Ethnic Islands." *Ethnicity in Contemporary America: A Geographical Appraisal*. Ed. Jesse McKee. 2nd ed. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000.
- Pennell, Michael. "Community Literacy, Labor Market Intermediaries, and Community Communication Ecologies." *Community Literacy Journal* 1.2 (2007).
- Portes, Alejandro and Leif Jensen. „What’s an Ethnic Enclave?: The Case for Conceptual Clarity.“ *American Sociological Review* 52 (1987):

768-71.

- Pulido, Laura. "Race, Class, and Political Activism: Black, Chicana/o, and Japanese-American Leftists in Southern California, 1968-1978." *Antipode* 34.4 (2002): 762-88.
- Reardon, Sean and John Yun. "Suburban Racial Change and Suburban School Segregation, 1987-1995." *Sociology of Education* 74.2 (2001): 79-101.
- Rovito, Michael. "Determining the Role of Chinatown in the Lives of Philadelphia's Foreign-Born Ethnic Chinese Population." *The Pennsylvania Geographer* 45.1 (2007): 16-31.
- Stark, Oded. *The Migration of Labor*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.
- Taplin, Dana, Suzanne Scheld, and Setha Low. "Rapid Ethnographic Assessment in Urban Parks: A Case Study of Independence National Historic Park." *Human Organization: Journal of the Society for Applied Anthropology*. 61.1 (2002): 80-93.
- Whalen, Carmen. *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.
- Winders, Jamie. "New Americans' in a 'New-South' City? Immigrant and Refugee Politics in the Music City." *Social & Cultural Geography* 7.3 (2006).
- Wokeck, Marianne. "German and Irish Immigration to Colonial Philadelphia." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133.170 (1989): 174.
- Wright, Richard, Mark Ellis, and Michael Reibel. "The Linkage between Immigration and Internal Migration in Large Metropolitan Areas in the United States." *Economic Geography* 73.2 (1997): 234-54.
- Yang, Phillip. *Ethnic Studies: Issues and Approaches*. State University of New York Press, 2000.
- Zelinsky, Wilbur and Barrett Lee. "Heterolocalism: An Alternative Model of the Sociospatial Behaviour of Immigrant Ethnic Communities." *International Journal of Population Geography* 4.4 (1998): 281-98.
- Zhou, Min and John Logan. "In and Out of Chinatown: Residential Mobility and Segregation of New York City's Chinese." *Social Forces* 70.2 (1991): 387-407.
- Zhou, Min. *Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.
- Zhou, Yu. "Beyond Ethnic Enclaves: Location Strategies of Chinese Producer Service Firms in Los Angeles." *Economic Geography* 74.3 (1998): 228-51.

Michael Rovito is a doctoral student in the Temple University Department of Public Health. He received his BA (Millersville University, 2003) and MA (Temple University, 2006) in Geography. He currently serves as a Research Assistant for the Risk Communication Laboratory and teaches the Environmental Health and Nutrition courses in the undergraduate program. His research interests vary within men's health issues, but specifically focus on testicular cancer awareness and prevention. The current focus of his research involves developing a typology system to develop interventions promoting testicular cancer self-screening behaviors among at-risk males. He is a Graduate Fellow of the Information Technology and Society Research Group and Fellow-For-Life of the Albert Schweitzer Foundation. He is a member of the American Public Health Association, the Pennsylvania Public Health Association, and Editor for *Ku.Dos*, the Temple University Public Health news review.

Dr. Michele Masucci received her Doctorate in Geography from Clark University in 1987. She also holds an M.A. in Geography (Clark University 1986) and a B.S. in Geography and Regional Planning (Salisbury University 1982). She is currently the Director of the Information Technology and Society Research Group at Temple University and on appointment as an Associate Professor in the Department of Geography and Urban Studies at Temple University. Her research examines how barriers to accessing information resources using geographic information technologies are interrelated with community development and environmental quality problems, including accessing health, education, and social services. She has worked to develop university-community partnerships with organizations that address human rights issues, community and environmental planning organizations in the Southeastern U.S. and in Brazil involved in water quality monitoring and assessment, and with informal educational settings on integrating information technology curricula through educational programs aimed at advancing knowledge of to develop information resources allowed us to determine the role of literacy in the construction of place and community among participants for each proficiency group.