

# Enclaves, Social Capital and the City

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Submitted towards the fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Architecture Degree.

School of Architecture  
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We certify that we have read this Doctorate Project and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality in fulfillment as a Doctorate Project for the degree of Doctor of Architecture in the School of Architecture, University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

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# ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the migration, settlement, and adaptation of communities and their impacts on the transformation of host cities in the United States. I will borrow a social science term “enclave” to describe the uniqueness of these communities. Apart from the media and public at large, academic literature also portrays ambiguity about enclaves. Academic researchers and commentators of varying theoretical orientation differ in their views about enclaves. Some regard them positively, others regard them poorly and a few are unconcerned. Those steeped in the Chicago sociological tradition and the ‘melting pot’ perspective tends to view enclaves as cultural ghettos, obstructing the assimilation of ethnics;<sup>1</sup> whereas others inspired by European theoretical traditions and multicultural perspectives regard enclaves as expressions of cultural pluralism and sites of social capital formation.<sup>2</sup> However, little attention has been attributed toward the involvement of these self-sufficient, minority communities with the larger society. One important outcome of the thesis should thus be a theory or model that predicts or describes how to enable effective engagement (i.e., which mechanism to use, and how) in any particular situation. As a student of architecture I can provide such insight. Architecture requires more than the creative manipulation and coordination of material, technology, and environment. It is colored by the engagement of territory, culture, and structure. Examining society and enclaves with such lens enables me to identify the mechanisms for engagement.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925)

<sup>2</sup> Min Zhou, *Chinatown: The Economic Potential of an Urban Enclave* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

# INTRODUCTION

Growing up in an immigrant family has always been difficult, as I am torn by conflicting social and cultural demands while facing the challenge of entry into an unfamiliar and frequent hostile world. And yet the difficulties are not always the same. The process of growing up in America oscillates between smooth acceptance and traumatic confrontation depending on the characteristics that I and other immigrants bring along and the social context that receives them.

Differing from my immigrant parents, I and other immigrant, Khmer children lack meaningful connections to the “old” world. We are thus unlikely to consider a foreign country as a place to return to or as a point of reference. We instead are prone to evaluate ourselves or to be evaluated by others by the standards of their new country. I recall an incident with a good friend during my years in high school. Since we were both Asians, the topic of nationality never came up until our sophomore year. We were having a conversation about how students of similar race seem to hang out with one another and they do so in a particular spot. She then asked my ethnicity. When I told her that I was Cambodian she had a confused look on her face. Then she uttered something that I would never forget, “But you’re not dirty.” I was familiar with being differentiated from the white middle class (and to some degree I was even comfortable with it), but this was the first time I felt separated from other Asians. It seems that even amongst Asians, Cambodians were the lowest of classes and this was only one of many negative stereotypes I had to evaluate my ethnicity.

However, in my ethnic community I was free to be myself and develop my uniqueness to the fullest. From the depth of my being, lacing with detailed and perhaps specialized experiences (like that of being believed dirty), I can expect to find a few sympathetic listeners in this community. It was a place where I can speak my own language and eat my own food. We have the same mouthwatering sensation at the thought of an unripen, sour mango with salted and fresh chili; the same craving for fermented fish with steak

and fresh mints. We are able to retain our own distinctive heritage while interacting with other groups in the larger society. In my community the differences in values and norms are celebrated.

It has often been assumed that the mere existence of such communities has been a barrier to the integration of new comers to the larger society. There is considerable evidence in my own experience to contradict this assumption. The community allows for integration from a "leveled playing field." Each group is allowed to function on relatively equal ground and is afforded the same opportunities by the host population. My American experience indicates that the existence of separate communities has not prevented assimilation. The minority communities have had a number of positive contributions to make to the process of immigrant absorption and to the stability of the resulting social system. In creating communities, we have created additional enterprises and resources that supplement the American society instead of draining it.

### **Scope of Thesis**

A venerable research tradition in sociology views migration as destructive of social ties,<sup>3</sup> but seldom asks how such ties are reconstructed. Differences between newcomers and hometown residents in their social bonds to community may support this view,<sup>4</sup> but shed little light on the process by which migrants become part of a new community. How do migrants rebuild community ties?: through family and/or friends, through psychological coping, and/or other means. The main thrust of sociologist was necessarily descriptive. They noted the concentration of low-income groups and various ethnic groups within particular sections of the city, thereby, setting a good foundation to start thinking about the engagement processes to achieve integration of these communities into the larger society. The chapters that follow deal with several explorations of the enclave. First

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<sup>3</sup> Louis Wirth. 1938. "Urbanism as a Way of Life". American Journal of Sociology 44: 3-24.

<sup>4</sup> John D. Kasarda and Morris Janowitz. 1974 "Community Attachment in Mass Society." American Sociological Review 39: 328-339.

communities will be examined to see how well these examples meet the definition of enclaves. This chapter emphasizes the geographic aspects of demographic and business change within a section of the city. It focuses on the role of neighborhood concentration and variegation in addressing how well this emerging community meets the definition of an enclave.

Second, the enclave will be redefined in terms of social capital. Given the above description of enclaves, the tradition that confines use of the term to minority or ethnic concentrations is too limiting. Associations are spread geographically and are ordered and concentrated in terms of how similar they are and how they complement one another. Social ties, interaction, organizational structures, and affiliations – or any combinations among them – can be the primary bases of enclaves. This perspective of enclave inheres immediately to the social relations of individuals and not determined or constrained by ethnicity. In the material world, it is embedded in the formal organizations and institutions within a definable enclave that structure and guide the social relations.

Third, the enclave will be investigated in terms of its formation and reformation. This section primarily deals with several hypotheses. First, enclave formation has been determined by specific contexts of exit and reception. The contexts of exit can be defined by pull and push factors.<sup>5</sup> The pull factors are subject to not only structural opportunities and the need for labor but also the need for family reunification in the host society, whereas the push factors depend on the sociocultural, political, and economic situation of the sending community. The contexts of reception can be defined by the government policies and labor-market conditions of the host society and by the preexisting social and economic structures of the migrators.<sup>6</sup> Generally, these migrating groups are unavoidably caught in a culturally stratified system created to protect the status and interests of native workers and to block the upward mobility of the migrants. They are also inevitably bound by an entangling network of social relationships, which is framed by cultural solidarity

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<sup>5</sup> A. Portes and R. L. Bach, "Immigrant Earnings" (1980)

<sup>6</sup> A. Fortes and R.G. Rumhau, "Immigrant American" (1990) 85.

and mobilization around the symbols of a common culture. Specific strategies and modes of enclave formation vary to accommodate the changing contexts.<sup>7</sup>

Fourth, the critical focus of the investigation becomes the boundary that defines the enclave, not the cultural stuff that it encloses. The boundaries to which we must give our attention are of course social boundaries, though they may have territorial counterparts. Social boundaries are patterns of social interaction – such as “extensive family and kinship networks, interpersonal relations constrained by sentiment, trust, obligation, and other cultural values and norms, and so on” – that gives rise to, and subsequently reinforce enclave members’ sense of place and outsiders’ confirmation of group distinctions.<sup>8</sup> Boundaries are therefore better understood as social mediums through which associations transpire rather than as territorial demarcations. Within the boundaries, members are effectively shielded from deficiencies in language, education, skills, and general knowledge of the larger society.

Fifth, enclaves, whether based on ethnicity or lifestyle, are not all the same. But neither are they so unique that we must abandon any hope of finding patterns. Bringing social capital to the front of the enclave definition immediately inhere it to the social relations of individuals and not determined or constrained by race or preference. This allows for the classification and comparison in terms of the social context. In essence, we are able to compare apples to apples. These communities, of course, cannot be fully known through predictable scientific models. Their populations are ever shifting, their boundaries are permeable and contracting, and their very existence is conceptual. But there are helpful patterns that we can use to classify enclaves into an array of types. And these types can be instructive, informing the choice of strategies and engagements that can realistically be obtained.

Finally, we will start thinking about the engagement processes to achieve integration of enclave members into the larger society. This focus is to reveal the distinct modes of

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<sup>7</sup> Min Zhou, Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995) 13-14.

<sup>8</sup> Min Zhou, Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995) 12.



incorporation of the enclave into the host society. Engagement as widely understood (and imprecisely defined) can take many forms, in many different situations, with many different types of participants, requirements, and aims (and so on), for which different mechanisms may be required to maximize effectiveness. One important outcome of the thesis should thus be a theory or model that predicts or describes how to enable effective engagement (i.e., which mechanism to use, and how) in any particular situation.

This topic raises new questions about the process of newcomers integration into a host society. What are the paths of integration? And what makes a difference in the paths that are taken? The major findings—that a typology of paths can be distinguished, in the form of engagements, and that network variables make the most difference in path taken—are interpreted in light of various theoretical explanations of the integration process.

# CHAPTER 1

## COMMUNITIES, ENCLAVES AND SOCIETY

“Community” is a good warm word frequently invoked by citizens, social workers, and politicians. It is considered good because its members cooperate; they help one another. Cooperation presupposes effective cohesion, which is said to be another characteristic of community, distinguishing it from society, whose members are often strangers to one another. The word "society," by contrast, is more ambivalent. On the one hand, "society" invokes something large and impersonal; on the other hand, something elitist and exclusive, as in the expression "high society" or, closer to home, Hollywood society. The word "enclave" is often bracketed with community, but even more differentiated from society, the enclave came under suspicion in the last half of the twentieth century after immigration barriers were lifted.

The words "community" and "society" are often used interchangeably. The words differ, however, in emotional tone—the one warm and particularistic, the other cool and abstract. Another difference is that, whereas a group can be any size, a community usually evokes something small, made up of people living in close physical proximity, as in a neighborhood, village, or town. Community becomes society when it has grown large and complex. The difference between the two is not just size. For example, even though community deemphasizes the individual, personal relationships are said to be warm. By contrast, even though society promotes individualism and argues that every individual is significantly different from other individuals and hence worth paying some attention to, personal relationships are said to be cool and superficial.

Associations in society are deemed cool and impersonal. But these traits do not necessarily imply indifference, for they may well be the most efficient means of extending civility and helpfulness to large numbers of people, most of whom are strangers.

Moreover, although cool relationships may be the dominant mode in society, they do not displace other modes. Society, for example, permits and even encourages friendship. By friendship, I do not mean camaraderie, the warm feeling one has toward one's fellow workers, but the exchange and joint construction of inner and outer worlds between equals. Such an undertaking, which presupposes the existence of private space, is far more likely to occur in a society than in a community.

The term 'community' is widely used by sociologists, neighborhood workers, and others, but often with widely divergent meanings. In research in any field it is necessary to define our concepts and to make relevant distinctions. In the literature of the subject there is a growing disposition to emphasize as one of the fundamental aspects of community its geographical setting. Whatever else the community may be, it signifies individuals, families, groups, or institutions located upon an area and some or all of the relationships which grow out of this common location.<sup>1</sup>

Located within or adjacent to the communities are specialized commercial enterprises and institutions that support the inhabitants' special ways of life. Examples include grocery stores and restaurants that offer food from people's countries of origin; bars, nightclubs, theatres, and newspapers that cater to particular needs and interests; and supporting institutions such as churches and community centers. Each distinctive group, along with its stores and institutions, occupies a geographic area that becomes intimately associated with the group. Through this linkage, areas acquire symbolic qualities that include their social histories. The area, both as a geographic entity and as a space with social meaning, thus becomes a community. People who live in these communities have their most meaningful relationships with those who cohabit in their worlds. Many of the residents' neighbors are also their family, relatives and close friends, for example, and there are ongoing and diffuse relationships between customers and local store owners. Social relationships may have their roots in at least two different aspects of community life.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925) 144.

In the [first] place, the community may be conceived in terms of the effects of communal life in a given area upon the formation or the maintenance of a local culture. Local culture includes those sentiments, forms of conduct, attachments, and ceremonies which are characteristic of locality, which have either originated in the area or have become identified with it. This aspect of local life may be called 'the cultural community.'<sup>2</sup>

Within the cultural community, there exist many relationships. Urban sociologists use several different approaches to the notion of relationship to capture changes in how individual urbanites are tied together into meaningful social groups and how those groups are tied to other social groups in the broader territory they occupy.

An interactional relationship is indicated by networks of routine, face-to-face primary interaction among the members of a group. This is most evident among close friends and in families, tribes, and closely knit locality groups. An ecological relationship is delimited by routine patterns of activity that its members engage in to meet the basic requirements of daily life. It corresponds with the territory over which the group ranges in performing necessary activities such as work, sleep, shopping, education, and recreation. Compositional relationships are clusters of people who share common social characteristics. People of similar race, social status, or family characteristics, for example, form a compositional community. A symbolic relationship is defined by a commonality of beliefs and attitudes among its members. Its members view themselves as belonging to the group and are committed to it. A gathering relationship is fueled by "the desire to escape the dull routine of life at home and in the local community, [which] drives us abroad in search for adventure. This romantic quest, which finds its most outrageous expression in" night clubs, pool halls, theatres, and the like, "is characteristic of almost every other expression of modern life."<sup>3</sup> This community is characterized by networks of un-routine, face-to-face primary interaction among the members of closely knit locality groups and/or the members of different social groups. The network can be composed of the interactional community, as well as the ecological community.

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<sup>2</sup> IBID 144.

<sup>3</sup> IBID 117.

[Second] of all, there is the community viewed almost exclusively in terms of location and movement. How far the area itself, by its very topography, and by all its other external and physical characteristics, as railroads, parks, types of housing, conditioned community formation and exerted a determining influence upon the distribution of its inhabitants and upon their movements and life?<sup>4</sup>

This aspect of community life may be called the built community. There will always be homes and something more: churches, schools, playgrounds, a communal hall, a local theatre perhaps, and of course, business and industrial enterprises. Communities might well be classified by the number and variety of the physical institutions. The arrangement and eventual rearrangement of these institutions are determined by the growth of the cultural community.



**Figure 1.1:** *Settlement distinctions in the city.*

## Enclaves

A community sometimes coincides with cultural distinctions and territorial segregation in the host society. Widely acknowledged cultural differences can sharpen in-group members' self-identification and out-group acknowledgment of intergroup distinctions

<sup>4</sup> IBID 144.

resulting in racial or ethnic minorities living in economically self-contained communities referred to by sociologists as enclaves. The adjective “enclave” is not just there to invoke the concept of “ethnic economy,” but refers to a specific phenomenon, one that is bounded by an identifiable minority community and embedded in a system of community-based minority social relations and observable institutions. In contrast to community, enclaves in large and flourishing societies are free to be themselves and develop their talents to the fullest. Even when members from the depth of their being, lacing what they say with detailed and perhaps specialized knowledge, they can expect to find a few sympathetic listeners in the enclave.

A large segment of enclave and city thinking draws inspiration from the Chicago school of sociologists.

Park, Burgess and McKenzie (1925) wrote voluminously on the city and elaborated an interpretation of city form in ecological terms. They noted the concentration of low-income groups and various ethnic groups within particular sections of the city. Park and Burgess both appeared to regard the city as a sort of man-produced, ecological complex within which the processes of social adaptation, specialization of function and of life style, competition for living space, and so on acted to produce a coherent spatial structure, the whole being held together by some culturally derived form of social solidarity which Park (1926) called “the moral order”. The various groups and activities within the city system were essentially bound together by this moral order, and they merely jockeyed for position (both social and spatial) within the constraints imposed by the moral order.<sup>5</sup>

This tradition has had an extraordinarily powerful influence over enclave thinking. Hence, three general models have prevailed to describe enclaves. One model, advocated by the assimilationist and colored by the experiences of Chinese immigrants, views the enclave as an economic and social “stepping-stone” into the wider, host society. Groups of people, fresh from overseas, would settle in segregated, dilapidated sections of the

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<sup>5</sup> David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1975) 131.

expanding society, often adjacent to the central business district.<sup>6</sup> Variations in skills and urban orientation spurred some of the main differences in labor market experiences. Chinese sojourners started off as general laborers for the railroad, whereas Cambodian refugees were placed with sponsors to help adapt to the host society. Specializations could persist through several generations, characterizing a group's occupational experience. Ethnic businesses provided recently arrived immigrants with special foods, eating establishments, and saloons. Separate economic development, in the embrace of segregated neighborhoods, was significant for only a short while. These neighborhoods functioned primarily to boost immigrants into the mainstream, host economy and into a middle-class lifestyle. Upward mobility coincided with the spatial dispersion of people and of business activity.

The majority of the new immigrants have to settle temporarily in less-desirable areas, depend on each other for survival, and take whatever jobs are available in order to survive in their new country. Most of the time, they are limited to jobs that are located at the narrow margins of the larger economy or to small scale, family-based, low-wage businesses developed by ethnic sub-economies. Yet, they slowly learn as they go. As members of ethnic groups climb up the socioeconomic ladder, they tend to convert their status attainments into contacts with the host group by moving out of their original ethnic community and into places with higher status and greater advantages. In time, immigrant communities disperse as interethnic contacts become more frequent and ethnic group members become acculturated and establish themselves socioeconomically in the larger society. Therefore, segregation is only temporary. The ethnic enclaves are viewed as a “stepping stone” to the larger population as distinctive ethnic traits disappear and residential dispersion occurs as natural and inevitable outcomes of race contact. An ethnic enclave, according to the same logic, is significant only in serving the short-term survival needs of the newcomers. Thus, the possible fate of the ethnic enclave is twofold. It may diminish as group members, having improved their labor-market position and absorbed mainstream values, choose residences in more affluent society, retaining only a

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<sup>6</sup> Theodore Hershberg, et. Al., “A Tale of Three Cities: Blacks and Immigrants in Philadelphia: 1850-1880, 1930 and 1970,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 441 (1979): 55-81.

“symbolic” ethnicity. Or it may remain as a continuously declining ghetto made up of only the least successful group members.

The assimilation model posits that all ethnic groups, regardless of national origin or racial and ethnic background, tend to be drawn into economic mainstream and to gain social acceptance through their educational and occupational achievements. It hypothesizes an inverse relationship between residential segregation and socioeconomic status. Because of the initial disadvantages associated with immigrant status, such as lack of knowledge of English, information about the host society, working skills, and employment networks, new immigrants often confront various obstacles in crossing the threshold to the larger society. Therefore, upon arrival, they usually form their own ethnic enclaves and cluster around those communities.<sup>7</sup>

A second model contradicts the melting-pot assumption that immigrants should lose their cultural uniqueness and acquire values of the host population in order to enjoy the fruits of the middle-class society. Known as the ethnic-cultural model, it argues for the existence of an acceptance or tolerance of the diversity of various minority groups in their modes of comingling to the larger society.

It assumes that ecological factors do produce significant effects upon segregation of ethnic communities in the urban environment, precisely by supporting the vitality of distinctive cultures. Though segregated, people in cities live in meaningful social worlds. These worlds are inhabited by different groups, based on ethnic culture, religion, shared values, beliefs, and behaviors, or other common traits.<sup>8</sup>

The ethnic-cultural model is no doubt a form of segregation; it represents a particular mode of adaptation of immigrant Chinese to American society. Sociologists who use this approach consider ethnic segregation a result of exposure to a dominant culture. Segregated ethnic communities provide the sense of physical and psychic security that comes from the familiar and dependable environment. Although, over time, the

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<sup>7</sup> Min Zhou, *Chinatown: The Economic Potential of an Urban Enclave* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992) 2.

<sup>8</sup> IBID 3.



immigrants and their descendants may move to newer and better neighborhoods in the wider society, the original area of settlement often remains a center for ethnic stores and services and thereby a symbol of common ethnic identity. Thus, the ethnic-cultural model does not completely deny the possibility of eventual assimilation, but this process is not necessarily preceded by a loss of individual ethnic traits and cultural identity.

The ethnic-cultural model asserts that communal solidarity helps immigrant groups respond to the specificity of the immigrant situation, by organizing the collective resources needed to exploit economic opportunities and, thus, providing an 'elective affinity' with the requirements of an ethnic subeconomy. The development of ethnic subeconomies necessarily depends upon a combination of ethnic and class resources. Unlike any bourgeois in the larger economy, who presumably utilizes only his or her class resources – human capital and physical capital – to prosper in business, the ethnic bourgeois has a unique access to ethnic resources. He or she is able to draw upon traditional values and solidarities in business establishments. These ethnic resources enable ethnic entrepreneurs to widen their profit margins, and support them in the competitive environment of the larger economy. In doing so, the ethnic subeconomy provides a means of social mobility for the entrepreneurs themselves and a means of survival for their co-ethnics who are denied entry into the larger labor market because of initial disadvantages.<sup>9</sup>

However, it is not completely sealed off from the rest of the world. On the contrary, it has always interacted with the larger society, and the interface between the two worlds has increased over the years depending on specific goal orientations of the immigrant group.

The experience of adaptation for some immigrant groups suggests contrasting paths that do not agree with the unilinear process of assimilation offered by the assimilation model and implied by the ethnic-cultural model. An alternative views the ethnic neighborhood as an incubator of ethnic enterprise, affording opportunities that may equal or surpass

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<sup>9</sup> Zhou 3.

those of the mainstream economy.<sup>10</sup> Sociologist, Alejandro Portes and his colleagues have put forward the enclave-economy model to emphasize both, the enclave economy and enclave network, as crucial player in social mobility and status attainment of enclave group members.<sup>11</sup>

The enclave-economy model contains both an economic and a cultural component. The ethnic enclave is understood as a segmented sector of the larger economy, a partially autonomous enclave economic structure constituting a distinct labor market. The enclave economy, as well as its related labor market, is structured in a way similar to the larger economy, but it functions to support ethnic businesses and to help them compete more successfully in the larger economic system. With the existence of such an alternative, immigrants do not necessarily start from the secondary economy or at the lowest rung of the social ladder. Instead, they can organize themselves to trade exclusively or primarily within the enclave.<sup>12</sup>

Zhou specifically argues that the enclave economy also benefits from the positive cultural identity of the group through such communal institutions as the family, kinship networks, and other ethnic social institutions. Ethnic solidarities, in the long run, help immigrant entrepreneurs mobilize the collective resources needed to exploit the opportunities for small-scale and provide immigrant workers with work conditions and return on past human capital investment that replicate the primary economy. Within the highly differentiated enclave, members can conduct their daily work and leisure activities without extensive interaction with the larger society. In practice, the majority of the immigrants choose the enclave economy over the larger economy basically because the enclave offers not only security and shelter against overt ethnic discrimination but also opportunities for upward social mobility. As a result, the cost of employment in the host labor market for enclave workers can be effectively reduced. "In this sense, being confined to the enclave does not necessarily mean the "failure" of assimilation, for the enclave

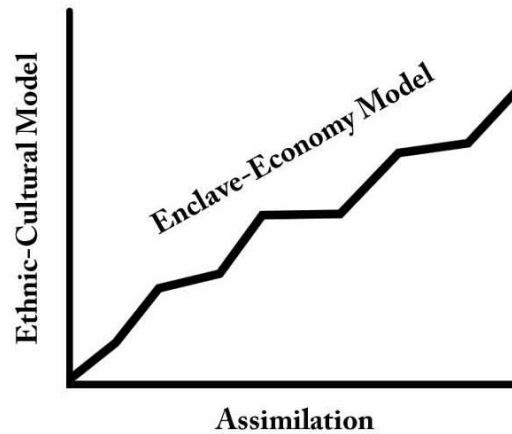
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<sup>10</sup> Alejandro Portes and L. Jensen, "The enclave and the entrants: Patterns of ethnic enterprise in Miami before and after Mariel," *American Sociological Review* 54 (1989): 929-949.

<sup>11</sup> Alejandro Portes and Robert L. Bach, "Immigrant Earnings: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States," *International Migration Review* 14(1980): 315-341.

<sup>12</sup> Zhou 4.

economy helps immigrants surmount structural obstacles and raise themselves socioeconomically; it is simply another mode of immigrant incorporation.”<sup>13</sup>



**Figure 1.2:** *Enclave model graph showing relationships between the models.*

The graph above represents the relationships between the enclave models. These theoretical models have, in one way or another, tackled some of the most important research issues of minority integration into the host society. The assimilation model argues that immigrants have to compete with native workers and other ethnic groups for economic opportunities in the larger society and that ethnic enclaves depend for their economic success or failure upon the opportunities provided by the open market. The opportunity is typically an enclave niche, which is supposed to best fit an enclave group. “The assimilation process, thus, is viewed as a series of stages culminating in absorption of the dominant social values and cultures of the mainstream, or at least one of its subsegments.”<sup>14</sup>

The ethnic-cultural approach rests on the hypothesis that some cultures predispose their members toward the successful pursuit of certain specific goals in order to live side by side

<sup>13</sup> Zhou 5.

<sup>14</sup> Zhou 5.

the host society. It perceives assimilation without acculturation. Immigrants are able to retain their own distinctive heritage while interacting with other groups in the larger society. Under this theory, differences in values and norms do not result in prejudice and discrimination. Each group is allowed to function on relatively equal ground and are afforded the same opportunities by the host population.

Finally, the enclave-economy model integrates some parts of the ethnic-cultural model and the assimilation model in which an enclave can incorporate with the larger society. In a sense, being confined to an enclave is not the failure of assimilation but it is simply another mode of immigrant incorporation. Thus, immigrants have always undergone adaptation to the larger society, and they will continue to do so. Yet, the direction, pace, and the manner in which the second or later generations become integrated depends on the modes of adaptation and economic accomplishment of the earlier immigrants.<sup>15</sup>

### **Distinctions of an Enclave**

The idea of an enclave needs to be kept conceptually distinct from that of a community. “Most [community] groups initially resettle in [culturally] concentrated communities and generate a few small businesses to serve immediate, specialized consumption needs. [Communities] fulfill important social support functions, but lack the extensive division of labor of the enclave and, especially, its highly differentiated entrepreneurial class.”<sup>16</sup> Communities generally display low rates of entrepreneurship to provide a service to the community or fulfill a demand for specialized stores. But an enclave confers benefits by virtue of its very concentration. It provides enclave entrepreneurs easier access to capital, supplies, labor, and markets, while it also creates decent job opportunities for other members of the ethnic community. Both an enclave and a community can be an effective avenue for economic mobility for the ethnic group. However, in an enclave, culture can be converted into an economic asset within a protected economic niche.<sup>17</sup> Community

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<sup>15</sup> Portes and Bach 347.

<sup>16</sup> Portes and Bach 204-205.

<sup>17</sup> Min Zhou and John R. Logan, “Returns on Human Capital in Ethnic Enclaves: New York City’s Chinatown,” *American Sociological Review* (1989): 809-820.

businesses are made up of several successful entrepreneurs who, while possibly interacting for the moment, have few financial incentives to cohere as a community. They also have fewer reasons to concentrate spatially, since they may be more likely to serve nonethnic markets, to recruit outside the community, to get credit from nonethnic banks, and to conduct business transactions outside the group. An enclave's reliance on group resources derived from the community suggests an ethnic economy composed of business owners indebted to co-ethnics for start-up capital, employees recruited through informal channels, and a customer base that is captive or loyal or both. These firms will have more reasons to secure ethnic territory and will benefit more from spatial clustering.

Perspectives on enclaves often use different definitions, leading to confusion and contradictory interpretations. As discussed in the previous section, this confusion is further amplified by conceptual differences between the assimilation model, the ethnic-cultural model and the enclave-economy model. The central idea of the enclave concept is that the enclave is more than just a shelter for the disadvantaged who are forced to take on either self-employment or marginal-wage work in small business. Rather, the enclave possesses the potential to develop a distinct structure of economic opportunities as an effective alternative path to social mobility. To develop this picture of the enclave, I categorized six distinctions. Each set aimed to characterize a particular aspect of the enclave's economic and cultural capacity.

### *Embeddedness*

The difference between a collection of community businesses or a residential clustering and a true enclave depends on how well integrated various enclave enterprises and neighborhoods are with each other and with the broader host society. As Mark Granovetter, an American sociologist, has argued, economic behavior is closely embedded in the ongoing structures of social relations.<sup>18</sup> This embeddedness denies that the individual is a self-interested organism who bases his or her rational calculation purely on maximizing benefits and minimizing costs. It also endows the individual with

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<sup>18</sup> Mark Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure," International Business: Critical Perspectives on Business and Management, ed. Alan M. Rugman (New York: Routledge, 1985) 481-510.

resources beyond his or her control.<sup>19</sup> These resources – namely, a specific social context, extensive family and kinship networks, interpersonal relationships constrained by sentiment, trust, obligation, and other cultural values and norms, and so on – constitute a pool of social capital specific to ethnicity.<sup>20</sup> If it is generated from an ethnic enclave, this social capital can give its group members a competitive edge in their struggle for socioeconomic mobility, despite their limited material and human-capital resources.

Minorities participating in the enclave's economy are largely affected by the long-standing structures of social relations. "They depend on the enclave not because they are willing to accept low-wage jobs, poor working conditions, and exploitation but rather because they view it as a better option."<sup>21</sup> In the enclave they are provided with a familiar work environment in which they are effectively shielded from deficiencies in language, education, and general knowledge of the larger society. They can obtain firsthand information on employment and business opportunities through their family members, kin and enclave members and so avoid the expense in time and effort involved in finding good jobs in the larger market. They are able to work longer hours to accumulate family savings more quickly. They can gain access to rotating credit, clan associations, and the family for financial support and resources mobilization. Finally, they can get job training and cultivate an entrepreneurial spirit at work, possibly preparing themselves for eventual transition to self-employment. "The 'willing self-exploitation' of the enclave workers apparently brings about profits for ethnic entrepreneurs, but the entrepreneurs are also obligated to help train the workers in occupational skills and to promote eventual transition to self-employment."<sup>22</sup>

Though dominated by small marginal businesses that are extremely competitive and susceptible to business succession, it is not simply an extension of the larger host economy. Rather, it has developed beyond the margins of the large economic structure.

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<sup>19</sup> Alejandro Portes and L. E. Guarnizo, "Tropical Capitalists: US-bound Immigration and Small Enterprise Development the Dominican Republic," *Migration, Remittances, and Small Business Development: Mexico and Caribbean Basin Counties*, ed. S. Diaz-Briquets and S. Weintraub (CO: Westview Press, 1991)

<sup>20</sup> J. S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *Knowledge and Social Capital*, ed. Eric L. Lesser (MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2000) 17-42.

<sup>21</sup> Portes and Bach.

<sup>22</sup> Portes and Bach.

The enclave is represented by a structural duality – a protected sector and an export sector – that operates partially by its own principles. The protected sector is secured by the enclave’s own ethnic capital, labor, and consumer markets, and the export sector serves the needs of the host economy. On the one hand, this structural organization enables the enclave to circulate capital between the two sectors and to prevent resource drain. It also works to increase the interface between the enclave export sector and the larger economy, hence gradually incorporating itself as a distinctive segment of the larger economy. On the other hand, this structural duality makes it possible for the enclave economy to diversify, generating a wide range of opportunities for immigrant Chinese to pursue careers commensurate with their past human-capital investment despite initial disadvantages associated with immigration. Businesses provide tangible benefits to group members – employment security, shelter against overt or covert ethnic discrimination, and for some, opportunities for upward advancement within the enclave.<sup>23</sup>

### *Commonality*

A shared sense of values that reflects the way peoples “know the world” and how to act within it. Commonality includes the dynamics of who we know and feel comfortable with, what heritages are valued, collaboration across races, ethnicities, and generations, etc. It influences what voices are heard and listened to, which voices have influence in what areas, and how creativity, innovation, and influence emerge and are nurtured.

Although commonality is analytically distinct from culture, the boundaries between them are ambiguous, with considerable borrowing of ideas. Culture is something which applies to a given, distinct group of people and involves the habits of that people as distinct from the habits of other peoples. Commonality refers to something which applies to the dynamics of what is valued. Culture may include ethnic festivals or heritages; while commonality may include strong work ethics or honesty.

They may share some habits. The Irish, for example, are not the only people fond of whiskey, nor are they the only people fond of singing about it. Night club patrons are also fond of drinking and dancing. However, these habits can still be considered distinctively

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<sup>23</sup> Zhou 14.

their own, even if at the same time they are distinctively someone else's. Another observation about commonality we can make based simply on its common usage is that it tends to bind a people together very strongly and instill certain values very actively.

### *Enforceable Trust*

The enclave components "made sense" in that they generated and cultivated moral standards, most decisive for retaining support and loyalty, and which Zhou describes as "enforceable trust".<sup>24</sup> It denotes a behavioral orientation of non-indifference, namely, to deliberately put one's own utility maximization, at least temporarily, behind the pursuit of utility of others for the sake of promoting the welfare of the collectivity to which one belongs. It is based upon recognized moral, not just legal, duties and implies an association between worker and employer as an apprentice relationship. Enforceable trust is gained from group solidarity, the ties in a society that bind people to one another. What forms the basis of solidarity varies between societies. In Zhou's ethnic enclave it is mainly based around kinship and shared values.<sup>25</sup> In more complex societies there are various theories as to what contributes to a sense of social solidarity. In essence, it's the reason for the enclave. The enclave benefits from the positive cultural identity of the group through such communal institutions as the family, kinship networks, and other social institutions. Solidarities, in the long run, help immigrant entrepreneurs mobilize the collective resources needed to exploit the opportunities for small-scale enterprises and provide minority workers with work conditions and return on past human capital investment that replicate the primary economy. Within the highly differentiated enclave, members can conduct their daily work and leisure activities without extensive interaction with the larger society.

### *Sectorial Norm*

Enclave economies tend to concentrate in a few economic sectors, just as enclave employees tend to be found in certain fields. This specialization might reflect a specific set of skills, niches that are available for enterprise, the outcome of an informal network,

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<sup>24</sup> Zhou

<sup>25</sup> Zhou



or the needs of the marketplace. Initial exposure may then create an opening for other members of the enclave. Sociologist, Ivan Light, details how Asian groups in Los Angeles sell liquor licenses within the group rather than to outsiders.<sup>26</sup> Similar processes have also been observed in hiring process. Such ethnic specializations are often in small, mom-and-pop type businesses, but this does not apply in all contexts.

Enclave occupations tend to concentrate in a few educational sectors. Khmer immigrant parents, for example, take a pragmatic stance on education. They see education not only as the most effectively means to success in society but also the only means. The parents are keenly aware of their own limitations as immigrants and the larger structural constraints, such as limited family wealth even among middle-income immigrants, lack of access to social networks connecting to the mainstream economy and various social and political institutions, and entry barriers to certain occupations because of racial stereotyping and discrimination. Their own experience tells them that a good education in certain fields would be a safe bet for their children to get good jobs in the future. These fields include science, math, engineering, and medicine, as well as business and law to a lesser extent. Therefore, in practice, the parents are concerned more about their children's academic coursework, grades, majors, and college rankings than about the children's well-rounded learning experience. They would discourage their children's interests in pursuing design, history, literature, music, dance, sports, or anything that they consider unlikely to lead to well-paying, stable jobs.

### *Territorial anchoring*

The residential segregation of an enclave group might correspond with the clustering of enclave business activity, and indeed certain neighborhoods are often defined by a concentration of culturally oriented businesses. A strong correlation has been observed, for example, between the density of enclave members and enclave businesses.<sup>27</sup> Sassen-Koob suggests that this correspondence functions to take advantage of cheaper, more pliable labor for industries in the formal sector, as well as to meet the internal demands of

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<sup>26</sup> Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles, 1965-1982* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)

<sup>27</sup> Lee, D., Commodification of ethnicity: The Sociospatial Reproduction of Immigrant Entrepreneurs. *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 28 (1992):258-75.

the ethnic community itself.<sup>28</sup> However, research on enclaves to date also indicates that it is important to distinguish between where enclave members live and where they work because the enclave economy is not always the same as the enclave neighborhood.<sup>29</sup> A true ethnic enclave is less spatially dependent than either the stepping-stone neighborhood or the disadvantaged neighborhood in that it serves a more geographically dispersed population of enclave members.

In the real world, few enclaves satisfy all of the above criteria absolutely. But there is almost always one type that best characterizes a given neighborhood. Most of the research to date has focused primarily on combinations of these criteria. In any event, a single model conceals important distinctions between ethnic groups (one reason why lumping together all Asians or all Latinos may be unwise) and also hides variations in urban context and in timing. The relationship between a given ethnic group and a given economic structure is almost synergistic, with each group seizing whatever opportunity is available to it in a particular context. At the same time, the concept of an ethnic economic enclave requires some standard criteria by which the progress of different ethnic economies can be gauged.

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<sup>28</sup> S. Sassen-Koob, "New York City's informal economy," *In the informal economy: Studies in advanced and less developed countries*, ed. A. Portes, M. Castells, and L. Benton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) 60-77.

<sup>29</sup> Portes and Jensen.

## CHAPTER 2

# MEETING THE DISTINCTIONS OF AN ENCLAVE

Research on enclaves in American cities has focused on how the growth of a particular population within a defined, and often segregated, geographic area fosters the emergence of group oriented business and labor market. This chapter focuses on the role of neighborhood concentration and the emergence of supporting establishments in addressing how well this community meets the distinctions of an enclave. The objective of this chapter is to identify segregated districts in selected American cities and shed some light on their enclave characteristics. Are they merely transition zones between more segregated districts on either side, or do they represent an emergent new stability in inter-group acceptance? Are they characterized by special socioeconomic characteristics, making them more amenable to inter-group mixing?

The proposition tested here is that the existence and extent of the segregated territory, in terms of space and place, is associated with (a) the presence of certain socioeconomic conditions in the area, (b) its locational position with respect to the settlement pattern of the city as a whole—in other words, its proximity to other, more segregated parts of the city, (c) the embeddedness of economic behavior in the ongoing structures of social relations, (d) the dynamics of who we know and feel comfortable with, what heritages are valued, collaboration across races, ethnicities, and generations (and so on), and (e) the support and loyalty in a society that bind people to one another. In the real world, few enclaves satisfy all of the above criteria absolutely. But there is almost always one type that best characterizes a given neighborhood.

To investigate this question four American communities have been selected, each with a sizable component of a relatively homogeneous national minority group. The selection of ethnic groups suitable for study was constrained by the availability of data. Since census

materials on "foreign stock" include only first and second generation Americans, and data on religion are not reported in the census, it was deemed necessary to select groups defined in racial and linguistic terms. Community integration patterns of the gays, blacks, Chinese, and Cambodians were selected for study in the Castro district, city of Yonkers, Chinatown, and Little Phnom Penh, respectively.

These cities were chosen since they are relatively large (and presumably more highly differentiated), and each has a sizable minority of the group in question. Except, perhaps, for San Francisco's Castro district, none of these cities is characterized by large Caucasian minority. In each case the national minority group seems characterized by a strong group identity: a sense of community among members of the minority group, as opposed to a more heterogeneous non-member or "other" group. In each case the minority group with subordinated social status and deficient civil rights.

During recent times each group has been augmented by newcomers from the nearby territory. Each of these groups is sufficiently large and coherent that its culture is articulated in numerous institutions, traditions, and shared memories, which bind members and give continuity to group identity. In this sense, each is a community living in incomplete compatibility with the overall city populace.

### **Castro District**

The Castro district of San Francisco, for example, includes a residential area populated largely array of gay-oriented commercial and institutional activities: gay night clubs and bars, bookstores, churches, therapists and clinics specializing in the treatment of gay patients, and so on. The Castro as a place is also an important part of the residents' identities. The commonalities in their behavior are the result of meaningful relationships with each other. They have rituals, such as gay pride, to celebrate their way of life. The existence of a subculture generally presupposes an emotional attachment to a group, which in turn usually implies positive feelings about it. Such attachments transcend a cognitive assessment of membership in the group and entail a subjective sense of

happiness about belonging. Therefore this community based on lifestyle should also be regarded as an enclave.

As one gets closer to the Castro District, there is an increase in the number of six-colored rainbow flags hanging from apartment buildings, bars, and stores. Entering the Castro District from Market Street, one arrives at the LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual) Center on Market Street near Castro Street. It opened in 2002 providing conference rooms and classrooms for its more than two thousand members and offices for a number of organizations serving the area. The center's programs include counseling, social activities, and community development for the enclave.

Down Castro Street are bookstores, travel agencies, bars, theatres, professional services, and even religious institutions designed explicitly to serve the gay clientele that predominates in surrounding residential areas. Here the rainbow flags are everywhere; and some pink triangles, first used to label homosexuals in Nazi concentration camps. Unlike centers of nightlife, which may be strongly gay-oriented but remain limited in scope, the Castro is an enclave in every sense of the term. Its residents share an identity that is linked to the place, and that place offers them a full range of distinctive commercial and cultural services.

About one mile east of Castro Street, running parallel to it, is Valencia Street in the Mission District. It is a center of retail stores and institutions, many of which serve a lesbian clientele. There are also lesbian residential concentrations surrounding it. The area around Valencia Street has some of the qualities of an enclave but, as we shall later see, it does not hold a lesbian majority and is not as commercially and institutionally complete as the Castro district. However, given the linkages between the gay and lesbian communities, they are probably best regarded as constituting a single enclave, though Valencia Street in the Mission district is the commercial and institution center of the most fully developed lesbian community in the United States.

Bars have been very significant in gay and lesbian life because they provided the primary settings in which people could find companions and/or sex partners of the same sex. In workplaces and neighborhood stores, people had to work hard to hide this aspect of their



**Figure 2.1:** *Map of San Francisco, California with Castro-Mission District in red.*

lives, which made it very difficult for them to find each other, If you were lesbian and thought another woman was also, you would have to go through “lengthy verbal games, dropping subtle hints and waiting for her to pick up your clues before you dared to reveal yourself. The problem was the same, of course, for gay males and they too developed code words to enable them to recognize each other. None of these word games were necessary in a lesbian or gay bar, and prior to the development of gay enclaves, such bars were the only places where people of the same sex could talk, touch, and dance, and

interact openly. Thus these bars were the one kind of environment that could provide homosexuals with a territorial referent, or sense that a place belonged to them.

### Public Housing: City of Yonkers in New York



**Figure: 2.2** *Map of New York with Yonkers colored in red; map of Yonkers with low-income enclave in dashed lines; and Mulford Gardens housing project represented by red dot.*

In 1985, the city of Yonkers, in a nationally prominent civil rights case, was found guilty by the Federal court (Southern District of New York) of severely segregating its public and assisted housing. Some 6,000 units had been concentrated into the city's older, southwest section—an area one-eighth the size of the entire city. Twenty thousand

people lived in this housing; the remaining seven-eighths of the city housed only 80,000 people, or four times as many. The existing public housing projects had been built as large, high-density highrises and walkups, ranging in size from 278 units to 550 units. They were located only a few blocks away from each other, producing a very high overall concentration of low-income, minority population.<sup>30</sup>

Yonkers is the first suburb one encounters driving north from New York City. It dates from the turn of the century when it functioned as a factory town. Its older, urban downtown, situated on the cliffs over the Hudson River, is where the public housing was concentrated. This urban core is surrounded by a mix of suburban areas ranging from modest single family houses on small lots to large mansions on one-half-acre lots. The entire city is only 6 miles long by 3 miles wide and is interlaced with highways serving the suburbs to the north. Sprinkled along these highways are stretches of old and new, privately owned high-rise apartments occupied by white working- and middle-class families. During the period of the court case, Yonkers' public housing projects, like many throughout the country, were known for housing drug dealers and prostitutes. The projects were also said to be the cause of much of the crime in their surrounding communities. Many of the criminals who lived in the projects were little more than children. Teenagers carried automatic weapons openly and were often bold enough to screen people who came and went to make sure they were not police.<sup>31</sup>

The surrounding area contains block after block of abandoned, broken down homes on weedy plots, gutted apartment buildings, and boarded-up little stores. Interspersed among the abandoned structures are dilapidated but occupied houses where groups of young children play in broken-down porches. There are a few more large public housing projects and here and there an empty factory, a reminder of the city that Yonkers use to be.

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<sup>30</sup> Oscar Newman, *Creating Defensible Space* (Center for Urban Policy Research Rutgers University, 1996) 81.

<sup>31</sup> *IBID* 82.

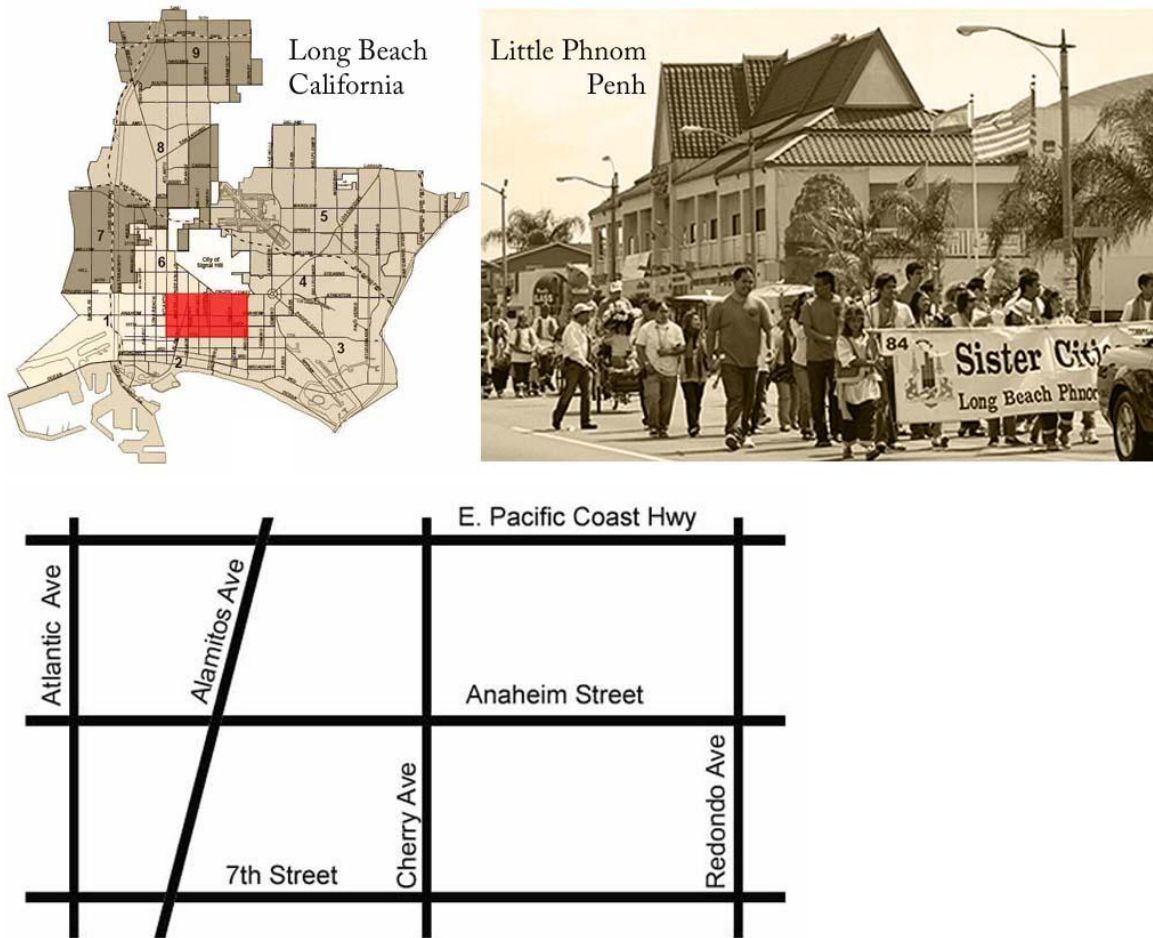


With the lack of businesses to support the enclave, a complex system of exchange in which money hardly ever plays a central role. The exchange may include useful information (about the doings of a competitor or of the police, or about ways to get access to new clients, and so on), a free meal, shelter for a week or a month, or even sexual favors. A shopkeeper may offer a homeless person food and shelter because it will cost him less than paying for a night watchman; a shopkeeper and a prostitute may not always use cash for their transactions; a mechanic can trade his services for groceries in the neighborhood stores. In this type of economy, one's ability to perform desirable actions are worth more than money and anyone that does not hold up their end of the bargain is soon made unwelcome and may even lose all his economic opportunities.

### **Little Phnom Penh**

Researchers describe several waves of Cambodians migrating to American cities, each wave with distinctive socioeconomic character, and corresponding various waves of refugees arriving in American cities. The initial wave took place in the early 1970's consisting of people from educated and urbanized middle-class, most of whom worked for American organizations during the Vietnam War. The second wave occurred in the later part of that decade before the Khmer Rouge came to power. They were mostly farmers and townspeople living near the edges of Cambodia that borders Thailand. The third wave accounts for the vast majority of refugees resettled in American cities that fled during the collapse of the Khmer Rouge during and after the Vietnamese invasion, in 1979-1980. The final wave of migration occurred, and still is taking place, in small groups coming as immigrants rather than refugees, through family and kin sponsorship and reunification.

Migration in American society and secondary settlement within the Khmer communities are strongly shaped by the nature of being a refugee (as opposed to voluntary migrant). Refugees who qualified for resettlement needed sponsors before they could resettle. In contrast to immigrant groups who use family reunification to migrate, Cambodians were primarily sponsored by institutions, especially before the communities became more



**figure 2.3** *Map of Long Beach, California displaying the 9 districts with Little Phnom Penh displayed in red.*

established. The period of greatest refugee resettlement, 1980–1986, was so short that the community was not well established in the ways that historical immigrant communities have become over decades.

These social service agencies thus filled many of the roles traditionally served by relatives or the immigrant community itself. The YMCA, for example, met my family and I arriving at the airport, clothed us, placed us in housing, helped find my parents jobs, (and so on) in addition to giving my parents ESL and literacy classes and, eventually, job training. The quality and nature of the sponsorship was crucial to refugees socioeconomic trajectories.

Because the government and local sponsors were responsible for the initial resettlement of the refugees, they were not initially settled into the enclaves that have historically formed among immigrants. To the contrary, they were intentionally “scattered” to “lessen impact” on existing US communities.

Through scatter placement and American sponsorship, policymakers tried to prevent Cambodians from settling into ethnic enclaves, hoping thus to reduce refugee visibility, increase their economic prospects, and decrease refugee costs to American taxpayers.<sup>32</sup>

Cambodians, however, did not remain dispersed. They moved for a variety of reasons, most obviously to be with one another, and the immediate result of their movement was the rapid creation of Cambodian enclaves in several cities. An increasing number of resettled Cambodians became sponsors to their own relatives, adding to Cambodian clustering.<sup>33</sup>

The largest resettlement of Khmers reside in Long Beach, California, a concentrated urban enclave, bordering the downtown business district. The residential areas are composed of low to middle income housing including detached single family houses, apartments, and converted units. A large percentage of the housing units are rentals. Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites also live in the area, although the exact percentage of each group varies on different blocks. Cambodians who become successful in business and the professions generally move out of this area into other Long Beach areas or into the surrounding communities.

A dynamic Cambodian business community exists in Long Beach known as Little Phnom Penh. Figure 2.4 presents a map of the enclave. On the main thoroughfares through the community, in a neighborhood along Anaheim Street, between Alamitos avenue and Junipero Street, property values have risen with the new business interest.

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<sup>32</sup> Skinner, Kenneth and Glenn Hendricks, 1979. the Shaping of Ethnic Self-Identity among Indochinese Refugees. *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 7:3:25-41.

<sup>33</sup> Mortland, Carol and Judy Ledgerwood. 1987. Secondary Migration among Southeast Asian refugees in the United States. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural....* 16:3-4:243-244.

There are approximately 300 businesses in the Cambodian business community. Most of them cater to Cambodian and other Southeast Asian customers. These businesses include grocery stores, restaurants, auto repair shops, video stores, accounting firms, retail clothing stores, and jewelry stores. Most of the "donut" shops in Long Beach and the surrounding communities are owned and managed by Cambodians. Although Cambodian business appears to be steadily increasing, it is important to note that other ethnic groups also have businesses in the Cambodian area. Vietnamese and Chinese, as well as members of the Hispanic community and Black community, also own businesses in the area. Informal economic activities are very common in the Cambodian households. Economic activities I observed in Cambodian households included preparation of desserts to be sold to Cambodian restaurants, sewing or tailoring, renting wedding outfits, and preparation of wedding videos.

Gangs, including Cambodian and Latino ones, are present in the area and play an important role. Cambodian gangs specialize in extortion of Cambodian businesses and in burglaries of Cambodian homes and businesses. They also burglarize houses where people are known to have money and jewelry in the house. According to discussions with the Long Beach police, all Cambodian restaurants and a large number of other businesses have to deal with extortion attempts by the Cambodian gangs. In the Cambodian Yellow Pages 1991, the business association paid for an advertisement in Cambodian and English explaining that extortion is a crime and that they should trust the police and report extortion attempts. Presently, many businesses simply pay what the gangs demand. A recent fire in 2011 which destroyed La Lune, a famous Cambodian restaurant in Long Beach, has been blamed on gang retribution since the restaurant did not heed the gang's demands. In addition to burglary and extortion, gang related killings are not uncommon.

### **Chinatown**

Walking through San Francisco's Chinatown gives the impression of a deliberate foreign creation in America as presented in figure 2.4. Beginning at the elaborate Chinatown gate on Grant Street, wandering past dragon street lights and row after row of shops

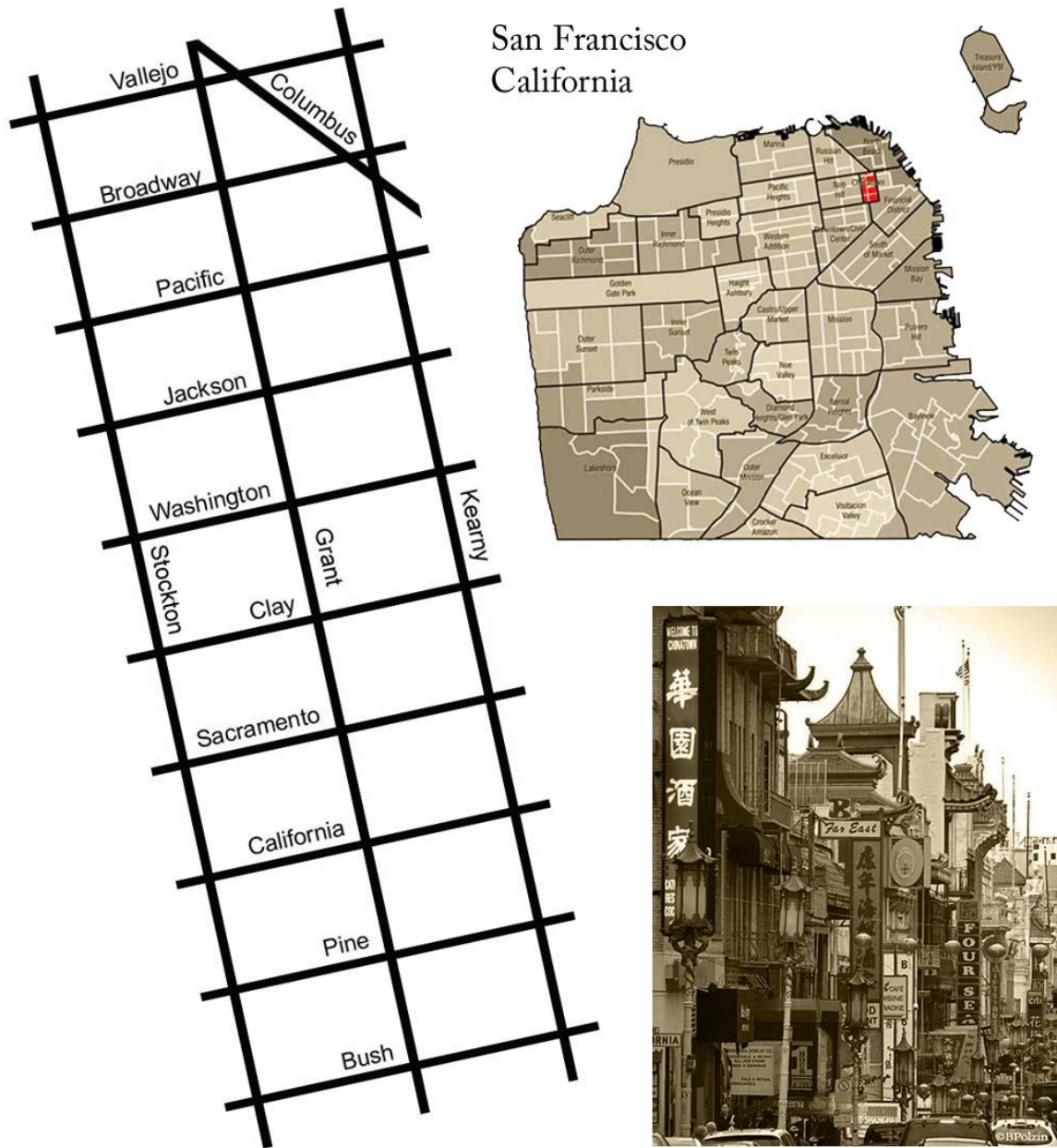


Figure 2.4: *Chinatown, San Francisco*

peddling furniture, fabrics, and every trinket imaginable are all forms of advertisement. From traditional herbal remedies to ornate temples or a giant plastic garden Buddha, the bustling streets reinforce an authentic Chinese creation. However, Min Zhou's analysis makes it clear that the opposite is actually the case: Chinatown is a unique American creation. The pioneers did not plan to open businesses, nor did they plan to settle down

in the West. They came to work in the gold mines and in the railroads to save enough money to bring back to their families in China. The relentless exploitation and persecution to which they were subjected in California pushed and pulled the immigrants into an enclave.

The core of Chinatown is an old seventeen block area densely packed with apartment buildings and housing projects, banks, markets, schools, cultural associations, restaurants, and professional offices. Huddled around park benches, groups of elderly Chinese men play cards and checkers, speaking only in their native language. Many of them share small apartments, so public squares serve as community living rooms. Almost eighty percent of Chinatown's nearly fifteen thousand residents and proprietors are Chinese. Many are also elderly, relatively poor, and foreign born.

To the north and west of the core is a Greater Chinatown which is several times larger than the core. This is a newer and less crowded area that contains approximately fifteen thousand additional Chinese residents. They are still a plurality in Greater Chinatown, but its store owners and residents are mixed population. The boundaries in the West are marked by the mansions of Nob Hill and Russian Hill which are in sharp contrast to shops and apartments in Chinatown. To the South and east, Chinatown abuts San Francisco's main financial district, whose skyscrapers provide Chinatown with another dramatic boundary.

Chinatown is several times more densely populated than the remainder of San Francisco, and a steady influx of tourists and shoppers can make it difficult even to walk down the streets. The human congestion is made worse by the fact that meat and fish markets sometimes leave their refuse on pedestrian thoroughfares when they close their stores at night. Buses and cars compete for insufficient space on narrow streets, and there is frequent gridlock.

Many residents cannot leave this enclave because they are old and could not afford to while other residents could, of course, leave Chinatown if they wished, but the advantages of the enclave keeps them posted. They like being close to the Chinese restaurants and shops where they can obtain the goods and services available nowhere

else. They also like the proximity of their relatives and friends and are comfortable living in a relatively homogeneous community.

Over the last few decades, Chinese-owned firms have increased more rapidly than any other, minority or majority, and they tend to have more employees than other minority-owned businesses.<sup>34</sup> Thus they offer a lot of jobs. However, while it is clear that Chinatowns generally and San Francisco's specifically continue to provide employment for many Chinese Americans, there is some argument as to how much the employees benefit from this arrangement. On the one hand, studies in San Francisco have shown that Chinese Americans who work outside the enclave in Anglo-owned companies receive better wages on average, even when the comparison holds constant such factors as the industrial sector, type of job, and the workers educational level. (Model, 33) The thousands of illegal immigrants who take jobs in Chinatown's factories, stores, and restaurants no doubt drive down wages within the enclave. They are typically willing to work long hours under difficult conditions and accept less than minimum wages but, lacking working papers, they have no real alternatives. In addition to paying low wages, because many enclave businesses are poorly capitalized and operate in a highly competitive market, they often demand much of their poorly paid employees. The enclave workers enable the rapid growth of co-ethnic businesses and the ability of these businesses to provide cheap services compared to the larger economy. In essence, these immigrant workers are the backbone of the enclave.

Furthermore, there are probably advantages to working in an enclave that are difficult to detect in the conventional analysis of wages. For instance, stores of enclave may be willing to hire poorly prepared workers who would not be considered employable outside the enclave. There may be less racial harassment. Employment in enclave firms may also offer opportunities to learn a business and acquire the social capital necessary to be a business owner-entrepreneur. Chinese workers employed outside the enclave by people

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<sup>34</sup> Alejandro Portes & Min Zhou, "Gaining the Upper Hand: Economic Mobility Among Immigrant and Domestic Minorities," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15, 491-522, 1992.

who are not co-ethnics are probably much less likely to acquire these skills or be given opportunities to become co-owners.<sup>35</sup>

## Summary

	<b>Little Phnom Penh</b>	<b>Castro District</b>	<b>Chinatown</b>	<b>City of Yonkers</b>
<b>Embeddedness</b>	members and enterprises depend on one another for prosperity	Stores depend on members for patronage and members depend on stores for advocacy	members and enterprises depend on one another for prosperity	
<b>Commonality</b>	Khmer culture	LGBT Lifestyle	Chinese culture	hip hop culture
<b>Enforceable Trust</b>	ties of family, kin & friends		ties of family, kin and friends	street cred
<b>Sectorial Norm</b>	donut shops, pharmacies, auto repair, garment factories	clothing stores, art, design, movie industry	restaurants, garment shops, law, medicine	sports, rapping, liquor stores, barber shops
<b>Territorial Anchoring</b>	clustering of establishments between PCH & 7th street	clustering of establishments between Castro & Mission street	clustering of Establishments between Powel, & Kerny Street	housing concentrated in South Yonkers

**Figure 2.5:** *Matrix shows how well communities fit into the definition of an enclave.*

As all of the preceding examples imply, an enclave involves a special relationship between a distinctive group of people and a particular place. Thus an enclave has some characteristics of a subculture, in which a group of people shares common traditions and values that are ordinarily maintained by a high rate of interaction within the group. The high rate of within group interaction has enabled them to perpetuate shared values and a

<sup>35</sup> IBID 491-522.



distinctive way of life, and since interaction takes place on the ground, with the exception of the internet, it has been accompanied by the establishment of ties to a place.

We used enclave to refer to the concentration that share a significant commonality based on religion, wealth, occupation, lifestyle, ethnicity, economy or a combination of these attributes. Enclaves can be a natural cluster by serving as magnets that attract other people who share the same significant quality as the pioneers such as in the case of Little Phnom Penh and the Castro District. Or they can have a planned cluster where outside influences determine the location, development or nature of the enclave such as in the case of San Francisco's Chinatown.

## CHAPTER 3

# THE ENCLAVE REDEFINED: SOCIAL CAPITAL

Apart from the media and public at large, academic literature also portrays ambiguity about ethnic enclaves. Academic researchers and commentators of varying theoretical orientation differ in their views about enclaves. Some regard them positively, others regard them poorly and a few are unconcerned. Those steeped in the Chicago sociological tradition and the ‘melting pot’ perspective tends to view enclaves as cultural ghettos, obstructing the assimilation of ethnics;<sup>36</sup> whereas others inspired by European theoretical traditions and multicultural perspectives regard enclaves as expressions of cultural pluralism and sites of social capital formation.<sup>37</sup> However, little attention has been attributed toward the involvement of minority communities with the larger society. One important outcome of the thesis should thus be a theory or model that predicts or describes how to enable effective engagement (i.e., which mechanism to use, and how) in any particular situation.

Given the objective of this thesis, the tradition that confines use of enclaves to racial or ethnic concentrations is too limiting. Engagement refers to the formation of ties, therefore; enclaves cannot be simply viewed as clusters of either cultural factors (an ethnic group’s traits, qualities, and behavioral patterns) and on structural factors (a group’s unique historical encounters of domination and subjugation, socioeconomic backgrounds, immigration selectivity, labor market conditions, and residential patterns). Rather, it encompasses similar and related associations that are constantly interacting with both internal and external enclave components, such as values, norms, and behavioral patterns. Drawing on the enclave economy theory, this thesis argues that, within an enclave,

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<sup>36</sup> Park and Burgess.

<sup>37</sup> Zhou.

community development is perpetuated by interactive processes of “social capital”, compromising of associations and its norms and values.

Social capital refers to the ability of individuals to harness the resources they need through their network of friends and relatives. It may be as trivial as knowing which friend to call to get the name of a moving company that is quick, reliable and relatively inexpensive. Or it may literally be a matter of life and death.

In his path breaking book *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam explains the importance of social capital, both for the individual and the larger society.<sup>38</sup> In a neighborhood where friends will watch your house while you are away and you will do the same for them; your house is safer and so is theirs. But by making this a safer area, even those families who are not part of this reciprocal arrangement will benefit. In this way social capital yields positive externalities.

In a larger sense, building social capital is building social norms. This may take time and effort, but once critical mass has been established, the reinforcement of social norms flows. It is much easier to behave in a particular manner if you are confident that it is socially acceptable or even desirable. There are two different but related kinds of norms. One type, behavioral norms, refers to the most common actions or behaviors actually exhibited in a social group. Thus, the behavioral norm is what most individuals of a social group actually do. The other type, attitudinal norms, refers to the most widely shared beliefs or expectations in a social group about how people in general or members of the group ought to behave in various circumstances.

A central element of social capital theory is the basic idea that people invest in social relationships with the expectation of some return. Nan Lin describes four ways in which an investment in social capital achieves some return. First, social capital facilitates the flow of information in a network of relationships. Second, the social ties in a network of relationships influence the use of resources that exist within the network of relationships. If my neighbor needs a ride to work I can take him or I might know someone that works

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<sup>38</sup> Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000)

near his area and would be willing to swing by and pick him up. The social ties may open up chains of resources. Third, the social network provides a credential that makes the members of the network credible. Employment, loan, or school applications require references because they understand the value of another individual vouching for you. Last, the network provides support or public reinforcement that a member of the network has claims to the resources of the network. This often comes in the form of emotional support. Sometimes just having someone close by to listen and understand what you are going through can alleviate stress.<sup>39</sup>

Putnam distinguishes between “bonding” social capital (making firmer connections with people who share some fundamental identities – for example, immigrants who live in the same ethnic enclave) and “bridging” social capital (making firmer connections with those who may come from very different backgrounds but seek some common purpose – for example, an environmentalist group).<sup>40</sup> Bonding social capital is based on a sense of shared values and exclusion; bridging social capital is based on heterogeneity and inclusion.

While it is more difficult to build bridging social capital, it may also be more useful, both to the individual and to society. Sociologist Mark Granovetter describes the “strength of weak ties,” in which an individual’s best opportunities come not from people closest to him, whose networks already overlap his own, but from acquaintances outside his inner circle, whose networks are more likely to augment his and provide entirely new contacts.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, bonding social capital alone can produce enclaves while those outside are treated with contempt; and bridging social capital expands horizons and is more likely to foster tolerance and empathy between members of different enclaves.

The concept of “social capital” has come into wide use in recent years. There has been considerable debate over how to define and measure it and how to locate it at different levels of analysis. Despite variations in definition, there seems to be agreement among scholars that social capital is not lodged in the individual but in the structure of social

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<sup>39</sup> Lin, Nan, *Social Capital : A Theory of Social Structure & Action* (Port Chester: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 20.

<sup>40</sup> Putnam

<sup>41</sup> Granovetter

organizations, patterns of social relations, or processes of interactions between individuals and organizations. That is, individuals are merely actors playing a role depending on the environment around them.

Social capital does not consist of resources that are held by individuals or by groups but of processes of goal-directed social relations embedded in particular social structures. In my view, social capital inheres immediately in the social relations among individuals that are often determined and constrained by ethnicity; it is also embedded in the formal organizations and institutions within a definable ethnic community that structure and guide these social relations. Bringing social capital to the front of enclave discussion allows for an investigation of a dense set of associations, and not just the commonality of the residents. It allows for investigation into the ties between enclave members and not just the characteristics of the enclave.

Bringing social capital to the front of enclave discussion further distinguishes enclaves from communities. An enclave is not solely defined by the commonality of the group. The clustering of co-ethnics along with shops that support the culture alone does not constitute an enclave. There are no associations within the group or between the group and stores that have an effect on the integrity of the ethnic economic enclave. However, if the persistence of the enclave was dependent on the interactions that occur amongst groups and stores, then an enclave exists. San Francisco's Chinatown is defined by the associations of the employers, workers and customers. If the co-ethnic laborers refused to work for little pay in harsh conditions, the enclave would fail. If the stores did not want to employ unskilled, untrained workers, the enclave would fail. If the shoppers did not wish to support co-ethnic businesses, the enclave would fail.

### **Cultural Solidarity of Refugees**

The early Khmer refugees came from a few tightly-knit rural communities in Cambodia. Although there were variations in class and bases of the networks, most of the immigrants were refugees who came from similar socioeconomic backgrounds and arrived in America in groups fleeing from genocide and slavery. They lacked English language

proficiency and information on employment, and as such would be dependent on a small group of co-ethnic labor brokers or merchants, and later on, co-ethnic organizations.

When Cambodian refugees were initially resettled in the United States, Americans were concerned with lessening the impact of Cambodians, and other refugees, on the United States. In addition to attempts to change Cambodians in the processing centers and subsequently through language, vocational and cultural orientation courses in the United States, efforts were made to place Khmer in areas where they would “blend” into surrounding communities. Khmer were thus scattered throughout the United States and initially placed with American sponsors because of the scarcity of Cambodians living in America. Through scatter placement and American sponsorship, policymakers tried to prevent Cambodians from settling into ethnic enclaves, hoping thus to reduce refugee visibility, increase their economic prospects, and decrease refugee costs to American taxpayers.<sup>42</sup>

Cambodians, however, did not remain dispersed. They moved for a variety of reasons, most obviously to be with one another, and the immediate result of their movement was the rapid creation of Cambodian enclaves in several cities.<sup>43</sup> Little Phnom Penh is the largest and most well-known of Khmer enclaves. An increasing number of resettled Cambodians became sponsors to their own relatives, adding to Cambodian clustering of this region. In an effort to prevent secondary migration by new arrivals to areas of high Khmer concentration, such as Long Beach California, the federal government clustered Khmer arrivals in 12 cities: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Columbus, Dallas, Houston, Jacksonville, New York City, Phoenix, Richmond, and Rochester.<sup>44</sup> Some Cambodians received little assistance, while others moved to new locales despite pressure not to do so, and many felt coerced into particular options by program requirements and staff.

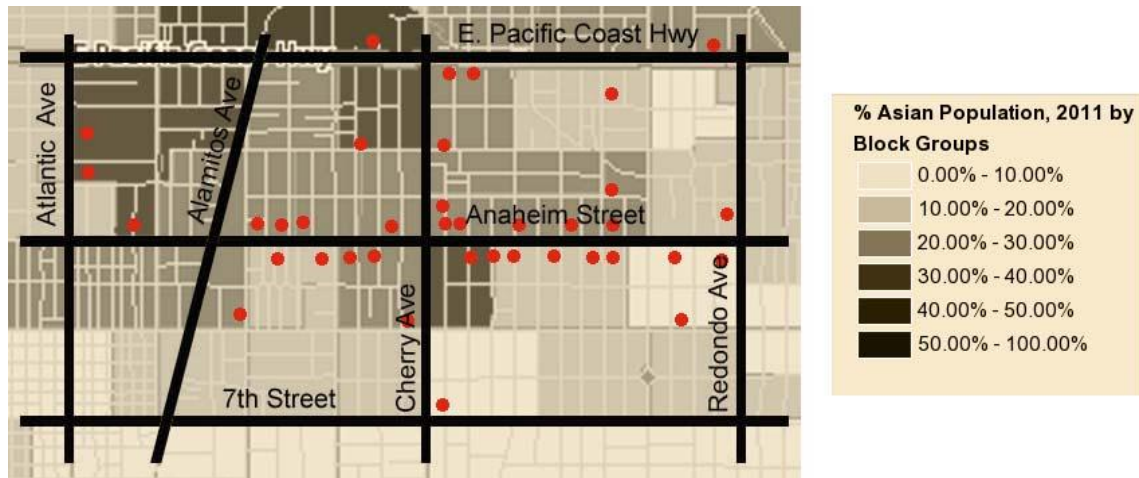
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<sup>42</sup> Kenneth Skinner and Glen Hendricks, *The Shaping of Ethnic Self-Identity among Indochinese Refugees* *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 7:3:25-41.

<sup>43</sup> Carol A. Mortland and Judy Ledgerwood, *Cambodian Culture Since 1975: Homeland and Exile* (Cornell University Press, 1994)

<sup>44</sup> Skinner and Hendricks.

Although Cambodians find it extremely difficult to describe their experiences and losses, despite their interest and need to do so, their resettlement strategies in the United States are ways they express themselves in their new environment. By looking at their strategies for survival and renewal in America, we can “hear” through their actions what they find difficult to express: who they were, who they are.



**Figure:** *Map showing Khmer establishments in red and population in block groups.*

The greatest concerns of the Khmer in the United States are finding means of successfully surviving in America, preserving their culture, and ensuring the future of their children. Cambodians say if they lose their culture, they will lose their Khmer identity. Preserving their culture becomes the primary means Khmer use to secure their other aims. The strategies they use to achieve these goals follow methods that have worked for them in the past. These include, first, utilizing all available resources; second, reestablishing traditional relationships; third, reinstating proper behavior; and fourth, reconstructing religion.

They seek to reassemble their families, often out of the fragments left by Khmer Rouge atrocities and resettlement procedures that separated nuclear from extended families. Cambodians often moved from their initial placement site to rejoin these extended family members, for example, aunts and uncles, married siblings, in-laws, and adopted kin.

Cambodians attempt to contact, then often join, other relatives, fellow villagers, and friends, both from Cambodia and the refugee camps, as soon as possible after arriving in the United States. Living near one another in tenements or apartment complexes or driving several hours on weekends to join countrymen, allows Cambodians to share information and resources.

Specific economic strategies and cultural practices, has allowed the Khmer to reproduce many aspects of traditional Cambodian life. Over time, many Cambodian adults have in effect retired into their ethnic communities, restricting their contacts primarily to other Cambodians, having little to do with the larger surrounding community.

In Little Phnom Penh, despite a severe lack of human capital and financial capital of the second wave of immigrants, social capital was relatively abundant. Khmer immigrants living there created bounded solidarity by virtue of their shared cultural bonds and shared experiences of being enslaved in their own country and treated as foreigners in their new homeland, which in turn heightened their awareness of common symbols, values, and obligations, and fostered an enforceable trust among immigrants. It denotes a behavioral orientation of non-indifference, namely, to deliberately put one's own utility maximization, at least temporarily, behind the pursuit of utility of others for the sake of promoting the welfare of the collectivity to which one belongs. The enclave components also "made sense" in that they generated and cultivated moral standards, most decisive for retaining support and loyalty, and which Zhou describes as "enforceable trust".<sup>45</sup> It is based upon recognized moral, not just legal, duties and implies an association between worker and employer as an apprentice relationship. Thus elevating the status of the entrepreneurs meant raising the status of the enclave.

Khmer entrepreneurs raised financial capital and mobilized other economic resources to establish businesses not simply through family savings or overseas investment, but mainly through bounded solidarity and enforceable trust. A system for rotating credit called "deng tong tieng" which means "chase the interest" was often used by co-ethnics for financial necessities (medical expenses, rent, food, and the like) and business ventures (donut shops, jewelry stores, pharmacies, and so on). The rotating credit system is set for

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<sup>45</sup> Zho



a specific duration (usually the number of months corresponds to the number of players), where participants make monthly deposits into a joint account. The head is usually someone that is respected and trusted in the enclave and has the power of enforceable trust. A set amount of deposit is agreed upon for a set duration so that all participants have equal numbers of withdrawals and deposits. The first withdrawal is by the head and subsequent withdrawals are by the players. Each month, players bid on the withdrawal. The highest bidder wins the entire amount in the account and the bid is dispersed to the remaining players. In a sense, the players are receiving interest for making monthly deposits so others can use. The last person to withdraw will receive the most for his monthly investment. Being the only one able to make a withdrawal, the player does not have to pay interest. Some people play the game for a bulk sum, which they can use to pay bills or travel. While others play just to collect the interest. The more times co-ethnics participate, the more trust they develop which allows them to enter into credit rotations of higher stakes. My parents entered these types of arrangements many times to open pharmacies and purchase property. Without such rotating credit, they would not have the means to elevate their status. Shop apprentices often use this game to open their own stores after they have learned the business practices from their employers. Many times the employers are the head of the game. These types of systems nurture honesty and obligations.

In addition, Khmer entrepreneurs during the first wave of migration relied on sentimental and instrumental ties to the social structures of the ethnic enclave and the access to family labor and co-ethnic labor. Many immigrant enterprises, especially labor-intensive grocery and food stores, restaurants, and garment factories, depended on unpaid family labor and low-wage immigrant labor. The access to low-cost co-ethnic labor gave ethnic entrepreneurs a clear competitive edge.

From the point of view of co-ethnic workers, ethnic businesses offered material and symbolic compensations that could not be accounted for simply in dollar terms. Although jobs in ethnic enterprises were characterized by low wages, long working hours, and poor working conditions, immigrant workers were provided with a familiar work environment in which they were effectively shielded from the disadvantages resulting from their

deficiencies in language, education, and general knowledge of the larger society. They could obtain first-hand information on employment and business opportunities through their family members, kin, and co-ethnics to avoid the expensive cost of time and effort involved in finding “good jobs” in the larger market. They were able to work longer hours to quickly accumulate family savings for future plans. They could gain access to rotating credit, and turn to clan associations and the family for financial support and resource mobilization. Moreover, they could get job training and cultivate an entrepreneurial spirit at work, and possibly prepare themselves for an eventual transition to self-employment. Many garment factory and restaurant owners built their businesses on family savings accumulated from wages earned in the garment industry.

Bounded solidarity and enforceable trust, however, did not inhere in the moral conviction of the individual or the culture of origin; rather, they interacted with structural factors in the host society to help immigrants organize their social and economic lives in disadvantaged or adverse situations. For many new immigrants, low-paid menial work was a part of the time-honored path to economic independence and upward mobility of their families in America. It was the ethnic solidarity and mutual trust between co-ethnic workers and entrepreneurs, combined with human and financial capital that facilitated ethnic entrepreneurship among [Cambodians].<sup>46</sup>

The above analysis suggests that social capital formation in Little Phnom Penh has several distinct features: (1) interpersonal relations in Little Phnom Penh were formed primarily on ties of blood, kin, and place of origin; (2) economic establishments in Little Phnom Penh were embedded in an interlocking ethnic social structure consisting of a range of ethnic organizations which guided and controlled interpersonal and inter-organizational relations; (3) the ethnic enclave as a whole operated on the basis of ethnic solidarity and enforceable trust; and (4) A strong tie is formed between that lifestyle and the geographic space the residents occupy, leading to a place attachment and the ability to symbolize the social identities of the residents of the enclave.

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<sup>46</sup> Portes and Zhou

### Middle-Class Self Expression of the Castro

One of the ways in which class is likely to affect one's sense of fit with middle-class gay culture is in how gay men develop relationships and friendships for meeting emotional, sexual, and social needs. Patterns of behavior involving divorce and separation, marital instability, or episodes of violent in those relationships are all more likely in working – class backgrounds.<sup>47</sup> Given this background, we would expect working-class gay men to be more likely to have problems forming the sorts of long-term intimate relationships that are more common among middle-class gays. A second effect of social class is the likelihood of having the sense of commonality and shared experiences in work, travel, recreation, entertainment, or related interests that would facilitate the formation of friendships with middle-class gays.

The Castro district today includes a middle- and upper-middle-class residential neighborhood of apartments in renovated Victorian houses, many of which are pastel-colored. It contains a typical commercial center with a full complement of clothing stores, hairstyles, banks, restaurants, and laundries, and it houses the religious and political institutions that can be found in any community. The only think out of the ordinary about the area is the fact the most of the residents and store owners are gay – and they are not trying to disguise or camouflage it.

Down Castro Street are bookstores, travel agencies, bars, theatres, professional services, and even religious institutions designed explicitly to serve the gay clientele that predominates in surrounding residential areas. These enterprises do not depend on unpaid family labor and low-wage enclave labor. They do not need access to low-cost labor to give gay entrepreneurs a clear competitive edge. Rather, the integrity of the enclave depends on the power of the gay dollar. Whenever they buy a cup of coffee, fill up a gas tank or book a flight for that dream vacation, they are consciously giving their dollars to a business that can have a tremendous impact on the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender community (LGBT). The businesses, in turn, give money to not-for-profit organizations that help maintain their community. Enclave establishments can charge higher prices for products and services because their customers understand the bigger

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<sup>47</sup> White and Rogers

picture of their dollar. In a sense, the enclave is also maintained mainly through bounded solidarity and enforceable trust.

Enclave owned independent businesses return a percentage of each dollar you spend back to their community. For example, Enclave businesses put that dollar back into the community through bear runs, gay media, and contributions to local non-profit organizations and political organizations. By supporting these businesses in the enclave, they insure that their community – along with the diversity they provide – do not disappear.

They also retain the services of community service providers. They hire gay architects, lesbian graphic designers, and bear-owned contractors for construction. The multiplier effect creates opportunities for enclave accountants, insurance brokers, computer consultants, attorneys, and advertising agencies.

A local community shop may have a smaller selection than a big chain outlet. But remember, it sources products for its target audience, thus creating a demand for specialized merchandise. This makes accessible controversial products or services from new vendors with the expectation that there will be a market somewhere within a variety of stores.

Enclave business owners invest much of their life savings in their businesses. They have a natural interest in the long-term health of the community. Community-based businesses are essential to charitable endeavors, frequently serving on local boards, and supporting a variety of causes important to the enclave. Hometown business leaders understand the challenges faced by community members. They have walked in their shoes. With a passionate commitment to diversity, they advocate to ensure all of their customers get treated with respect and dignity.

### **Street Cred Culture of Low-Income Areas**

In general, low income communities like New York's Yonkers are believed to possess little social capital and areas of higher income status tend to have more social capital.

However, this is not entirely accurate. Developing literature claim that many of the problems traditionally associated with low-income and public housing areas of urban communities relate directly to the breakdown of social capital networks that form the fabric of most other neighborhoods where incomes are somewhat higher. But it is important to recognize also that social capital networks are not necessarily stronger in high-income neighborhoods than in neighborhoods where incomes and homes are more modest. Indeed, many high-income neighborhoods, with high fences, iron gates and other natural or man-made architectural barriers seemed designed to minimize social interaction and cohesiveness. Moreover, some of the best examples of social capital networks evolve from situations where residents work within neighborhoods of modest means work to improve the community for the common good.

The Yonkers' Neighborhoods consist of poor-quality housing, few resources, and unsafe conditions are physical characteristics too often associated with depressed neighborhoods. The residents are believed to behave in an uncivil or threatening manner and tolerate or engage in unlawful behavior ("social disorder"). Although not everyone in the neighborhood may engage in a specific behavior, if the behavior is sufficiently prevalent and affects a large number of residents, it may be an image that the community sustains. Children are born into roles associated with violence and crime. If they do not fulfill these roles, they are ostracized for being a "punk" – a generic adjective pertaining to a general state of feebleness, a lack of strength, durability, or vigor – by their peers. In order to survive in that environment children have to be tough. In thinking so, they are more likely to be involved in violent altercations.

Social capital in Yonkers' public housing is all about gaining access to limited and scarce economic resources and takes the form of solidarity as well as ferocious competition. Solidarity is a necessity in a hostile context and it requires "survival" strategies that in turn give rise to new ways of regulating social relations that function outside legitimate institutional frameworks (such as the police, municipal policy, social services, etc.). Although they are often ingenious and help solve many problems and conflicts, and must in any case be reckoned with, these social relations also widen the gap between the ghetto and the rest of the city of Yonkers. Furthermore, the scarcity of available

resources all too often causes the underground economy to prefer exploitation and punishment to education and honest work.

Social capital, too often thought to be the reserve of an elite, proves to be by far the most widespread sort capital to be found in the ghetto. When, for example, an opportunity to make money produces a deterioration of the trust placed in one of the agents – no matter how lowly – in the area, arbitration almost systematically works in favor of the preservation of existing trust. “Success” in the ghetto, although the concept is of course relative, appears to be based on the ability to create and maintain a network of trust with a large number of agents (from the homeless hustler to the local policeman, or the pimp on the street corner) in the area.

In inner-city cultures, trust and respect is something one earns through tangible accomplishments, not empty posturing or superficial bragging. The truest measure of a person's trustworthiness and expertise is often expressed as his or her *street cred*, short for "street credibility." Street cred can mark the difference between a true inner-city local and someone who's only posing, or deliberately exaggerating their inner-city lifestyle. Street cred is measured on the hardship that one has to endure to survive rough neighborhoods.

Street cred can be earned and accumulated by the rough lifestyle one leads, such as being poor, a minority, born into abusive household, involved with drug distribution, able to murder, a gang member, and the like. In general, the tougher the circumstance, the more street cred one earns.

This type social capital in poor neighborhoods and it is associated with cultural norms and standards of violence and crime that guide inner-city youths into adulthood. Widely dispersed street cred culture and promotion are likely to affect social norms concerning criminal activity. The ubiquity and familiarity of street cred culture and promotion may contribute to an environment in which crime is perceived by users to be socially acceptable, or at least less socially objectionable and less hazardous than it is in fact.

For example, some studies have found that residential segregation and social exclusion of poor African Americans give rise to distinct values and norms that are at odds with those of mainstream society in regard to work, money, education, home, and family life, or

even to an oppositional collective social identity that entails a willful refusal of mainstream norms and values relating to school success. These values and norms in turn lead to a set of self-defeating behavioral problems, such as labor-force nonparticipation, out-of-wedlock births, welfare dependency, school failure, drug addiction, and chronic lawlessness. These types of problems are common in poor neighborhoods and it is associated with cultural norms and standards of violence and crime that guide inner-city youths into adulthood. Other studies, in contrast, have found that low-income families of racial/ethnic minorities tend to concentrate in poverty-stricken and unsafe inner-city neighborhoods. Parents who lack human capital (e.g., education, professional job skills, and English proficiency for immigrants) have few options other than to send their children to dilapidated urban schools that have inadequate facilities and resources, poorly trained and inexperienced teachers, and large proportions of low-achieving students, hence putting children at a much higher risk of school failure. These explanations, however, largely overlook certain enclave social settings, which create resources conducive to education for enclave group members to the exclusion of non-enclave members, who may share the same neighborhood and the same access to public education.

### **Summary**

Although different communities take on social capital in different forms, they still incorporate bounded solidarity and enforceable trust to maintain integrity of the enclave. Many Khmer immigrant enterprises, especially labor-intensive grocery and food stores, restaurants, and garment factories, depended on unpaid family labor and low-wage immigrant labor. The access to low-cost co-ethnic labor gave ethnic entrepreneurs a clear competitive edge. The integrity of the Castro enclave depends on the power of the gay dollar. Whenever they buy a cup of coffee, fill up your gas tank or book a flight for that dream vacation, they are consciously giving their dollars to a business that can have a tremendous impact on the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender community (LGBT). “Success” in Yonkers’ housing development, although the concept is of course relative, appears to be based on the ability to create and maintain a network of trust with a large

number of agents (from the homeless hustler to the local policeman, or the pimp on the street corner) in the area, which comes in the form of street cred.



## CHAPTER 4

# FORMATION AND REFORMATION OF ENCLAVES

The city is seen as a kind of bubbling spring, in which new ethnic and social groups appeared near the center and gradually rippled outwards. The neighborhood was thus successively occupied by various groups, which replaced their predecessors through the stages of integration, formation, and reformation, during which the district changed from a segregated to an integrated to a resegregated area. The integrated area is thus seen as transitional and temporary. Yet, in a number of cities a degree of stability appears to have been achieved in some areas of more permanent cultural mixture among the various racial and culturally separable groups where residents take comfort in a shared sense of values.

Enclave formation refers to environments with similar or supplementary associations, in which an individual's payoff from performing a particular action only depends on the set of other individuals taking that action. It refers to "something added to complete a thing, make up for a deficiency, or extend or strengthen the whole."<sup>48</sup> The motivation behind studying group formation is that, in a wide range of social and economic interactions, individuals take independent decisions that, among other things, determine the identities of the people with whom they associate. In such situations, the individuals' preferences over the available alternatives are often strongly dependent on their preferences for particular kinds of people. For example, in deciding about a residential neighborhood, recreational activity, fashion, or affiliation to a religious congregation, the question of who are the other people making the same choice is often of major importance. The objective of this chapter is to study group formation in environments in which individuals

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<sup>48</sup> [www.thefreedictionary.com](http://www.thefreedictionary.com)

seek to be in a group in which the other people, or at least the “average person,” are similar to them.

The sections that follow primarily deal with several hypotheses. First, enclave formation has been determined by specific contexts of exit and reception. The contexts of exit can be defined by pull and push factors. The pull factors are subject to not only structural opportunities and the need for labor but also the need for family reunification in the host society, whereas the push factors depend on the sociocultural, political, and economic situation of the sending community. The contexts of reception can be defined by the government policies and labor-market conditions of the host society and by the preexisting social and economic structures of the migrators. Generally, these migrating groups are unavoidably caught in a culturally stratified system created to protect the status and interests of native workers and to block the upward mobility of the migrants. They are also inevitably bound by an entangling network of social relationships, which is framed by cultural solidarity and mobilization around the symbols of a common culture. Specific strategies and modes of enclave formation vary to accommodate the changing contexts.<sup>49</sup>

### **Outside the Enclave**

There is no universal process through which enclaves are formed. Instead, there are three distinctive and often interrelated processes. First, enclaves can be formed through a process of migration of an existing population centers as they grow and differentiation of the concentration increase. Second, simultaneous growth and eventual merging of adjacent enclaves, may result in the formation of urban clusters, or the reformation the adjacent enclaves. Finally, enclaves may be formed by deliberate planning actions, such as those resulting in the establishment of a net of new towns around major population centers. In this chapter; these distinctive mechanisms for the formation of urban clusters will be discussed.

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<sup>49</sup> Zhou, 13-14.

*Migration*

Migration is referred to the net movement of people, networks, social norms (or any combination) from a region in which they are in lower concentration to regions of higher concentration, thereby resulting in a dense region of commonalities, shared values, and the like. Enclaves formed by migration typically grow by serving as magnets that attract other people who share the same significant quality as the pioneers. For a place to seem as though it is dominated by a particular group and then to act like a magnet to others, the group need not make up the majority of the existing population. If no other group is present in sizeable numbers and the distinctive group's institutions and stores are concentrated in area, the area could appear to be dominated by the group that compromised 25 percent or less of its total population.<sup>50</sup>

The ability of individuals to harness the resources they need through their network of friends and relatives plays a key role in why enclaves form and where they do. Closeness to places of work associated with members of the distinctive group is often one reason the pioneers chose a particular residential area. Many years ago, for example, a young and politically active gay enclave formed in West Hollywood, California, apparently because of its closeness to the film, recording, television, and design industries in Hollywood where many of the West Hollywood's residents were employed.<sup>51</sup> In addition, an enclave's pioneers may have selected a particular site because of its physical features. Sometimes a specific place seem sot have been selected simply because it is available when a distinctive group needs a place, and no one else wants it.

The prior settlement of a place by people with similar characteristics has always been a major magnet to later migrants. The movers who follow later know of the enclave's existence before they relocate, and it becomes their intended destination. The pioneers who become established in the enclave often intentionally recruit potential migrants and they typically provide many types of help to newcomers. Such as monetary assistance, employment, or help in finding an apartment.

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<sup>50</sup> Howard P. Chudacoff, *Evolution of American Urban Society*, Englewood Cliffs, JH: Prentice-Hall, 2000.

<sup>51</sup> E. Michael Gorman, "The Pursuit of the Wish," in Gilbert Herdt (Ed.), *Gay Culture in America*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.

Attraction to an enclave can also be based on the goods and services that are exclusively offered in its specialized stores and institutions. It is usually only in enclaves that there are the concentrated numbers of potential customers or clients necessary to support purveyors of various types of specialized goods and services. Access to them may serve as a magnet to members of the distinctive group. In Long Beach, for example, there is a substantial Khmer enclave. For those who wish to follow traditional Muslim practices in arranging and negotiating marriages, observing communal religious ties, and the like, life outside the enclave would be impossible.

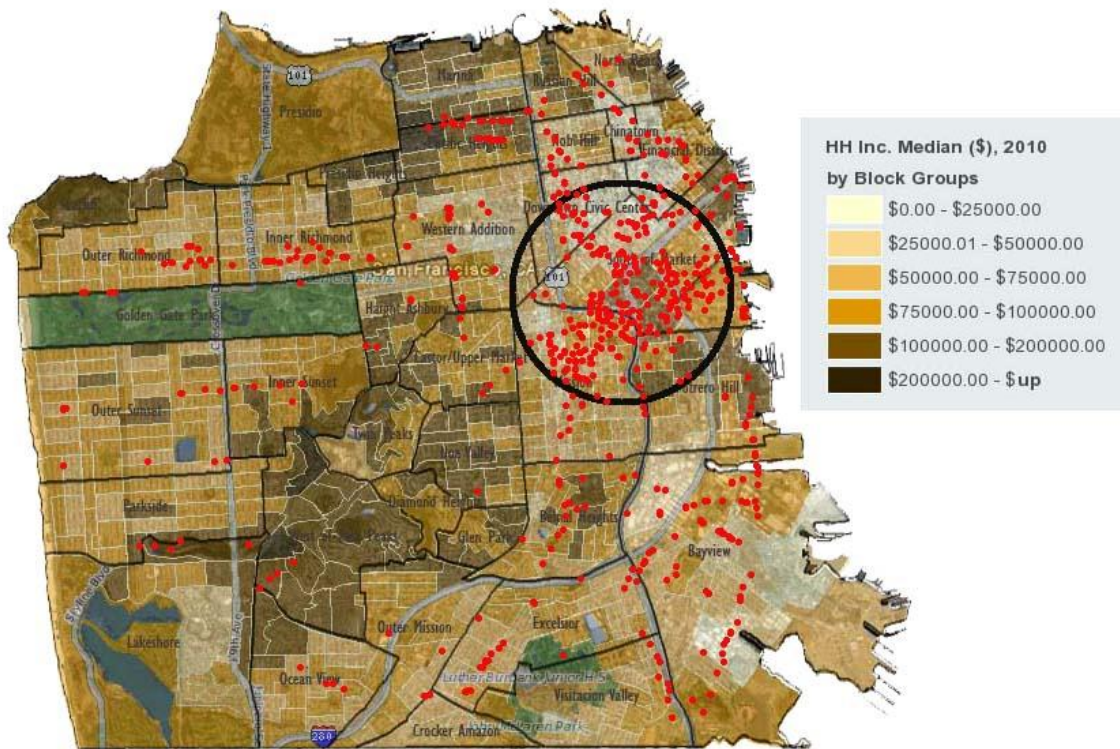
### *Facilitated Migration*

The movement of people, networks, social norms (or any combination) in an enclave not normal to it or in amounts in excess of the normal is a type of migration that occurs with the assistance of outside forces. City planning, for example, has made many attempts to locate housing projects in suburban neighborhoods in a desire to mix people of different cultures and economic status with little success. These types of forced situations usually result in an accentuation of in-group similarities and an accentuation of out-group differences.

### *Infiltration*

For the purposes of this study, we will refer to infiltration as the pathological migration and accumulation in an enclave of people, networks and social norms (or any combination) not normal to it or in amounts in excess of the normal. It is the situation in which the neighborhood components create an environment that is conducive to the spread and replication of an idea. For instance, billboards off the highway and intersections; signs and placards in arenas, stadiums, and shopping malls, whether they are open air or enclosed; and any other advertisements placed outdoors, regardless of their size, including those on cigarette retailer property, are designed to replicate and spread an idea within a network. This also includes transit: Advertising on or within private or public vehicles and all advertisements placed at, on, or within any bus stop, taxi stand, transportation waiting area, train station, airport, or any other transportation facility.

It was designed to orchestrate a wave of chatter that helps an idea or product spread like a virus. Commercial sponsorship is surreptitious so that consumers believe they are discovering something on their own. Widespread exposure to a brand's advertising creates an initial focus on the brand. A bandwagon, or virus, then allows the brand's share of the market to grow.



**Figure 4.1:** *Map showing billboards in red reveals that most advertisement of this kind takes place in low-income areas. Data obtained from San Francisco Planning Department and 2010 census.*

It was intended to capitalize on social interactions within the community to influence the young patrons: The rationale of marketing are straightforward—influence an opinion leader with your product communication and you are at the same time achieving dissemination of that communication throughout his social network. An additional

aspect of this type of communication is that it typically takes place where a high degree of opinion transfer and modeling behavior is observed, among children.

### *Incidental Merging*

Formation of enclaves can be attributed through a process of incidental merging caused by simultaneous growth of adjacent enclaves until a merging of the enclaves occur. For example, when enclaves become too populated or too expensive, decentralization usually occurs, which results in a migration to other areas. In the case of adjacent enclaves, this can result in the reformation of the existing enclaves or the formation of new urban enclave, which may start even before the existing is overloaded or overpriced.

Fischer combines the ecological and subcultural perspectives by suggesting that size, density, and heterogeneity are important but that they produce integrated subcultures rather than fostering alienation and community disorganization.<sup>52</sup> Size provides the critical masses necessary for viable unconventional subcultures to form. With increased variability in the subcultural mix in urban areas, subcultures become more intensified as they defend their ways of life against the broad array of others in the environment. The more subcultures, the more interaction of cultural norms, and the greater the likelihood of new subcultures emerging, creating the ever-changing mosaic of unconventional subcultures that most distinguishes large places from small ones. The rate at which particular cultural norms cluster also depend on the surrounding built environment, which in turn is morphed by the norms itself. The consequence of the clustering is that there will be net separation of cultural norms, establishing a community, its associated edges, and group differences.

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<sup>52</sup> Claude Fisher, *Toward a Subcultural Theory of Urbanism*. *American Journal of Sociology* 80(1975) 1319-1341.



**Figure 4.2:** *Map represents a possibility of incidental merging of two communities. Population of African American represented in block groups and Prostitution rate represented in contours. However boundaries set by the 101 freeway marked in red seems to keep the two communities apart for the time being.*

### *Planned Enclave*

Formation of enclaves can occur through deliberate planning actions such as the establishment of a net of new neighborhoods and shopping centers by developers. New enclaves are constantly emerging as developers of new suburban locales increasingly formulate rules designed to ensure that the individual homes are similar in both size and design, and thereby, inserting districts into the urban area.

The most common and widely used of these are restrictions that require houses to contain at least a certain square footage. But these restrictions in recent years in many communities have become far more elaborate. Examples in residential developments in

San Francisco include not only square footage minimums, but also restrictions requiring that houses be of a "traditional" design, have a brick exterior, use high grade "dimensional" shingles and even require a mailbox of similar design for all homes.

San Francisco's Chinatown is a type of planned enclave. Beginning at the elaborate Chinatown gate on Grant Street, wandering past dragon street lights and row after row of shops peddling furniture, fabrics, and every trinket imaginable are all forms of advertisement. From traditional herbal remedies to ornate temples or a giant plastic garden Buddha, the bustling streets reinforce an authentic Chinese creation. However, Min Zhou's analysis makes it clear that the opposite is actually the case: Chinatown is a unique American creation.<sup>53</sup> The pioneers did not plan to open businesses, nor did they plan to settle down in the West. They came to work in the gold mines and in the railroads to save enough money to bring back to their families in China. The relentless exploitation and persecution to which they were subjected in California pushed and pulled the immigrants into an enclave.

### **Inside the Enclave**

The processes by which communities come together, attract new members, and develop over time is a central research of this thesis - political movements, professional organizations, religious denominations, and specialized stores all provide fundamental examples of such communities. These well-functioning groups do not just form out of the blue. It takes time for a group to develop to a point where it can be effective and where members feel connected to it. Our study of enclaves reveals four stages that characterize the development of these communities. Understanding these stages can help determine what is happening with a group and how to manage what is occurring. The three stages of enclave development are known as differentiation, solidarity, and decentralization.

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<sup>53</sup> Zhou 19.

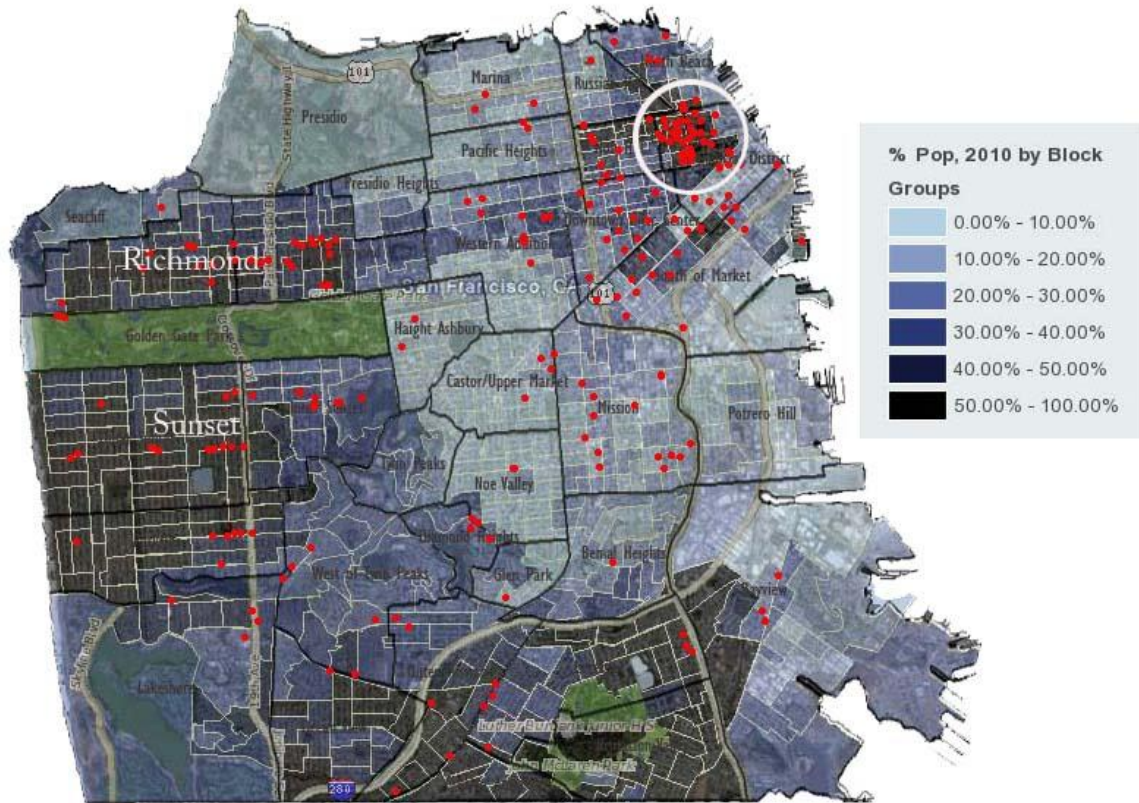


The tendency of people to come together and form groups is inherent in the structure of enclaves; and the ways in which such groups take shape and evolve over time is a theme that runs through large parts of this chapter. During the initial stage of enclave development, when the group members first come in contact with others and get acquainted with each other, in-group and out-group conflicts arise and differences of opinion about values and norms will surface. The two important processes involved in the first stage of enclave formation, namely self-categorization and social comparison, produce different consequences.<sup>54</sup> The consequences of self-categorization are an accentuation of the perceived similarities between the self and other in-group members, and an accentuation of the perceived differences between the self and out-group members. This accentuation occurs for all the attitudes, beliefs and values, affective reactions, behavioral norms, styles of speech, and other properties that are believed to be correlated with the relevant intergroup categorization. The consequences of the social comparison process are the selective application of the accentuation effect, primarily to those dimensions that will result in self-enhancing outcomes for the self. Specifically, one's self-esteem is enhanced by evaluating the in-group and the out-group on dimensions that lead the in-group to be judged positively and the out-group to be judged negatively.

Solidarity is the second stage of the group development process during which the group members become closer to each other and the group starts functioning as a cohesive unit. The group members now identify themselves with the group and share responsibility for achieving the desired level of performance of the group. During this stage of enclave development, issues related to roles, expectations, and norms are of major importance in shaping the enclave.

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<sup>54</sup> Hogg, M. A., & Abrams, D. (1999). Social identity and social cognition: Historical background and current trends. In D. Abrams & M. A. Hogg (Eds.), *Social identity and social cognition* (pp. 1–25). Oxford, England: Blackwell.

*Decentralization*

**Figure 4.3:** *Map of Chinese establishments in red and Asian population in block groups*

Decentralization is the final stage when the group, after achieving the objectives for which it was created, starts to gradually dissolve itself. After decades of evolving, some enclaves are experiencing decentralization. San Francisco's Old Chinatown has always been a definable, contiguous geographic locality in which the Chinese are concentrated. However, today's Chinese are much more spread out than their predecessors. More than half of San Francisco's Chinese now live in Upper and Lower Sunset in growing Chinese neighborhoods. The rapid residential dispersion of the Chinese population does not seem to have been accompanied by the decline of the original enclave, however. The enclave has survived for more than a century and has retained a strong culture and

economy. Immigrant Chinese continue to have a function in a foreign country, being so totally alien to the culture and ways of life in the United States and with minimal number of predecessors to help them. They rely on the dense set of associations for housing, for employment, for a life that is not totally American but also not totally Chinese. Patterns of in- and out-migration within the Chinatown boundaries often involve not dispersal but strengthening of the enclave, where the Chinese, particularly immigrants, continue to cluster together and tie themselves to the built environment of Chinatown.

The more affluent Chinese resides in the suburbs. The richer, well-established Chinese-American families have also moved out San Francisco's Chinatown and bought homes in the suburbs, though most still commute to Chinatown to work. Some neighborhoods consisted of more than 50 percent Chinese owner-occupied housing. While social scientist would classify this neighborhood as an enclave, our current interpretation of an enclave of dense associations does not support this view. The migration of Chinese away from the neighborhood does not mean the movement of the dense set of associations that gave form to the enclave.

The development of the economic enclave produces dialectic of spatial expansion and decentralization. In the case of San Francisco's Chinese, residential patterns are linked not simply to higher socioeconomic status but also to factors associated with bonds of kinship and family, the economic enclave, and its surrounding built environment. Those who are able to leave Chinatown physically have retained social relations embedded in the enclave. Although residential dispersion has, in fact, resulted in decentralized ethnic enclaves, the associations that are responsible for maintaining the integrity of the enclave remains for future residents. Therefore, the true meaning of the enclave lies in the dense set of relations rather than the concentration of ethnicity.

The housing characteristics create an architectural culture that keeps alive a sense of identity, pride, self-esteem, and group solidarity, which feeds back to the building of social capital and further consolidates the structure of the enclave. Drive down the streets of this affluent Chinese neighborhood, and you do not see much evidence that represents "shared values" among the community residents.

## On the Boundaries

Once the group resolves its conflicts, it can now establish patterns of commonality in the acculturation stage. Acculturation is the exchange of cultural features that results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact; the original cultural patterns of either or both groups may be altered, but the groups remain distinct.<sup>55</sup> Despite definitions and evidence that acculturation entails two-way processes of change, research and theory have continued with a focus on the adjustments and changes experienced by minorities in response to their contact with the dominant majority. Thus, acculturation can be conceived to be the processes of cultural learning imposed upon minorities by the fact of being minorities. Members of the group come to understand how the group as a whole operates.

Throughout most of the 20th century, social scientists theorized about the process by which newcomers to America become incorporated into mainstream culture. This work was first the province of sociologists at the University of Chicago, with Robert Park the best known of the melting pot theorists.<sup>56</sup> Beginning in 1914, Park undertook the study of what happens to people from diverse cultures and languages when they come into contact with one another. For answers, Park drew on the ecological framework that was the hallmark of the Chicago school of sociology and advanced a three-stage model—contact, accommodation, and assimilation.<sup>57</sup> According to this model, contact between peoples from different cultures forces them to seek ways to accommodate to each other to minimize conflict. Thus, contact shapes intergroup relations between different ethnic communities. Furthermore, the essential element in the model was the process by which newcomers to America learn to accommodate the dominant culture of the United States. According to Park, as immigrants learned to accommodate the dominant group, a process of cultural assimilation ensued culminating in intermarriage and amalgamation. For Park, the process leading to cultural assimilation was progressive and irreversible and

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<sup>55</sup> Amado M. Padilla and William Perez, "Acculturation, Social Identity, and Social Cognition: A New Perspective," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 25 (2003): 35-55.

<sup>56</sup> Park 114.

<sup>57</sup> S. Persons, *Ethnic studies at Chicago: 1905-45*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

contributed to the ethos of America as a country of immigrants. Park's three-stage model has in one form or another remained a cornerstone in our thinking about how newcomers adjust to the dominant culture following immigration.

What Park observed was not the entire process by which newcomers to America became incorporated into mainstream culture. In actuality, he is describing the defining moments between different phases; the outline of an enclave. Boundaries may be barriers, more or less penetrable, which close one region off from another; or they may be seams, lines along which two regions are related and joined together. They are responsible for holding together the enclave area as well as fuse it with the outside area. Boundaries are the area where groups of individuals from different enclaves or communities come into continuous contact with each other, and subsequently, there are changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. The change in cultural patterns from the core to the periphery of the enclave, from ethnic concentration to acculturation, is essential for the different groups in contact to exist side by side.

Enclave boundaries are in constant flux, contracting and expanding, tightening and loosening. This change may be the consequence of acculturation.

[I]t may be derived from non-cultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modifications induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits or patterns; or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors.<sup>58</sup>

According to this expanded view of acculturation, we see the inclusion of value systems, developmental sequences, roles, and personality factors as contributing to how individuals accommodate when they come into contact with each other. This model was an advance

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<sup>58</sup> Social Science Research Council, 1954, p. 974.

because it specified important culture-related information that changes with intergroup contact and what aspects of culture might be more resistant to change (e.g., values) with intercultural contact. The significance of this definition is that it provides for choice in the acculturation process – the change from one cultural orientation to another can be “selective,” and persons involved in intergroup contact can decide what elements of their culture they wish to surrender and what cultural elements they want to incorporate from the new culture.

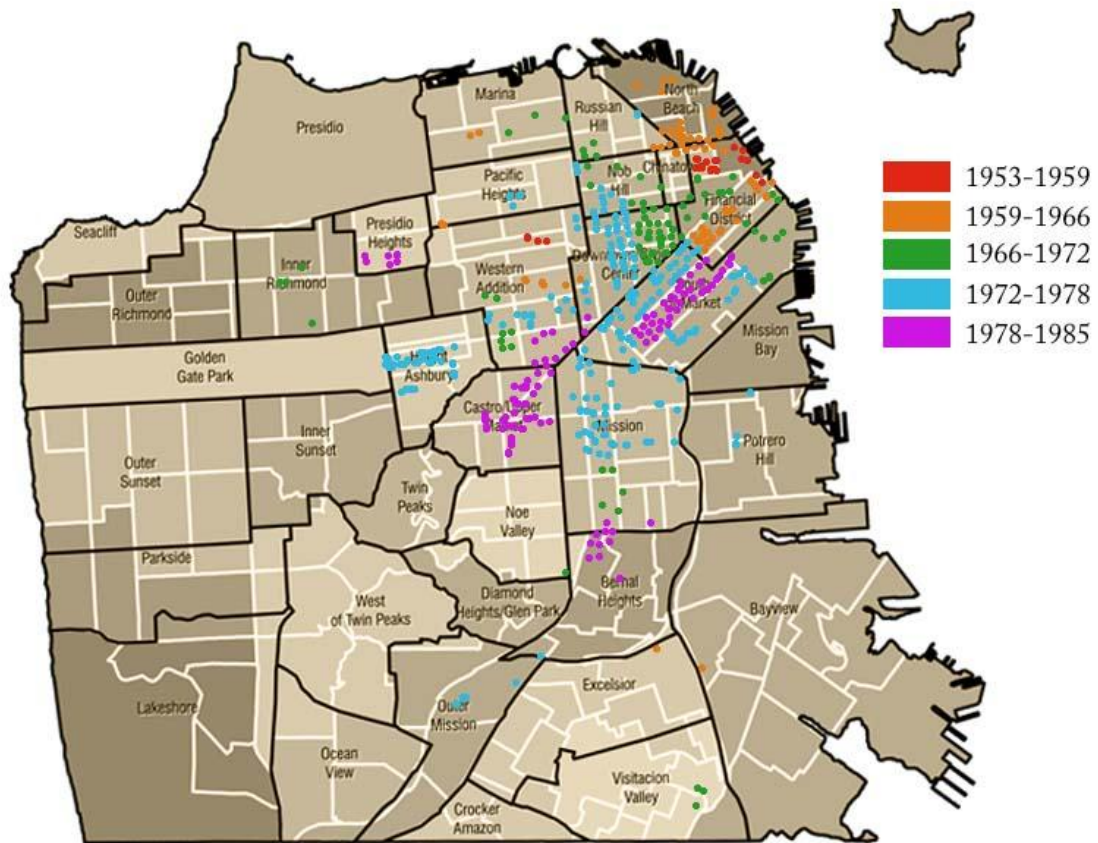
Boundary acculturation included changes in material traits, behavior patterns, norms, institutional changes, and importantly, values. This model recognizes the importance of multicultural societies, minority individuals and groups, and the fact that individuals have a choice in the matter of how far they are willing to go in the acculturation process. It holds that a minority person and/or ethnic group could reverse their acculturation process to the dominant group and revert to their former cultural heritage.

### **Formation and Reformation of Castro**

The Castro district today includes a middle- and upper-middle-class residential neighborhood of apartments in renovated Victorian houses, many of which are pastel-colored. It contains a typical commercial center with a full complement of clothing stores, hairstyles, banks, restaurants, and laundries, and it houses the religious and political institutions that can be found in any community. The only thing out of the ordinary about the area is the fact the most of the residents and store owners are gay and they are not trying to disguise or camouflage it.

Neither the Castro nor Mission district began to take its contemporary form until after 1970. But if we want to understand how they emerged in the center of San Francisco and the meaning of these places to the groups who live in them, it will be helpful to begin with a look at some of the effects of World War II on American life. During World War II, San Francisco was a major port for military personnel going to or coming from the

Pacific. When service people were periodically labeled homosexual and purged by the military from the Pacific theatre, they were usually shipped back to San Francisco.



**Figure:** *Average opening date of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transsexual gathering places. Data obtained from San Francisco Planning Department.*

Thousands remained in this city rather than return home in the disgrace of a dishonorable discharge.<sup>59</sup>

When the war ended, thousands of other gay ex-GIs also chose to remain in San Francisco rather than return home to small towns in the Midwest, for example, where life as a gay person now seemed impossible. Many of these veterans who did go home after

<sup>59</sup> Mark Abrahamson, *Urban Enclaves: Identity and Place in the World* (Maryland: Worth Publishers, 2006) 156.

the war soon returned to the less oppressive climate that they knew from their wartime experience they would find in San Francisco.<sup>60</sup> The war is also credited by many with having created settings in which people were given opportunities to discover their same-sex quarters in the military, and millions of young civilian women were living in communities from which most of the young men were gone. For some people, the living arrangements imposed by the war merely reinforce their own previously established patterns. For others, however, same-sex living was conducive to experiences that led them to realize that they were sexually interested in people of the same sex.<sup>61</sup> With this discovery, many gays sought out others who were like them, and San Francisco was a magnet to them.<sup>62</sup>

Before an immediately after the war, gay men were largely limited to seeking each other out in two types of places: t-rooms and bars. T-rooms, short for toilet rooms or tea rooms, referred to public facilities used for casual sex between men, and small cafes that served afternoon tea. During the early twentieth century, men discretely looking for male partners often found them in the public bathrooms of city parks or bus or subway stations. Later, with the expansion of the interstates, highway rest stops also served as t-rooms. For men who were bisexual and desperate to keep their same-sex contacts hidden from family, coworkers, and others, these public facilities became private sexual spaces. However, for as long as men used t-rooms, the police monitored them: spying through holes in the ceiling, planting undercover policemen in the facilities to entrap them, and so on.<sup>63</sup>

The t-rooms alone without the concentration of gay men in area could not constitute an enclave because a bonded solidarity was not present. The t-rooms were used solely for sexual gratification, with minimal social contact between men who were trying to conceal their sexuality from everyone. Rather than choosing each other, men would typically pair off with whoever was hanging around at the time. The two men would go into a stall

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<sup>60</sup> John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

<sup>61</sup> Allan Berube, "Marching to a Different Drummer," in Martin Duberman, et al. (Eds.), *Hidden From History*, (New York: Meridian, 1989).

<sup>62</sup> Abrahamson 157.

<sup>63</sup> IBID 156.



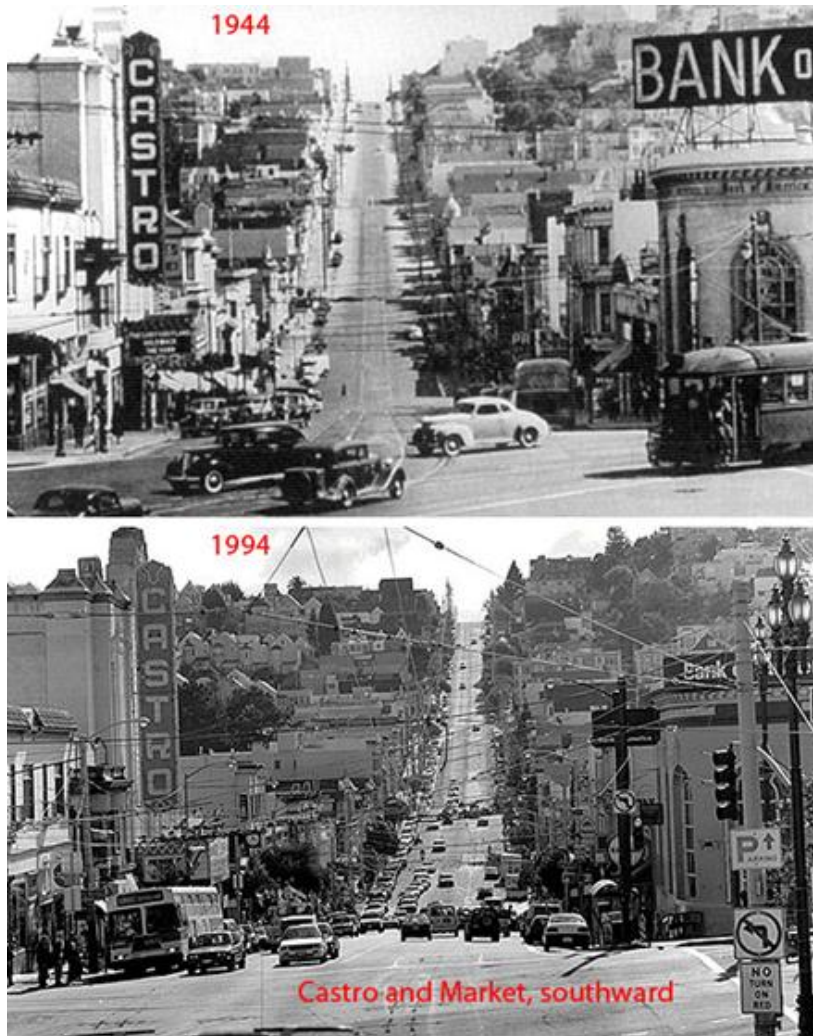
together, and if available, a third man (sometimes waiting his turn, sometimes a voyeur) would serve as a lookout. The two participants would complete the sex act as quickly as they could, then rapidly disperse. Specialized bars, by contrast to tearooms, served both men and women and had more varied uses: as places where gay men or lesbians could select each other for sexual purpose and also as places where they could “come out,” at least temporarily, as long as they felt they were in a supportive place.<sup>64</sup>

After the war, concentrations of gays and lesbians supported a proliferation of bars primarily catering to specialized clientele. Before the war in port cities such as San Francisco and New York, gay and lesbian bars had been established but not specialized. In New York’s Harlem during Prohibition in the 1920s, for example, middle-class gay and lesbian whites and blacks all mixed in small clubs that featured transvestite floor shows and bootleg liquor.<sup>65</sup> However, with the more concentrated markets that developed after World War II, it became economically feasible for bars to specialize. In fact, competition among bars spurred each to find its own niche by attracting a gay or lesbian clientele with distinctive interests and lifestyles.

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<sup>64</sup> IBID 157.

<sup>65</sup> Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.



**Figure:** Before and after. *Photo: Greg Gaar Collection, San Francisco California*

Bars have been very significant in gay and lesbian life because they provided the primary settings in which people could find companions and/or sex partners of the same sex. In workplaces and neighborhood stores, people had to work hard to hide this aspect of their lives, which made it very difficult for them to find each other, If you were lesbian and thought another woman was also, you would have to go through “lengthy verbal games, dropping subtle hints... waiting for her to pick up your clues before you dared to reveal

yourself.”<sup>66</sup> The problem was the same, of course, for gay males and they too developed code words to enable them to recognize each other. None of these word games were necessary in a lesbian or gay bar, and prior to the development of gay enclaves, such bars were the only places where people of the same sex could talk, touch, and dance, and interact openly. Thus these bars were the one kind of environment that could provide homosexuals with a territorial referent, or sense that a place belonged to them.

Although the territorial referent was small, it had distinctive edges. Visiting these bars was often an important “coming-out” experience. Going to such a bar meant crossing a symbolic line, translating a private identity into public interaction. There is typically a fear associated with the experience of coming-out, especially during the decades right after World War II, resulted from people’s knowledge of the sanctions they could typically expect, which could include rejection by friends and family, eviction from housing, and termination of employment. There were also the “gay-bashing” forays organized by heterosexual gangs and the routine harassment by police, who periodically raided their bars and arrested patrons. Although gay men and lesbians were tormented in San Francisco during this period, the harassment was probably less severe than in most places. For example, California was one of the few states not to prohibit congregations of homosexuals in public spaces. In New York State, by contrast, same-sex touching, dancing, or the like was classified as “degenerate” and punishable by fines or arrest.<sup>67</sup> Thus, politics also played a huge role in formation and reformation of enclaves.

Until the late 1960s, the Castro was a somewhat run-down, Irish, working-class neighborhood. An anomaly was the presences of two gay bars that had opened in the Castro to serve hippies from the nearby Haight-Ashbury District. Many in the traditional working-class Castro community were leaving during the 1960s because the factories in which they had been employed had left the area; most of the local manufacturing jobs moved across the bay to Oakland or left the country entirely. Housing prices fell, attracting young homosexuals who “spilled over” from the Haight-

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<sup>66</sup> Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, p. 163.

<sup>67</sup> Warren J. Blumenfeld and Diane Raymond, *Looking at Gay and Lesbian Life*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1988).

Ashbury. During the 1960s Haight-Ashbury was a center for antiwar counterculture hippies. The heterosexual hippies were relatively tolerant of the gays among them, and the gays were relatively comfortable with the hippies' advocacy of peace, love, and nonconformity. The gay community found their niche in the Haight-Ashbury. Young gay hippies were initially attracted to the Castro by cheap rents, but the district's reputation as "a liberated zone" increased, they and non-hippie gays were attracted by its social climate. During the mid-1970s, Castro property values began to rise as an estimated thirty thousand homosexuals from elsewhere in San Francisco and from around the country moved into the district.<sup>68</sup>

It was a diverse group of men who moved to the Castro during the 1970s. Included in it were gay physicians and psychologists who specialized in treating gay patients; gay lawyers specializing in the types of discrimination and child custody cases experienced by gay men; a gay-owned savings and loan association that did not discriminate against gay applicants; and travel agencies and insurance brokers catering to the distinctive needs of a gay clientele. What they all had in common was a belief that the Castro was their refuge; a place to start life over without having to hide or deny their sexual preference. They also established religious congregations suited to their way of life. For example, the pastors of the Metropolitan Community Church performed gay marriages decades before the legality of such marriages was even debated. The Castro Theatre, an old movie place, nearly closed until it was given a new life by the gay community. In place of mass-market films, it began to show camp classics (e.g., *Rocky Horror Picture Show*) and documentaries of interest to the community; an organist performs before most shows and the audience usually sings or claps along. In short, they built a self-contained gay community.<sup>69</sup>

As the gay community grew and liked its identity to the Castro district, it finally had a place to erect "shrines" that captured the collective experiences of gays everywhere. In 2003 near the intersection of Market and Castro Streets, the community dedicated the "Pink Triangle Park" in memory of the thousands of gay men and women who were

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<sup>68</sup> Frances FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986).

<sup>69</sup> Abrahamson 163.

killed over one-half century earlier in the Holocaust. In this regard, the Castro district's place in the life of gays everywhere became comparable to that of more conventional enclaves based upon race or ethnicity.

Both as a lifestyle enclave and repository of collective experiences, the Castro district became a national and international tourist attraction. A largely though not exclusively gay clientele from throughout the world was attracted by descriptions of the district in gay publications emanating from the Castro and the marketing of the San Francisco tourist bureau. The increase number of visitors spurred other developments in the district, such as specialized lodging and sight-seeing that tailored to expressions of sexuality.

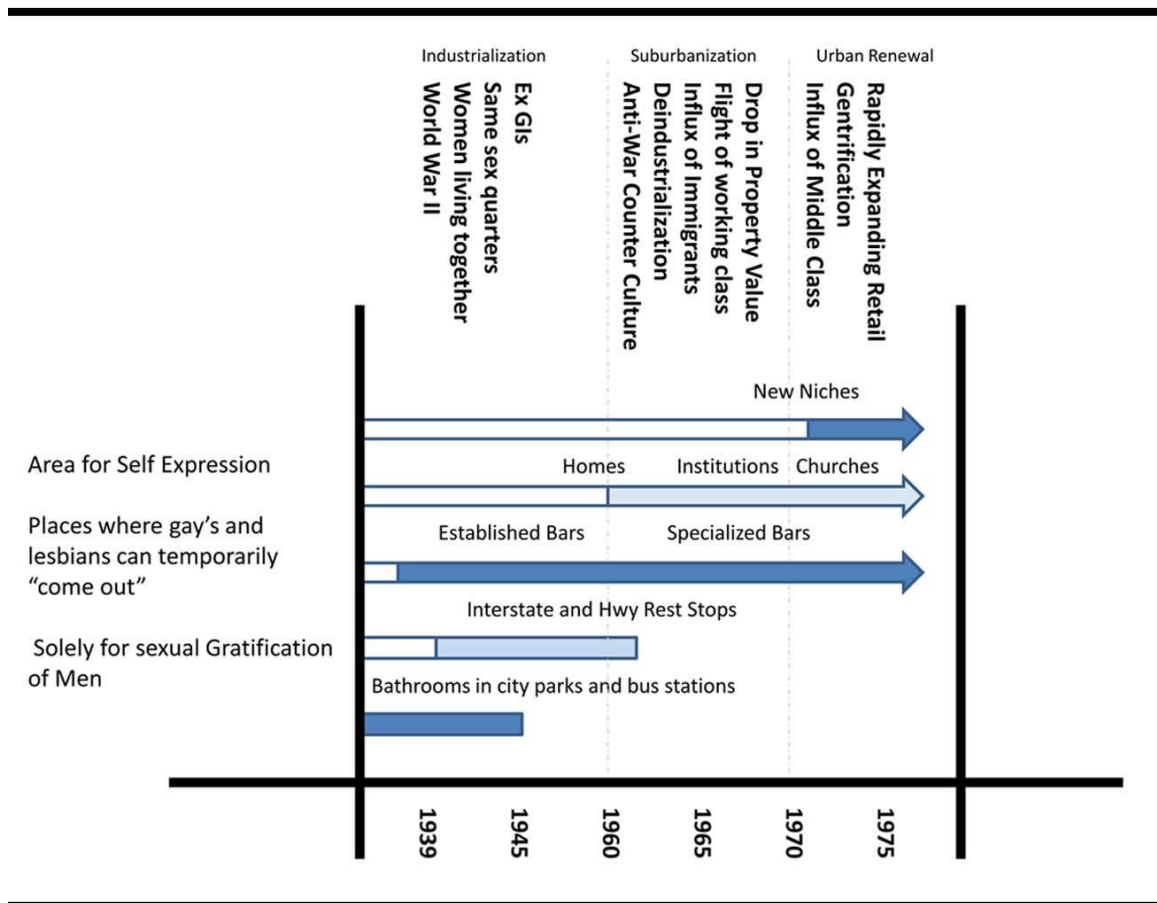


Figure 4.6: *Matrix for formation and reformation of gay enclave.*

About one mile east of Castro Street, running parallel to it, is Valencia Street in the Mission district. It is a center of retail stores and institutions, many of which serve a lesbian clientele. There are also lesbian residential concentrations surrounding it. The area around Valencia Street has some of the qualities of an enclave but, as we shall later see, it does not hold a lesbian majority and is not as commercially and institutionally complete as the Castro district. However, given the ties between the gay and lesbian communities, they are probably best regarded as constituting a single enclave, though Valencia Street in the Mission district is the commercial and institutional center of the most fully developed lesbian community in the United States. This area can be considered a reformation of the gay enclave at its edges into a lesbian enclave.

### **Summary**

The situational and subjective aspects of enclaves mean that researchers who wish to understand how enclave forms and reforms as an important factor in a range of social processes must do more than identify key cultural and behavioral components of groups. Researchers must also investigate patterns of interaction that link groups. The locations of cross-group interactions are usually better understood in terms of social space than as physical places. The social spaces wherein cross-group interactions take place are the effective social boundaries between groups. In this sense, it is "the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses" (Barth 1969, pp. 15). According to Barth, studying ethnic groups only in terms of their cultural traits and institutional forms leads researchers to confound the effects of cultural tradition with how ecological circumstances lead to changes in patterns of belief and behavior. The cultural traits of an enclave group respond to ecological circumstances; therefore, forms of institutionalized behavior emerge that represent reactions to the environment as much as they reflect a cultural orientation.

## CHAPTER 5

# ENCLAVE BOUNDARIES

Implicit within social capital is the formulation of relationships, where the ties of people simultaneously create boundaries that distinguish itself from the outside world. With the exception of the internet, interaction takes place on site. Therefore, social capital is implicated in processes of boundary maintenance and division, which are simultaneously social, spatial, and architectural formulations.

The critical focus of investigation from this chapter becomes the boundary that defines the enclave, not the cultural stuff that it encloses. The boundaries to which we must give our attention are of course social boundaries, though they may have territorial counterparts. If an enclave maintains its identity when members interact with others, this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signaling locals and outsiders. Boundary channels social life - it entails a frequently quite complex organization of social norms relations. The identification of another person as a fellow member of an group implies a sharing of values and associations. It entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally 'going through the same struggles', and this means that there is between them a potential for expansion of their social relationship. On the other hand, a differentiation of others as strangers, as members of another group, implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgments of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest.

## Locating Boundaries

Boundaries are the defining moments between different phases; the outline of an enclave. Boundaries may be barriers, more or less penetrable, which close one region off from another; or they may be seams, lines along which two regions are related and joined together. They are responsible for holding together the enclave area as well as fuse it with the outside area.

The presences of boundaries are indicated in very different ways in the typical urban community and are only penetrable to particular people associations. In neighborhoods, boundaries are defined by the physical layout of communities that allow residents to privatize the areas around their homes. This includes the streets and grounds outside their buildings and the lobbies and corridors within them. Privatizations of areas help people preserve those areas in which they can realize their commonly held values and lifestyles. These boundaries determine how penetrable the districts are to outside networks and norms.

Neighborhood physical boundaries such as walls, gates, and cul-de-sacs alter the entire look and function of the community, limiting access and egress for each mini-neighborhood. It completely removes vehicular through-traffic (the only traffic remaining will be seeking destinations within each mini-neighborhood); and it completely changes the character of the streets (instead of being long, directional avenues laden with traffic, they become places where children can play safely and neighbors can interact). By limiting vehicular access, the streets are perceived as being under the control of the residents. It strengthens the exclusiveness of the neighborhood and further defines outsiders from this community enclave. Fewer cars make it easier to recognize neighbors and strangers.

The subdivision of a community into mini-neighborhoods is intended to encourage the interaction of neighbors. Parents will watch their children playing in the now quiet streets and get to know each other. They will no longer feel locked up in their houses, facing the world alone. In homogeneous neighborhoods, the less permeable edges would strengthen the bonding ties of the social capital fostering the sense of unity from within and



exclusion of outsiders. In a heterogeneous community, tensions between renters and property owners, between different cultures, and the concern over incivilities, will likely also diminish as both parties living on the same closed street come to know each other through greater association and are able to develop standards of mutually acceptable behavior together. However, in impoverished areas different sets of standards are maintained. The street cred social norms associated with crime network tend to persist and consume the community. This type social capital in poor neighborhoods and it is associated with cultural norms and standards of violence and crime that guide inner-city youths into adulthood. Widely dispersed street cred culture and promotion are likely to affect social norms concerning criminal activity. The ubiquity and familiarity of street cred culture and promotion may contribute to an environment in which crime is perceived by users to be socially acceptable, or at least less socially objectionable and less hazardous than it is in fact.

Some enclaves have intentionally designed entries that unambiguously mark some or all of their boundaries. In San Francisco, for example, portals over main streets leading into Chinatown have elaborate decorations to mark them as entrances and thereby serve as boundary markers. Some neighborhoods in San Francisco have erected signs on major thoroughfares leading into particular areas or put neighborhood name signs on light poles at major intersections. More often, however, there is no concrete designation of an entrance or a boundary. And people have only mental images of where socially significant places begin and end.

In addition to community layout and architecture, we must rely on differences in material culture as indices of social difference. Such differences are most strongly marked in the case of enclaves, a highly visible form of group distinctiveness brought about by the movement of members of one group. The boundaries established in such enclaves are revealing of a number of ethnic processes, including strategies of assimilation or maintenance of differences, and the importance of stylistic redundancy in maintaining group differences.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Geoff Emberling. News of a difference: Stylistic redundancy and social identity in early Mesopotamia. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC. 1995b

Sociologist M. W. Graves developed a method for analyzing design variation of a group. He considered not only stylistic differences between two regions, but also the homogeneity of designs within each region.<sup>71</sup> Measures of difference and homogeneity together comprise a measure of distinctiveness: not only did the designs differ between the two regions, but the design within each was homogeneous relative to the other. Important social boundaries or those being negotiated are likely to be marked redundantly. Comparing stylistic distributions of multiple categories of material culture gives a greater likelihood of locating important social and its corresponding enclave boundaries.

Regardless of their obtrusiveness, boundary markers are rarely associated with abrupt and total changes in enclave composition. Places usually change from each other in subtle ways that become dramatic only after they have accumulated. Residents' dress, their skin color, the music they are playing, and the food in store windows all provide clues to the changes that are occurring in the composition of an area. The distinctive features in an enclave in most instances gradually crystallize as one move from its periphery to its core. For example, the Castro section of San Francisco contains a gay residential and commercial area, packed into several blocks are gay friendly restaurants and bars, clothing stores, and billboards celebrating open sexuality. Adjacent this enclave is a section of Hispanic concentration supported by specialized stores and institutions. Walking from the core of the Castro to the Mission district, the distinctive features of the enclave dematerializes while the specialized stores and institutions for Hispanics gradually become more visible. A resident described the gradual change in the expression of murals. Art closer to the Castro area are expressions of lifestyle with vibrant colors. As one move from its core to the periphery, the art work has more Hispanic influence portraying Hispanic mythology.

This makes it possible to understand one final form of boundary maintenance whereby cultural units and boundaries persist. Entailed in boundary maintenance are also

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<sup>71</sup> Graves, M. W. (1994). Kalinga social and material culture boundaries: A case of spatial convergence. In Longacre, W. A., and Skibo, J. M. (eds.), *Kalinga Ethnoarchaeology: Expanding Archaeological Method and Theory*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, pp. 13-49.

situations of social contact between persons of different cultures: enclaves only persist as significant if they imply marked difference in behavior, i.e. persisting cultural differences. The differentiation of the enclave and the outside group contributes to the overall impenetrability of the enclave. Yet where persons of different culture interact, one would expect these differences to be reduced, since interaction both requires and generates a blending of social norms and values - in other words, a similarity or community of culture. Thus the persistence of enclaves in contact implies not only criteria and signals for identification, but also a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences.

It should be recognized that distinctions made by local residents are likely to be more precise than those made by outsiders. Outsiders may be may simply be unaware of boundaries that separate enclaves from each other within a territory. For instance, the largest group in Castro district is gay men. There is also the Valencia area populated by lesbians, specialized stores and institutions. To the average person who resided elsewhere, the Castro district is the gay mecca of the world. However, the concept of the Castro as a single enclave is highly contested in the lesbian community.



**Figure 5.1** *Castro Mural on 16<sup>th</sup> Street and Market; Castro/Mission Mural on 16<sup>th</sup> Street near Sanchez*

The difference between the self-views of the enclave and the views of outsiders contribute to the ambiguity of the enclave. Outsiders knew too little about it to make many distinctions and many of the differences emphasized of the enclave would have been of trivial importance. A large number of the Mission district residents were recent immigrants, they were generally poor, and they live in run-down neighborhoods. For the purposes of social placement, that was probably all of the outsiders cared to know.

The general absence of unambiguous boundaries makes it impractical to study enclaves using any of the large-scale databases that have been compiled. Census Bureau publications, zip code directories, and other publications contain voluminous information about communities and neighborhoods, but they do not indicate where enclaves exist between and among neighborhoods. To locate enclaves with any precision ultimately requires detailed, firsthand information about a place than can be obtained by walking its streets and talking to people common to the associations.

### **Social Boundaries**

Social boundaries are patterns of social interaction that give rise to, and subsequently reinforce, in-group members' self-identification and outsiders' confirmation of group distinctions. The boundaries are therefore better understood as social mediums through which association transpires rather than as territorial demarcations. Thus, social boundary system is a network of social relations, of the people who are required and permitted to engage in a sphere of social activity. A social boundary system is always a network, but not all networks are boundary systems. While some networks are firmly bounded and others loosely, some networks are entirely unbounded. For example, a group of shoppers in a mall or riders in a passenger train, while constituting networks, are socially unbounded, except under the most extraordinary circumstances. As I will try to show below when discussing the characteristics of firm boundaries, the short-lived quality of their relations is only one of the factors involved in their lack of boundedness. The aggregate in a social boundary system can be as small as a married couple or a pair of close friends, or it can be the members of an enclave.

One of the most important features defining social capital boundaries, especially in its relationship to the other networks, is the degree of commonality and differentiation that characterizes it. Groups of social relations share a commonality when their respective spheres social activities are commingled. In the broadest sense, an association's differentiation from others is the degree to which it is separated from them. In the literature, two criteria have thus far proved useful for gauging the amount of a network's differentiation and commonality.

First, a network's differentiation is reflected in the extent to which role performance in it is dependent on, or is independent of, role performance of another. When role performance in one group is conditional to role performance in another, the two networks are commingled or undifferentiated. When role performance in one network is wholly independent of role performance in any other, the networks is entirely differentiated. For example, relationships between co-ethnic owners and workers, as well as customers, generally transcend a contractual monetary bond and are based on a commonly accepted norm of reciprocity. My study of the garment workers in Long Beach's Little Phnom Penh offers a concrete example. Refugee women with little English and few job skills often find working in Little Phnom Penh a better option despite low wages, because the enclave enables them to fulfill their multiple roles more effectively as wage earners, wives, and mothers. In Little Phnom Penh, jobs are easier to find, working hours are more flexible, employers are more tolerant of the presence of children, and private childcare within close walking distance from work is more accessible and affordable. By contrast, in contemporary American society, as well as others, the differentiation of these networks is marked, at least ideally; performance in one is considered to be independent of performance in any of the others, where co-ethnicity is atypical of owner/worker relationships and reciprocity is not an enforceable norm. Likewise, ethnic employers who run businesses in non-enclave neighborhoods or who employ non-enclave workers can effectively evade the social control of the ethnic community while causing unintended consequences of heavier social costs such as interethnic conflicts. Complete differentiation, in these terms, is probably non-existent in social nature; differentiation is rather a matter of degree. Furthermore, differentiation characterizes specific networks in their interrelationships, not entire societies.

Second, a network's differentiation is reflected in the extent to which its members are vested with the responsibility of carrying out its activities for and in lieu of other members of the enclave or community, and in the degree to which its members earn their livelihoods from activities to the relative exclusion of others. For example, in all societies, there are networks of social relations whose activities are geared to the rearing of children and to the perpetuation of the culture. Min Zhou's description of Chinese language schools, for example, have been an integral part of the ethnic community in the Chinese Diaspora worldwide.<sup>72</sup> Chinese schools depend largely on parental volunteerism in fund raising and administration. Teachers are college-educated Chinese immigrants, who may or may not have prior teaching experience or teaching certification. They are recruited mainly through informal referrals within the ethnic network. Each school has a Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), and parental involvement is expected. Suburban Chinese schools also organize a variety of parent-run activities for parents and adults, giving parents an option to stay in school rather than drive back and forth to drop off and pick up their children. These parent-run activities include a variety of seminars on parenting, doing business, real estate or other financial investments, and family financial management; information sessions on how to help children select Advanced Placement (AP) courses, prepare for standardized tests, and apply for colleges and college financial aid; and leisure classes such as chorus singing, and folk dancing.<sup>73</sup>

Enclave distinctions sometimes coincide with territorial segregation in the host society and with social constructions of racial identity. Widely acknowledged racial differences can sharpen in-group members' self-identification and out-group acknowledgment of intergroup distinctions. Similarly, when interaction between groups is limited and otherwise conditioned by territorial segregation, intergroup differences gain emphasis. Constraints on cross-group interaction contribute to the respective groups' ignorance of one another. This, in turn, encourages stereotyping. Race and the segregating tendencies

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<sup>72</sup> Zhou, M., & Li, X. *Ethnic language schools and the development of supplementary education in the immigrant Chinese community in the United States*. C. Suarez-Orozco & I. L. G. Todorova (Eds.), *New directions for youth development: Understanding the social worlds of immigrant youth* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003) 57-73.

<sup>73</sup> *IBID* 57-73.

of territorial concentrations are not necessarily components of ethnic boundaries, but when one or both of these elements of social organization obtain, they can play important roles in the maintenance of ethnic boundaries.

### **Expansion of Chinatown Boundaries**

Walking through Chinatown gives the impression of a deliberate foreign creation in America. Beginning at the elaborate Chinatown gate on Grant Street, wandering past dragon street lights and row after row of shops peddling furniture, fabrics, and every trinket imaginable are all forms of advertisement. From traditional herbal remedies to ornate temples or a giant plastic garden Buddha, the bustling streets reinforce an authentic Chinese creation. However, Min Zhou's analysis makes it clear that the opposite is actually the case: Chinatown is a unique American creation. The pioneers did not plan to open businesses, nor did they plan to settle down in the West. They came to work in the gold mines and in the railroads to save enough money to bring back to their families in China. The relentless exploitation and persecution to which they were subjected in California pushed and pulled the immigrants into an enclave and changing the boundaries over time.

The Gold Rush along with the progressive redevelopment of the West placed a large demand on laborers in the early 1950s attracting a flood of Chinese males from the Guangdong Province to San Francisco. At the time China was war-torn and filled with poverty and chaos which left the people with little chance for survival and almost no chance for upward mobility. These Chinese pioneers came to California to find jobs, make fortunes, and return to their families in China. "Like men all over the world, they dreamed of incredible wealth that might be dug from the earth in a single year. But, like most of the 49ers, the dreams were only dreams, and they stayed on in San Francisco to become laborers and merchants."<sup>74</sup> Their dreams fell short as they found jobs cooking and cleaning for railroad laborers, work with little pay and no Westerner desired.

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<sup>74</sup> Min Zhou, *Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992)

However, this did not discourage the Chinese immigrants as more sojourned to the West. “By 1860, as much as one fifth of the city’s population was Chinese.”<sup>75</sup> A decade later, most of the work on the railroad was completed, leaving thousands of Chinese men unemployed. Like other immigrant groups, they settled in a neighborhood with other Chinese, which were designated by the Westerners, and kept to themselves. Although the neighborhood looked no different architecturally than other neighborhoods, the Chinese remained culturally separate from other San Franciscans. They spoke their own language and traded with each other for the foods they knew best. The neighborhood was built on the hill just above the original San Francisco, where it remains today.

The early settlement was called the “Chinese Quarter” by outsiders. Within the early stages of the enclave and family associations formed to assist newcomers with employment, housing, protection, and communication links to China. In the relative safety of the newcomers took whatever work available in the co-ethnic operated factories, laundries and restaurants. Their willingness to work cheaply enabled enclave businesses to compete in the Western economy but was regarded by Whites as causing lower wages, despite that they did not desire the jobs of the immigrants to begin with. In retribution many immigrants were harassed in the streets as well as the courts.

In San Francisco during the last decades of the nineteenth century, anti-Chinese associations formed in every ward of the city to discourage unemployment for unskilled Chinese. Chinese salesmen and others who dared to venture outside of the Chinese Quarter were regularly “found strung by their pigtailed to lampposts.” So the enclave grew during the late nineteenth century because Chinese immigrants were not welcome and did not feel safe anywhere else. It is clear that the enclave did not grow because it was physically attractive place.<sup>76</sup>

Firsthand accounts of late-nineteenth century describes it comprising “rat-invested...narrow alleys and underground cellars and secret passages, more like a warren of burrowing animals than a human city....And Chinatown was accounted vicious because it was the haunt of gambling... and prostitution. (Palmer, 1934, p.2) The

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<sup>75</sup> IBID 76.

<sup>76</sup> IBID 35.



difference between the self-views of the Chinese Quarters and the views of Westerners contribute to the impenetrability of the enclave boundaries, which for the most part, kept Chinese immigrants in and Westerners out. Westerners knew too little about it to make many distinctions and many of the differences emphasized of the enclave would have been of trivial importance.

During the time when legal and institutional exclusion set barriers and American society made available few options of life to these Chinese sojourners, they had to isolate themselves socially in Chinatown and to work at odd jobs that few Americans wanted. Since they had no families with them and had no intention to stay a long time, they built Chinatown initially as a place of refuge that resembled home. In Old Chinatown, immigrant workers could speak their own language, eat their own food, play their own games, exchange news from home, and share common experiences with fellow countrymen day in and day out.

After World War II, the bachelors' society began to dissolve when Chinese women were allowed into the United States to join their husbands and families. Resulting from the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act and passage of the War Bride Act, immigrant Chinese women composed more than half of the postwar arrivals from China. However, the number of Chinese immigrants entering the United States each year was quite small because the annual quota was set at 105 (Sung 1987). After 1965, when Congress amended the immigration law abolishing the national origins quota system, the number of Chinese jump drastically in San Francisco.

As Chinese immigrants and their families pour into San Francisco, the Chinese Quarter has undergone a series of dramatic transformations. These transformations have been physical, social, and economic. Once confined to a sixteen block area on the hill just above the original San Francisco, Chinatown has expanded in all directions beyond its traditional boundaries, taking over decaying neighborhoods and giving rise to "satellite" Chinatowns in Oakland.

Since 1965, the stereotypical Chinatown has been withering away, and a full-fledged family community with a strong ethnic economy has gradually and steadily taken its

place. During the 1930s and 1940s, Chinatown's ethnic economy was highly concentrated in restaurant and laundry businesses. By the 1970s, the laundry business had shrunk substantially and had been replaced by the garment industry and restaurant businesses, which has become one of the backbone industries in Chinatown. In addition, various industries, ranging from grocery stores, import/export companies, barber shops, and beauty salons to such professional services as banks, law firms, financial, insurance, and real estate agencies, and doctors' and herbalists' clinics also experienced tremendous growth. These ethnic economies have created ample job opportunities for immigrant Chinese and have provided convenient and easy alternatives to meet ethnically specific consumer demands.<sup>77</sup>

Chinese immigrants arriving after 1965 have mostly been family sponsored immigrants, about 75 percent of whom were admitted as immediate family members (spouses, unmarried children, and parents) or as close relatives (married children, brothers, or sisters of U.S. citizens). The transformation of Chinatown from a bachelors' society into a family-oriented community has increased the number and broadened the role of community organizations. The rapid change in the nature of Chinese immigration has created pressing demands for services associated with resettlement and adjustment problems which have overwhelmed the ability of the existing traditional organizations (Sung 1987). To accommodate these changes, traditional organizations have been pressured to redefine their role, and various new organizations have been established in Chinatown. The family has stabilized the community and become the most important institution, furnishing an immediate source of social capital for facilitating the adaptation of immigrant children to American society in a unique way.

The scarcity of women in the enclave before World War II led to a demand for prostitution dens which attracted other vices such as gambling and opium dens. The pioneering sojourners consisted of a drastic majority of men traveling alone in search of fortune to bring back to their families. To make the situation worse, the men could not

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<sup>77</sup> IBID 32.

even send for the families because congress ruled that the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited the wives and families, which remained in effect until 1943.<sup>78</sup>

“At the turn of the century, there were hundreds of Chinese males for every Chinese female in the United States.”<sup>79</sup> The drastic shortage of female companions paved way for brothels staffed with young girls who were kidnapped from their villages in China. In addition to enclave workmen, these girls also serviced Westerners so it was not surprising that prostitution was historically associates with most Chinatowns.

The immigrant workmen who did not have families to go home to were looking for recreation within the enclave. Since gambling of various sorts has a long tradition in Chinese culture, there was a high demand for places for games of chance as well as prostitutions. With the addition of opium dens, Chinatown’s clientele was mixed, consisting of enclave residents, Chinese from the hinterlands, and non-Chinese tourists.<sup>80</sup>

Chinatown had a bad reputation and the media’s exaggeration of the roles of drugs and prostitution only reinforced the image and the differences between Chinese and Whites, contributes the impenetrability of the boundaries.

In the early twentieth century, the quarter’s architectural and cultural profile was dramatically altered by the 1906 earthquake and subsequent fire. The fire swept through the flimsily built enclave, wiping out brothels and the opium and gambling dens. In the wake of the great disaster, a Chinese merchant named Look Tin Eli declared that Chinatown could survive only if outsiders felt comfortable there. He understood that for the Chinese to be able to venture out of the enclave required face to face interaction with Westerners. He hired an American architect to rebuild his headquarters as an Oriental fantasy, with a giant pagoda roof. Following Look Tin Eli’s example, other Chinese merchants also rebuilt in the fanciful new style. By marking themselves as distinct and different along with the increased interactions between Whites and immigrants that didn’t involve any vices, the Chinese gradually became accepted as a part of San

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<sup>78</sup> IBID 23.

<sup>79</sup> IBID 41.

<sup>80</sup> IBID 54.

Francisco. Its demographic profile now included assimilating second and third generation Chinese who increasingly voiced their rights and claims as American citizens. Chinatown gradually became a tourist attraction, generating badly needed revenue for the city.

The contemporary Chinatown in San Francisco was rebuilt a few years after the fire on top of the site where the old quarter had lain in smoking rubble. It continued to attract newly arriving Chinese immigrants and other Chinese who had initially settled elsewhere in the United States. It again became a bustling and crowded residential and commercial area. However, Chinatown never again contained a proliferation of vice resorts like the old quarter because of a number of social changes that were occurring during the early twentieth century. The physical change also played a role in the enclave transformation. The buildings were more permanent and celebrated a Chinese style of Architecture. The exaggerated buildings express Chinese way of life in the enclave. The crime syndicates were replaced with community organizations that kept the streets safe for tourists and assist newcomers, to help people from China remain in contact with each other, and to represent them in community affairs. The associations consisted of successful merchants, who eventually formed under one umbrella organization, the Chinese Six Companies.

The fact that Chinatowns were not the outgrowth of deliberate entrepreneurial initiative but an adaptive response to harsh realities in the host society had a decisive effect in their subsequent development. More than an outpost of a foreign country in America, the Chinese enclave is a unique American phenomenon, which today plays a significant role as a conduit of modern culture and modern aspirations to the original communities to which it is linked by sentiment and family obligations.<sup>81</sup>

Like any enclave, contemporary Chinatown is partly a product of the immigrants who first populated it. The Chinese immigrants who got off the boat on San Francisco's wharf and settled in nearby Chinatown were generally very poor. They came to the United States to seek wealth, but they had few skills to sell. When they arrived they also

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<sup>81</sup> IBID 78.

faced tremendous overt discrimination, which was backed up by government actions. They were pushed and pulled into a poor and crowded enclave, which has over the years retained many of the characteristics of its early residents.

Today, Chinatown still stands at the heart of the San Francisco. You can buy Chinese foods and products, such as ginseng, wonton wrappers and salted cod, as well as imports from East Asia. The pagodas and verandas can still be seen. Its architecture is a unique parable of assimilation and separation, told in metal and concrete.

## CHAPTER 6

# SPATIAL & CULTURAL FORM OF ENCLAVES: DEVELOPING A TYPOLOGY

No one who has ever searched for a new apartment would suggest that all neighborhoods are the same. Some have rows of old houses and bungalows, divided into rentable units while others offer tall high rises with underground parking. Some neighborhoods are quiet and family-centered; adults commute elsewhere to work, and schools and playgrounds are the only sites of daytime activity. Others are hipper, edgier. They come to life in the evening with street noise, restaurants, and shops that are open late. Some feel like cheerful places where positive changes are afoot. Others feel abandoned.

These differences matter when it comes to enclaves. An immigrant in search of a new place to call home would not make the mistake of treating all neighborhoods equally. There are places with pedestrian traffic and rows of small, specialized shops clustered tightly in commercial districts. There are others defined by pass-through vehicular traffic. Some are clearly disinvested, with deferred maintenance on buildings and telltale broken windows. Others have evidence of small repair projects and manicured lawns. Some feel safe while others do not.

And yet, when foundations and governments carry out neighborhood initiatives aimed at revitalizing low-income neighborhoods or the promotion of social integration, they often rely on routine data points—the poverty rate, the unemployment rate, the level of childhood asthma—that fail to capture the diversity of low-income neighborhoods, not only their challenges but also their assets. As a result, neighborhood initiatives are endlessly and unnecessarily surprising to the people who manage them. Professionals are constantly learning anew that a job training program that worked well in one community

seems to be slower to achieve results in another. And while a major multi-use development sparked additional investments in one neighborhood, a similar project had no apparent secondary effects in another. While there is a lot to be said for “learning by doing,” many of these “lessons” could have been anticipated if there had been a systematic way of organizing what we know about different types of enclaves.

This chapter has a simple premise: Enclaves, whether based on ethnicity or lifestyle, are not all the same. But neither are they so unique that we must abandon any hope of finding patterns. These communities, of course, cannot be fully known through predictable, scientific models. Their populations are ever-shifting, their boundaries are permeable and contracting, and their very existence is conceptual.

But there are helpful patterns that we can use to classify neighborhoods into an array of types. And these types can be instructive, informing the choice of strategies and interventions, the kind of outcomes that can realistically be attained, and the timeframe required. But how do you create such a typology? And how do you classify specific enclaves within this typology?

### **Material Support**

Ethnic concentrations come in many forms. A cluster of households of one ethnicity in a building or street is a small and unobtrusive agglomeration of ethnics. When a particular ethnic group forms a large proportion of a neighborhood’s population, it becomes a geographic concentration. Mere living side by side without any community bonds and shared sentiments does not make an ethnic neighborhood. It is the emergence of formal and informal community institutions and symbols that converts a concentration into an ethnic neighborhood and eventually an enclave. The dense set of associations produces a typology of cultural community, where social and political institutions such as language schools, religious organizations, and various social and economic associations make up a means for defining the ethnic presence in American towns and cities.

Located within distinctive clusters are specialized commercial enterprises and institutions that support the inhabitants' special ways of life. Examples include grocery stores, and restaurants that offer food from people's countries of origin; bars, nightclubs, theatres, and newspapers that cater to particular lifestyles and interests; and churches of various denominations, synagogues, and mosques. Each distinctive group, along with its stores and institutions, occupies a geographic area that becomes intimately associated with the group. Through this linkage, areas acquire symbolic qualities that include their place-names and social histories. Each place, both as a geographic entity and as a space with social meaning, also tends to be an object of residents' attachments and an important component of their identities. Many people who live in this enclave have their most meaningful relationships with those who cohabit in their worlds. Many of the residents' neighbors develop a kinship and there are often strong relationships with customers and local store owners.

In addition to community layout and architecture, we must rely on differences in material culture as indices of social difference. Such differences are most strongly marked in the case of enclaves, a highly visible form of group distinctiveness brought about by the movement of members of one group. The typology established in such enclaves are revealing of a number of ethnic processes, including strategies of assimilation or maintenance of differences, and the importance of stylistic redundancy in maintaining group differences.<sup>82</sup>

Graves developed a method for analyzing design variation of a group. He considered not only stylistic differences between two regions, but also the homogeneity of designs within each region.<sup>83</sup> Measures of difference and homogeneity together comprise a measure of distinctiveness: not only did the designs differ between the two regions, but the design within each was homogeneous relative to the other. Important enclave boundary or those being negotiated are likely to be marked redundantly. Comparing stylistic distributions of

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<sup>82</sup> Geoff Emberling. News of a difference: Stylistic redundancy and social identity in early Mesopotamia. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC. 1995b

<sup>83</sup> Graves 13-49.



multiple categories of material culture gives a greater likelihood of locating important social and its corresponding boundaries.

Regardless of their obtrusiveness, boundary markers are rarely associated with abrupt and total changes in enclave composition. Places usually change from each other in subtle ways that become dramatic only after they have accumulated. Residents' dress, their skin color, the music they are playing, and the food in store windows all provide clues to the changes that are occurring in the composition of an area. The distinctive features in an enclave in most instances gradually crystallize as one move from its periphery to its core.

### Social Distinctions of an Enclave

Level of Strength and Diversity	<b>Strong Ties</b> (informal)	<b>Weak Ties</b> (formal)
<b>Bonding Ties</b> (horizontal)	Close friends or immediate family with similar social characteristics, e.g. social class, ethnicity, or religion.	Members with similar interests or social characteristics within voluntary associations.
<b>Bridging Ties</b> (horizontal)	Close friends or immediate family with similar social characteristic, e.g. age, gender, or ethnicity.	Acquaintances and members with different social characteristics within voluntary associations.
<b>Linking Ties</b> (vertical)	Close work colleagues with different hierarchal positions.	Distant colleagues with different hierarchical positions and ties between citizens and civil servants.

**Figure 6.1:** *Social distinctions of an enclave.*

To develop this picture of the enclave, we will present seven distinctions of enclave networks, with each set aimed to characterize a particular aspect of the community's

interaction capacity. Here, enclave associations have been conceptually distinguished by the direction of their ties and their levels of formality, strength and diversity, yielding horizontal and vertical, formal and informal, weak and strong, bridging and bonding, and linking networks. Although the dimensions are conceptually different, in reality there is, of course, much overlapping between them.

### *Horizontal and Vertical*

Any study of the constructability of enclave interaction, must give attention to the form (horizontal and vertical). The significance of horizontal networks has long been emphasized in the literature. Putnam has focused on voluntary associations, claiming that they bring 'equivalent status and power', facilitating cooperation and the creation and maintenance of a civil society and social capital.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, he has argued that vertical networks, such as those characterizing the Church and even organized crime, link 'unequal agents in asymmetric relations of hierarchy and dependence'.<sup>85</sup> In his Italian study, Putnam found that social life in the northern Italy, more democratic regions tends to be based on horizontal relations; and in the southern, less democratic regions on vertical ties. The argument is that horizontal networks are crucial for building up and maintaining social capital because the interaction within them is equal. People of similar characteristics are more likely interact and form networks. However, the significance of vertical ties for social capital has been argued to facilitate class mobility. Although people of different walks of life are not as likely to form networks, they have potential to result in elevation of status.

### *Formal and Informal*

The second distinction is that between formal and informal connections. The former are, again, exemplified by contacts within voluntary associations, but also between citizens and civil servants; the latter take the form of contacts among friends, family, neighbors

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<sup>84</sup> R. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993)

<sup>85</sup> R. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Decline in Social Capital", *Journal of Democracy* (1995), 6: 173.

and colleagues. In his early writings, Putnam concentrated on formal networking, arguing that it builds civic skills and provides access to formal support, such as informational support and support from agencies such as childcare and medical services. However, it has been suggested that more informal networks, such as those involving neighbors, friends and family, should also be taken into account when analyzing social capital.<sup>86</sup> These networks generally do not build civil society as effectively as involvement in voluntary associations, but are still vital in sustaining social networks and providing sources of emotional support.<sup>87</sup> Informal networks are great resources for "getting by". One thinks of hitching a ride with a neighbor when your car breakdown.

### *Strong and Weak ties*

In addition to the direction of ties and level of formality, networks can also be classified by their strength. One of the most familiar classifications of social networks is the distinction between strong and weak ties.<sup>88</sup> The former are intimate ties, e.g. with immediate family and close friends, and tend to be multi-stranded and regularly maintained. Coleman tends to equate social capital with these forms of strong ties, portraying the family as the typical form of social capital. Weak ties, on the other hand, are non-intimate ties, e.g. with acquaintances, and tend to be single-stranded and maintained infrequently. Unlike Coleman, Putnam has focused more on weak ties in voluntary associations and less on the role of the family. The role of weak ties in finding a new job is an advantage over strong ties.

### *Bridging and Bonding Ties*

A more recent distinction was made by Putnam between 'bridging ties' in which ties are formed across diverse social groups, and 'bonding ties' that cements relationships between similar groups. Bonding ties are generally defined as closed networks of close friends, neighbors, and relatives. It is the social cohesion that takes place within networks that are similar in terms of certain demographic factors, such as age, ethnicity, education, and

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<sup>86</sup> N. Lin, *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

<sup>87</sup> K. Newton, 'Social Capital and Democracy', *American Behavioral Scientist* 40: 574-85.

<sup>88</sup> M. S. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology* 78: 1360-80.

the like. Bonding ties have negative effects for society as a whole, but may have positive effects for the members belonging to this closed social group or network.

Generally, networks of similar class for the poor means helping one another to get by in life, in the sense of borrowing and lending goods and services. “Another kind of network exists through family support which may stretch far both in kinship and geographical terms. Occasionally interest groups are formed to fight for some public good, which is usually controlled by the non-poor.”<sup>89</sup> However, “bonding networks may also include negative features, such as localism, exclusion, bullying and mistrust of outsiders.”<sup>90</sup> The strong bonds of these communities enable cooperation within them, but hinder it between them.

Bridging networks, however, is based on connections with people from different walks of life. Because networks are derived from dissimilar persons at the same level of social status, bridging is believed to instill tolerance and acceptance of otherness, one of the foundations of civic virtues.

“Bridging relations can generate broader identities and reciprocity, whereas bonding relations bolsters our narrow selves”.<sup>91</sup> Bonding and bridging networks are often used synonymously with strong and weak ties.<sup>92</sup> Although the distinctions are closely connected, they are not synonymous. While strong ties refer to people who are emotionally close to oneself, bonding ties refer to people similar to oneself. Weak ties refer to people who are emotionally distant from oneself, whereas bridging and linking ties refer to people who are different from oneself.<sup>93</sup> A family, for instance, often constitutes a social network of strong ties, but tends to be bridging in terms of gender and age. Although conceptually different, the impacts of the two sets of ties are similar: the value of networks of strong and bonding ties lies in their tendency to provide emotional and instrumental support. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, negative effects of social capital tend to be linked with these forms too. The value of weak and bridging ties lies in

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<sup>89</sup> Else Oyen, *Social Capital Formation: A Poverty Reducing Strategy?*

<sup>90</sup> A. Portes, 'Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology', *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 1-24.

<sup>91</sup> Putnam 23.

<sup>92</sup> Lin 68.

<sup>93</sup> S. Ferlander and D. Timms, 'Local Nets and Social Capital', *Telematics and Informatics* 18: 51-65.

the provision of wide informational support. As put by Briggs, bonding social capital is vital for 'getting by', while bridging social capital is crucial for 'getting ahead'.<sup>94</sup> However, argue that bridging social capital should not replace bonding social capital as communities have multiple sources of social capital that they draw on for different functions.

### *Linking Ties*

In addition to bonding and bridging ties, social scientist, Michael Woolcock, adds a another dimension to the concept, which he refers to as linking ties. 'Linking' is a more recently conceptualized form similar to bridging social capital, but is derived from relationships between persons across levels of hierarchy and power.<sup>95</sup> This form of association can be seen as a sub-dimension of bridging networks, because both forms refer to ties that cut across different groups. However, whereas bridging (and bonding) networks refer to horizontal ties; linking social capital refers to vertical ones. Linking social capital connects people across vertical differentials up and down the social scale, constituting a mix of informal and formal links.<sup>96</sup> Like bridging connections, linking ties enable people to access resources and information outside their own social network.<sup>97</sup> However, as noted by Putnam, vertical or linking social capital can also be used for negative purposes, such as nepotism, corruption and suppression.

Linkage includes both vertical ties to outside forces and horizontal ties between local actors. These ties can be strong as within primary networks of family or work, or weak, bridging ties, which connect networks.<sup>98</sup> While both forms of ties constitute social capital, the weak, bridging ties can be especially important for exchange of information and resources between different social or economic groups within community (Warner et al., 1999).

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<sup>94</sup> X. S., Briggs, 'Brown Kids in White Suburbs: Housing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital', *Housing Policy Debate* 9: 177-221.

<sup>95</sup> M. Woolcock, 'Social Capital and Economic Development: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework', *Theory and Society* 27: 151-208.

<sup>96</sup> M. Woolcock, 'The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes', *ISUMA - Canadian Journal of Policy Research* 2: 12-22.

<sup>97</sup> J. Field, *Social Capital* (London: Routledge, 2003)

<sup>98</sup> Granovetter

Where are these ties formed? At the community level these ties are formed through interactions which emerge naturally as extensions of work, school or play. In communities where such interactions do not naturally occur, forums for interaction can be intentionally created and designed to encourage development of social capital.

The three types of social capital, therefore, complement each other, in that the strong bonds existing in bonding social capital are diversified by the existence of bridging social capital, whose bonds are weaker but more cross cutting, hence enabling increased diversity in an otherwise closed community. Linking social capital allows for the accumulation of resources, information, and wealth, which is needed by networks to achieve set objectives. Hence, all three types of social capital can coexist in a community to different extents, but more frequently one maybe more prominent.

A neighborhood can demonstrate traits from both sides of a spectrum - recent immigrants can exist side-by-side with families that have lived where they are for generations. Neighborhoods with similar combinations of rankings are grouped together as a type. These types are not mutually exclusive. In the real world, a neighborhood can share traits from more than one type. But there is almost always one type that best characterizes a given neighborhood. This type can be used as a “mold” to be reacted to and refined. Neighborhoods can also transition from one type to another. Although it is common to speak of neighborhoods “getting better” or “getting worse,” these neighborhood types cannot be ordered from “good” to “bad,” and there is no singular pathway along which a neighborhood proceeds from one type to the next. The reality is more complex. In any given neighborhood, some factors can be improving at the same time that others are worsening. And while a neighborhood may evolve from one type to the next, it does not follow a pre-ordained process for doing so.

### **Typology of Khmer Enclave**

An important resettlement strategy Khmer use in the United States is to renew proper behavior and order among themselves. Cambodians have suffered a tremendous loss of order, even before the Khmer Rouge period, certainly during it, and following their

escape to camps in Thailand. Their sense of lost order continues after resettlement in the United State, replaced by American concepts of what is proper and right. While Americans attempt to convert Khmer to an American sense of order, Cambodians have eagerly sought to re-create proper Cambodian order as quickly as possible in their new lives. They have done so socially by reestablishing proper etiquette toward one another, based on traditional Khmer hierarchical relationships. The sharp definition in class and behavior has continued throughout Cambodian history and remains evident amount Cambodians in America. They have done so territorially by reestablishing specialized commercial enterprises and institutions that support the Khmers' special ways of life.

Little Phnom Penh is a roughly one mile long Khmer enclave along Anaheim Street between Atlantic and Junipero Avenues in Long Beach, California. This enclave has numerous Cambodian restaurants, clothing stores, and jewelry stores. Supporting institutions such as churches, temples, and service centers for the Khmer community are also found in the area. In addition, there are industrial Cambodian-owned general businesses in the area, such as auto repair shops and garment factories. It is an area where immigrant workers could speak their own language, eat their own food, play their own games, exchange news from home, and share common experiences with fellow countrymen day in and day out. Industries, such as the restaurant and grocery stores, were the backbone of the enclave economy. These industries were characterized by intensive labor, low wage, poor working conditions, long working hours, low profit returns, and few opportunities for upward social mobility. For the Khmers, small businesses grew out of one main reasons. It was not differentiation and lack of English and marketable skills of an American society that prohibited them from being hired in the mainstream economy and pushed them into small businesses in their own enclave where they sought occupational niches unwanted by the natives. In fact, the majority of Khmer pioneers where taught to read and write English and were trained in a marketable skill by the host society. The desire to gravitate towards co-ethnics and maintain some sort of culture produced an ethnic concentration that spawned a tremendous demand for goods and services from the co-ethnics and also the supply of low-wage labor for the emerging ethnic economies. Thus, small businesses grew to meet the needs of the pioneer Cambodian society by creating jobs that would not only enable both owners and workers

to avoid competition with the larger society; but to support a Khmer culture. Dens for spiritual guides, fortune telling and gambling also emerged from such circumstances.

The typology of enclave also consist a diversity of community-based institutions and establishments. In addition to businesses in the ethnic enclave economy, there were various ethnic organizations in Little Phnom Penh. Among them, these were the most visible and influential: family, clan or kinship associations, district or regional associations, and merchants' associations.

The Cambodian Association of America (CAA) served as an apex organization committed to improving the quality of life in the Khmer community by providing linguistically and culturally appropriate social, health, outreach education and employment services to low-income children and families. The community-based organization functioned primarily to meet the basic needs of refugees, such as helping them obtain employment and offering different levels of social support, and organizing economic activities. The Cambodian American Chamber of Commerce (CACC) is a valuable marketing and public relations organization for the Cambodian American business community and Chamber Members. The CACC helps the Cambodian American businesses achieve and sustain economic growth; supports City's efforts to develop the business improvement district (BID) in the newly established Cambodia Town; strives to bring first-rate businesses to Cambodia Town; collectively impacts the social, civic, educational and economic interests of greater Long Beach community by contributing to the economic development and vitality of its members; and supports City's efforts to make Long Beach a safe and vibrant city where its residents work, play, live and raise a family. Such a diverse organizational structure produced tangible resources in the form of employment and self-employment opportunities and family-oriented and children oriented services. It also provided a physical site for co-ethnics from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds to reconnect to one another in multiple ways and form social networks that, in turn, produced both tangible and intangible benefits.

The Enclave depended heavily on an ethnic economy that was highly concentrated in restaurant and laundry businesses along with small businesses catering to the basic needs of co-ethnics. The level of co-ethnic interaction was high, conducted almost entirely



through ethnic organization and ethnic networking within the enclave. For example, even though the ethnic-language media in Little Phnom Penh served to provide advertisements for ethnic businesses, information about goods and services and business or employment opportunities was transmitted primarily through word of mouth and face-to-face interaction. The owner of a popular restaurant was likely to be the head of a family association and was inclined to hire his own relatives and friends who in turn spread the word about his restaurant. A donut store worker was likely to shop at the same place as his neighbors who could share shopping tips and exchange information about the pricing and quality of goods and services in the neighborhood. As a result, business owners and workers often found one another through direct interpersonal contact and could meet their respective needs without having to step outside of Little Phnom Penh.

Little Phnom Penh formed through a common origin, a common language, and a common fate along with intimate face-to-face interaction and reciprocity within the enclave, provided the basis for economic and social organization, which in turn facilitated the accumulation of human capital in job training (and to a lesser extent in children's education) on the one hand, and the accumulation of financial capital in ethnic entrepreneurship and family savings on the other. The process of human and financial capital accumulation based on strong social capital resources in Little Phnom Penh also heightened the significance of ethnic institutions. The relationships between various associations and individuals, between associations and the CACC, and between the elite and the masses in Little Phnom Penh were interdependent, and the power structure was relatively unified, for cultural solidarity. Cultural Solidarity strengthened the immigrant networks, created opportunities for community organization, and gave rise to a relatively uniform and interdependent organizational structure. As a result, Little Phnom Penh's development tended to reinforce ethnic segregation, constraining outward development and community transformation.

The above example use several different approaches to the notion of enclave to capture changes in how individual urbanites are tied together into meaningful social groups and how those groups are tied to other social groups in the broader territory they occupy. An interactional (bonding) community is indicated by networks of routine, face-to-face

primary interaction among the members of an enclave. This is most evident among close friends and in families, tribes, and closely knit locality groups. An ecological (bridging) community is delimited by routine patterns of activity that its members engage in to meet the basic requirements of daily life. It corresponds with the territory over which the group ranges in performing necessary activities such as work, sleep, shopping, education, and recreation. Compositional (horizontal) communities are clusters of people who share common social characteristics. People of similar race, social status, or family characteristics, for example, form a compositional community. The community is defined by a commonality of beliefs and attitudes among its members. Its members view themselves as belonging to the group and are committed to it. A community can share traits from more than one type. But there is almost always one type that best characterizes a given enclave.

### **Summary**

I have explored the notion that space, in this particular case urban space, is socially produced, that in the American city, such as in San Francisco, the specifics of the spatiality and culturally defined, and that the spatial and cultural are linked. Any one city encapsulates many spatial and cultural linkages, so that cities are internally differentiated into enclaves, oftentimes culturally based. Spatial and cultural dimensions articulate with political and economic forces. Thus, we can examine the relationship between people and different urban spaces.

This is what I have sought to do in several communities in California and, in so doing, to delineate how a community's uniqueness unfolds within the larger urban domain. What I have sought to exemplify is how such sociocultural categories as ethnicity (and its traditions), class, lifestyle, and social capital help produce the spatial landscape and come to define a community's boundaries. Place matters to people who live, work, and play in it. Spatial symbols are cultural productions. Thus space is a full partner in social life. Spatial practices have helped build enclaves. My analysis of immigrant communities examine both the public spaces of the community, as in the supporting institutions and

specialized markets, and the private or semi-private spaces of daily life in the compound, and the linkage between these two levels. It includes physical delineations and how the residents' use and understanding of those delineations define their daily life. Its physical and social space encodes, represents, and enables the traditions of the enclave. This combination plays out on a daily basis and constitutes enclave uniqueness and its boundedness.

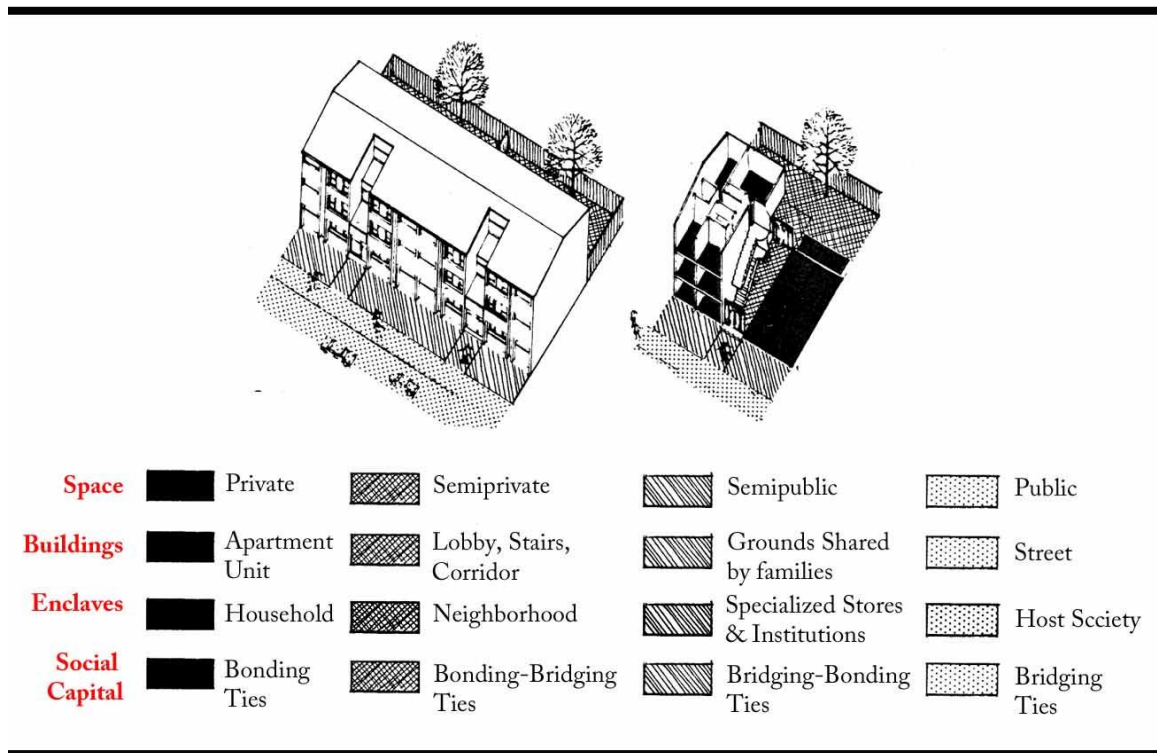


Figure 6.2: *Social and spatial sequence.*

Figure 6.2 illustrates how social space and physical space relates as a typology. By expanding the definition of private and public spaces to the distinctions of social capital, a spatial sequence emerges that allows one to traverse the mind in a similar manner one would a terrain. When one traverses through the city, he or she will see that the entire urban complex is composed of alternating interior and exterior spaces, often with remnants of each spilling over the other. Interior and exterior spaces have the most

spiritual benefits when they are complementary to one another, rather than being independent. The same reasoning holds true when one traverse through the mind. It must be composed so that one experiences an ordered sequence of interactions, from fully enclosed intimate relationship, to groups of friends and kin, and finally to an open form in society. From a family member to a co-worker, and then from co-workers to the public, one experiences a social sequence of ties that are bonding and bridging; strong and weak; and vertical and horizontal. Instead of being abrupt, the changing from the intimate interactions to the public interactions is made gradual through various intermediary transitional encounters.

# CHAPTER 7

## FORMS OF ENGAGEMENT

Apart from the media and public at large, academic literature also portrays ambiguity about enclaves. Academic researchers and commentators of varying theoretical orientation differ in their views about enclaves. Some regard them positively, others regard them poorly and a few are unconcerned. Those steeped in the Chicago sociological tradition and the ‘melting pot’ perspective tends to view enclaves as cultural ghettos, obstructing the assimilation of ethnics;<sup>99</sup> whereas others inspired by European theoretical traditions and multicultural perspectives regard enclaves as expressions of cultural pluralism and sites of social capital formation.<sup>100</sup> However, little attention has been attributed toward the involvement of these self-sufficient, minority communities with the larger society. One important outcome of the thesis should thus be a theory or model that predicts or describes how to enable effective engagement (i.e., which mechanism to use, and how) in any particular situation. As a student of architecture I can provide such insight. Architecture requires more than the creative manipulation and coordination of material, technology, and environment. It is colored by the engagement of territory, culture, and structure. Examining society and enclaves with such lens enables me to identify the mechanisms for engagement.

In parallel with the increased complexity of enclaves has come a growing number of processes/techniques/instruments - which shall be collectively termed mechanisms - for enabling engagement. The very existence of a variety of mechanisms implies uncertainty as to how one should best enact engagement. Put another way, if engagement were a simple, bounded, and well-understood process, then one particular mechanism might suffice to enable it to be effectively achieved (and research would be best directed toward

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<sup>99</sup> Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925)

<sup>100</sup> Min Zhou, *Chinatown: The Economic Potential of an Urban Enclave* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

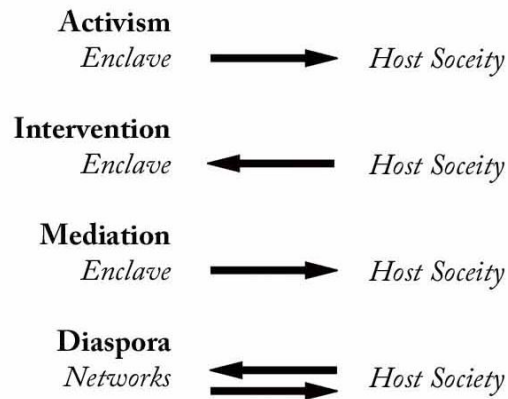
finding this); but engagement as widely understood (and imprecisely defined) can take many forms, in many different situations, with many different types of participants, requirements, and aims (and so on), for which different mechanisms may be required to maximize effectiveness. One important outcome of research, I suggest, should thus be a theory or model that predicts or describes how to enable effective engagement (i.e., which mechanism to use, and how) in any particular situation.

Before classifying public engagement mechanisms, it is necessary to define the concept that such mechanisms are intended to enable, that is, public integration of the enclave and host society. A general definition of public integration, for the purpose of this thesis, is the practice of building relationships between newcomers and receiving communities; increasing the awareness and appreciation between immigrant and receiving communities regarding each other's cultures; and increasing immigrants' access to information and orientation regarding the communities in which they live and work, as well as the larger society.

This definition of integration is, however, arguably too broad, leaving room for variable interpretation, because the public may be involved in a number of different ways or at a number of levels. I propose using four different descriptors to differentiate initiatives that have in the past been referred to as public integration, based on the flow of social capital between enclaves and the larger society. These are mediation, intervention, activism, and diaspora. From here onward, these concepts in combination are referred to as public engagement, and the methods intended to enable this as engagement mechanisms or engagement initiatives or exercises. The four mechanisms are defined below and represented in Figure 7.1.

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### Flow of Networks



**Figure 7.1:** *Mechanisms for Engagement.*

#### Intervention

In intervention, networks are conveyed from the host society to the minority community to invoke a change in culture. It is a disruption of enclave associations. The process, thus, is viewed as a series of stages culminating in absorption of the dominant social values and cultures of the mainstream. In considering connotations, we note that the attempt to change people along some dimensions is more likely to be viewed as intervention than are attempts to change them along other lines. The pertinent dimensions in ascending order of an intervention connotation are: knowledge, attitudes/values, behavior, and physical states. Changing any of these dimensions, of course, can represent intervention.

Religion plays a big role in this type of engagement. In Cambodia, Buddhism was completely integrated into an individual's daily activities and the average villager's life was "regulated from birth to death by the Buddhist temple."<sup>101</sup> Every village that could afford it had at least one Buddhist temple, or 'wat'. In the countryside prior to 1975, the ideal was that every boy spend at least one year as a novice monk learning the teachings of the Buddha. It was in this way that young boys matured into manhood. The wat served not only as a place of worship, but also as the village school (generally for males only) and as the center of village social activities throughout the year. Buddhism's cultural, social, and

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<sup>101</sup> Song Chhang, Buddhism Under Pol Pot (1995)

personal importance for most Cambodians prior to 1975 can be summed up in the frequently heard saying, "To be Cambodian is to be Buddhist," a statement which reflects the far-reaching set of values toward family obligation, social hierarchy, and the afterlife that guide everyday interaction.<sup>102</sup>

The establishment of a Buddhist temple in Long Beach was critical for the emotional and mental health of Buddhist Cambodians, especially those who had lived through the Pol Pot time. In 1979, the Venerable Dr. Kong Chhean, who had been studying in India when Cambodia fell to the Khmer Rouge, was sponsored to the United States by members of the Long Beach community and set up in a small temple in an apartment in nearby Hawaiian Gardens. The first Buddhist temple located in the city of Long Beach was Wat Vipassanaram, established on 1985. Today there are more than ten Cambodian Buddhist temples of varying sizes serving different segments of the population within the Khmer enclave in Long Beach.<sup>103</sup>

A great percentage of Little Phnom Penh Cambodians have also become Protestant Christians for various spiritual as well as practical reasons associated, in part, with their experience as refugees. Many of the humanitarian organizations and individuals providing aid to refugees in the camps on the Thai border were Christian. Also, a high percentage of the individuals and organizations sponsoring Cambodians to the United States were Christian. In Little Phnom Penh many churches functioned as religious, social, and educational institutions for Cambodians. Congregations organized to help Cambodians find places to live, as well as clothing, food, access to medical care, transportation, English language classes, and employment. Many young Cambodians were attracted to churches as a place to learn English and make American friends. In this way Christian churches served as important engagement to mainstream America. It is an intervention in the cultural sense. As such, intervention constitutes part of the worshipping community's engagement with otherness, as it expresses Christians' solidarity with those who are "other" than themselves.

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<sup>102</sup> Song Chhang, *Buddhism Under Pol Pot* (1995)

<sup>103</sup> Chhang



## Activism

In activism, networks are conveyed from enclave to the host society, to assert ones uniqueness. Enclave members are able to retain their own distinctive heritage while interacting with other groups in the larger society. Under this theory, differences in values and norms should be celebrated. Each group is allowed to function on relatively equal ground and is afforded the same opportunities by the host population.

Activism is protest activity and other forms of social movement organizing by formal and informal groups that challenge or otherwise disrupt the legitimacy and persistence of structural inequities and other forms of oppression among an aggrieved, and, less powerful population.<sup>104</sup> Enclave activism took many forms in the American society, including an external outreach challenging the more powerful in the promotion of social change, or internal "inreach" in the promotion of community social capital.

The social capital are the products of minority adaptation to the larger society, which entails specific beliefs, interpretations, and coping strategies that an enclave group adopts in response to often hostile societal treatment or social exclusion. Group minorities can turn their distinctive heritages into a kind of group armor and establish a sense of collective dignity. This strategy enables them to cope psychologically, even in the face of discrimination and exclusion, or to accept and internalize socially imposed inferiority as part of their collective self-definition and to develop an "oppositional outlook" toward the dominant group and mainstream institutions, including education.<sup>105</sup>

In the contemporary enclave movement, there is talk of community empowerment, the creation of a new sense of community through self-governance or neighborhood control, decentralized judicial decision-making, and the substitution of community members for professional dispute resolvers. The Castro Lions clubs, for example, are neither religious, political nor organized for business purposes. The clubs exist so that members may pool their skills, talents and resources for the betterment of the community. The Castro Lions

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<sup>104</sup> Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

<sup>105</sup> J. U. Ogbu & H. D. Simons, *Voluntary and Involuntary minorities: a cultural-ecological theory of school performance with some implications for education* *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* (1998) 155-188.

Club was chartered in 1985 under Lions Clubs International. The institution consist of volunteer members of a club that is chartered under an international organization, where they enjoy fellowship and dedicate part of their free time to helping those in need all over the world, while making the Castro community, a better place to live. Their primary goal is to have a number of fundraising events for local charities in the Castro neighborhood. These dinners and other events are great ways to meet the organizations that one is fundraising for. In other words, it's a great way to shop around with all of the different neutral wing activism groups in the Castro. The dinners are an engagement of activism, they provide an important physical site where formerly unrelated enclave members come to socialize and rebuild social ties. It draws support from enclave enterprises and promotes the culture in the Castro district.

In addition to community institutions and organizations, we must rely on homogeneity in material culture as indices of enclave activism. Such similarities are most strongly marked in the case of enclaves, a highly visible form of group cohesion brought about by the their integration through the dailiness of street life and house life in this particular enclave. Relations are embodied in things, and things (objects or artifacts) become active in relation to people.<sup>106</sup> As the built environment is socially produced, it is an exemplar of material culture. Social values, roles, and behaviors are embedded in this material culture, and the two-dimensional system facilitates life in the city for the residents. Thus, residents' dress, their skin color, the music they are playing, the food in store windows (and so on) are all distinctive features in an enclave that can be considered an engagement of activism. For example, the Castro section of San Francisco contains a gay residential and commercial area, packed into several blocks are gay friendly restaurants and bars, clothing stores, and billboards and banners celebrating open sexuality. The material culture is a statement which reflects the far-reaching set of values toward enclave obligation, social acceptance, and the self-expression that guide everyday interaction.

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<sup>106</sup> David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996) 220.

## Mediation

One type of engagement that has been used extensively elsewhere but which has not to our knowledge been directly applied to the conflicts between enclave and the larger society is mediation. Mediation handles interpersonal problems, not those between strangers. It deals with people who have ongoing relationships, not those involved in impersonal transactions. The problems are primarily social rather than legal in substance, concerned with social interactions rather than property, and minor rather than major.

Mediation is the engagement for a middle ground between the enclave and the larger society. Networks are conveyed from the larger society to the minority community and vice versa. It is the balance between intervention and activism in which the engagement incorporates culture of the larger society with the enclave. Thus, enclave members have always undergone adaptation into the larger society, and they will continue to do so. Yet, the direction, pace, and the manner in which the second or later generations become integrated depends on the modes of adaptation and economic accomplishment of the earlier immigrants. It is a cognitive engagement that does not focus on the past to assign blame. Rather it looks to the future to explore options for improved communication and behavioral change. The cognitive level of development of adolescence is sufficient to make good use of this type of intervention. Mediation is particularly well suited as an intervention for conflicts that might otherwise result in disassociation of enclave members from the host society and vice versa.

Children of middle-class and upper-middle-class backgrounds, for example, have access to quality public schools in their neighborhoods or to private schools that are more resourceful. These children are also exposed to informal social settings in support of academic achievement, such as families with highly educated and well-informed parents and communities in which positive and caring adult role models are next door and various preschool education, afterschool tutoring, and extracurricular activities are around the corner. Children of low-income families, in contrast, live in homes and communities with fewer human capital, cultural capital, and social capital resources conducive to education. The social capital in poor neighborhoods and it is associated with cultural norms and standards of violence and crime that guide inner-city youths into adulthood. They have

to attend poor urban schools that are often understaffed and insufficiently funded. Substandard formal educational settings are further exacerbated by seemingly disruptive informal social settings plagued by extreme poverty, high crime, social disorganization, and economic disinvestment.

	<b>Low-Income in Yonkers</b> 15% bachelor degree holder	<b>Little Phnom Penh</b> 15% bachelor degree holder	<b>Chinatown</b> 70% bachelor degree holder
<b>Private</b>	Parents stress the value of education for their children.	Parents stress the value of education for their children.	Parents stress the value of education for their children.
<b>Semi Private</b>	Loose “street cred” for educational success; shortage of role models.	Educational success tied to face saving; role models developing.	Educational success tied to face saving; plenty of role models.
<b>Public</b>	Urban public schools of poor neighborhoods that are in lack of supplies, funds, and teachers.	Urban public schools of poor neighborhoods that are in lack of supplies, funds, and teachers.	Urban public schools of poor neighborhoods that are in lack of supplies, funds, and teachers.
<b>Semi Public</b>			However, informal social settings mediated by race or ethnicity to reinforce or undercut class disadvantages. Chinese language schools have been an integral part of the ethnic community.

**Figure 7.2:** *Educational comparison of enclaves.*

However, informal social settings are also mediated by the enclave to reinforce or undercut class disadvantages. Min Zhou description of a growing ethnic system of supplementary education composed of Chinese language schools and ethnic institutions serving young children and youth from immigrant families is a good example of mediating spaces.<sup>107</sup> These afterschool programs have been incorporated into the region’s burgeoning Chinese enclave economy, as well as in other ethnic organizations

<sup>107</sup> Zhou 57-73.

serving immigrants, such as family, kin, and district associations and churches. Like other Chinese ethnic businesses, they concentrate in Chinatown and Chinese residential clusters in San Francisco. Some of these institutions have comprehensive academic programs like Chinese language schools offering ethnic language instruction as well as a range of elective classes, such as Chinese Geography and History, Chinese painting and calligraphy, Chinese and western style chess, crafts, cartoon, music and performing arts, computer, basketball and badminton, kung fu, lion and dragon dance, and Chinese cooking and cuisine. But others tend to be highly specialized and have concrete objectives that are often more academically oriented than linguistically oriented. For example, many institutions offer English, math, chemistry, physics tutoring, and intensive drilling courses that aim solely to help children perform better in formal schools, even though some of the instruction or tutoring may be bilingual. Thus, their core curricula are supplementary to, rather than competing with, the public school curricula.

Tangible resources, in terms of availability and access, offered by the ethnic systems of supplementary education seem obvious. There are intangible benefits too. These ethnic institutions do not merely provide educationally relevant services supplementary to public education but also serve as a locus of social support and control, network building, and social capital formation. The ethnic system of supplementary education provides an important physical site where formerly unrelated immigrants (and parents) come to socialize and rebuild social ties. The physical boundaries are composed of walls, windows and doors that distinguish this small enclave, a node if you will, as an ethnic school. The node components create an environment that is conducive to the spread and replication of Chinese culture. The building, merchandise, and food advertise behavioral norms. The Chinese school fosters the set of socially learnt dispositions, skills and ways of acting, and which are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life associated with the Chinese immigrants. From the school's main gate, wandering past the hallway and room after room of activities, textbooks, artwork, and posters; the school reinforces cultural norms and behaviors of Chinese immigrants. The social boundaries, on the other hand, are supported by commonality in students and differentiation of outsiders. Reconnecting with co-ethnics often helps ease psychological and social isolation associated with uprooting. Even though parental interaction occurs mostly during drop-

off and pick-up times or in parent-run activities, these brief moments are important for the formation of co-ethnic ties. These co-ethnic ties may not be strong ties but they nonetheless serve as bridge ties that connect immigrants to, rather than isolate them from, the mainstream society by making their social life richer and more comfortable.

## **Diaspora**

Diaspora is generally defined as the movement, migration, or scattering of people away from an established or ancestral homeland.<sup>108</sup> The term carries a sense of displacement; that is, the population so described finds itself for whatever reason separated from its national territory, and usually its people have a hope, or at least a desire, to return to their homeland at some point, if the "homeland" still exists in any meaningful sense. Diaspora in terms of enclave development often assumes a different course from that of the population in the original place of settlement. Over time, remotely separated communities tend to vary in culture, traditions, language, and other factors. Enclave diaspora is the movement, migration, or scattering of associations away from an established core network.

For example, New York's Yonkers is a mixture of ethnic and religious groups: Irish, Italian, Polish, Jewish, African, and Hispanic Americans—each of whom wears their heritage proudly. This has produced a rich and exciting city with a multitude of churches, social centers, ethnic restaurants, food stores, and bars. Each ethnic group further reinforced its identity and political strength by concentrating itself in its own distinctive geopolitical ward. In the past, this ward structure had proven useful in serving the narrow interests of each ethnic group. However, it proved devastating by preventing the city as a whole from integrating

The city of Yonkers put out a request for proposals for the construction of public housing units for families with children, to be built on seven preselected sites in the middle-class, eastern part of city. This housing is being built as a remedy to a Federal Court judgment.

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<sup>108</sup> Merriam Webster Dictionary

Both the City of Yonkers and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) have entered into Consent Decrees to further the construction of this housing.



**Figure 7.3:** *Typical site plan for 48 unit site and ketch of a group of rowhouse units for Yonkers. Courtesy of “Creating Defensible Space”.*

The sites have been acquired by the City of Yonkers. The Court has ordered the City to make them available at no cost for use by the turnkey developer selected to develop the public housing units.

Selected to take on the challenge, two-story townhouse dwelling units were chosen by Architect, Oscar Newman, as the most appropriate form of housing to best serve the future residents, and to fit into the single-family residential character of the existing neighborhoods. Newman insisted that the housing have no indoor or outdoor areas that were public. All areas of each unit and site would be assigned for the specific, private use of individual families. This is why he chose two-story row houses as our building type rather than two-story walkups that have interior public areas. The grounds of each site were to be fully subdivided and assigned to individual units. Each family was to have its own front and rear yard, and the front entry to each unit was to be located directly off the street. Each family’s rear yard was to be defined by a small fence, and small clusters of rear yards were to be collectively fenced-off from the surrounding streets by a taller, 6-foot fence.

With this design, of course, Newman primarily hoped to eliminate all the troublesome, crime-ridden areas typical of multifamily public housing projects. There were no nebulous public grounds for gangs and drug dealers to roam. There were to be no public lobbies, no corridors, no fire stairs, no elevators. There were none of the spaces that typically characterized not only highrise public housing, but row-house developments as well. What Newman achieved was the elimination of spaces that would spread and replicate the street cred culture.

However, by dividing and assigning spaces to individual families and to small collectives of families, the design produces strong boundaries that establishes a node within the neighborhood, and thereby, inhibiting integration to the host society, in this case, the rest of the neighborhood. Thus, the engagement, as mediation, was not successful because it did not promote integration to the neighborhood, especially between the existing elderly neighbors and the young African American migrants. For example, Newman attested that after 2 ½ years of occupancy, the only complaints they have been getting are loud noise and music, someone's car broken into who lived in one of the sites, and kids from the units taking shortcuts to ball fields across their neighbors' property. However, when the neighbors came out and screamed at them, the kids retaliated by coming back with M80s.<sup>109</sup>

In addition, the lack of integration is evident in Newman's own words:

The lesson I learned from all this is that ... elderly and kids don't mix. The other thing is don't put the poor African Americans in large concentrations. Boyfriends of welfare women come into town from Detroit, or wherever, and set up their women in their own apartments doing drugs and prostitution. And in a highrise, that contaminates the whole building, sometimes the whole highrise project.<sup>110</sup>

The lack of integration had far more consequences than arguments. The children in low-income families were not exposed to informal social settings in support of academic achievement, such as families with highly educated and well-informed parents and

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<sup>109</sup> IBID 103.

<sup>110</sup> IBID 103.



communities in which positive and caring adult role models are next door. The parents in low-income families did not gain bridging ties that would impact positive behavioral changes or connections to resources, such as information and various preschool education, afterschool tutoring, and extracurricular activities around the corner. Children of low-income families, in contrast, remained in homes and communities with fewer social capital resources that are conducive to education and employment. The social capital in poor neighborhoods and it is associated with cultural norms and standards of violence and crime that guide inner-city youths into adulthood.

The first effect of diaspora seems to be, not culture conflict, but an extensive shrinkage in the individual migrant's field of social relations. It is the dispersion of hometown associations which usually results in members living in another community.

[Associations] reach into every corner of social life (Watts, 2003, 2004). [Neighborhood associations] include any set of similar connections among three or more social sites. Connections include communication, mutual recognition, and shared participation in some activity, ... and other forms of consequential interaction. Network sites may be individuals, but they can also be organizations, localities, or social positions.<sup>111</sup>

He is detached from many, if not all, his previous primary groups, and his earlier self-image which derived from the configuration of roles he played in the parent society is severely damaged, if not totally destroyed. He relies especially on those networks when they are carrying on long-term, crucial enterprises such as procreation, child rearing, religious or political commitment, and, of course, migration. In those networks, members bet valued outcomes on the likelihood that other people will meet their responsibilities competently. Important networks include some religious communities, political conspiracies, webs of ethnic traders, and kinship groups. These networks have performed an enormous range of political, economic, and spiritual work for human beings, especially those human beings who could not rely on governments to provide them with sustaining services. But here we concentrate on networks' place in migration to another community.

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<sup>111</sup> Charles Tilly, *Trust Networks in Transnational Migration*, Sociological Forum, Vol. 22, No. 1 (March, 2007) 3-24.

The second constitutive criterion is the orientation to the larger community as an authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty. It refers to a situation in which newcomers volitionally accepts or is forced to accept and learn the cultural patterns of the existing group. At the attitudinal level, the recipient group learns the values, beliefs, goals, and moral-technical prescriptions for realizing goals of the donor group. At the behavioral level, the recipient group acquires the technology, habits of dress, diet, household construction, language, ritual forms, and forms of economic, political, social and kinship organization of the donor group. In some instances certain patterns may have originated with the recipient group but over time become identified with the donor group or no longer distinguish recipient from donor. In the presence of strong social boundaries, depth and scope of acceptance, and learning add dimensions of genuine complexity to the situation. Breaking down these boundaries may be briefly characterized as the acquisition of new cultural patterns of belief and behavior.

The forms of engagement, identified thus far, are sufficiently different both structurally and in terms of their aims that the mechanisms used to enable them need to be evaluated against different criteria for effectiveness. The three concepts have been differentiated according to the nature and flow of networks between the enclave and public. Although the three are analytically distinct, the boundaries between them are ambiguous, with considerable borrowing of ideas and central symbols. In intervention, networks are conveyed from the host society to the minority community to invoke a change in culture. It is a disruption of enclave associations. The process, thus, is viewed as a series of stages culminating in absorption of the dominant social values and cultures of the mainstream. In activism, networks are conveyed from enclave to the host society, to assert ones uniqueness. Enclave members are able to retain their own distinctive heritage while interacting with other groups in the larger society. Under this theory, differences in values and norms should be celebrated. Each group is allowed to function on relatively equal ground and is afforded the same opportunities by the host population. Mediation is the engagement for a middle ground between the enclave and the larger society. Networks are conveyed form the larger society to the minority community and vice versa. It is the balance between intervention and activism in which the engagement incorporates culture of the larger society with the enclave. Thus, enclave members have always undergone

adaptation into the larger society, and they will continue to do so. Yet, the direction, pace, and the manner in which the second or later generations become integrated depends on the modes of adaptation and economic accomplishment of the earlier immigrants. A common thread that runs through these engagements is that the success of intervention, of mediation, of activism, and of diaspora depends on the comingling of the groups. It depends on the involvement of interests or emotions or commitment of the groups.

### **Intersection**

It is here that I would like to advocate for intersection as a form of engagement. The term carries a sense of union after departure; that is, the population so described finds itself for whatever reason separated from its national territory and integrated into a new "homeland" in any meaningful sense. Intersections are points, the strategic spots in social boundaries into which an outsider can enter a network or expand the boundaries to encompass both inside and outside groups. They are the intensive foci to integration. Intersections may be primarily junctions of characteristics, an overlapping of attributes or convergence of paths. Joining involve characteristics that are complementary to one another. Attributes that overlap have a shared sense of values. The convergence of paths refers to the pursuit of common goals.

Intersection refers to a situation in which social participation is not based on criteria such as ethnicity or class. Social relations and social structures are organized without reference to institutionalized social differences (e.g., class, gender, race, territorial inequality). Economic, political, and, perhaps at a deeper level, friendship and family organizations are structured without regard to institutionalized social differences. One indication of social or structural integration may be that people of diverse ethnic identity and background are distributed throughout the occupational, political, and prestige hierarchies of the community or society in proportion to their numbers in the total population. While there are many complexities here too, such as the time it takes to effect structural integration after it has been accepted in principle by a community, structural

integration may be briefly characterized as social relationships organized without regard to such distinctions as institutionalized social differences.

Intersection is more complicated and not merely the outcome of two cultural groups being in contact with each other. In fact, many social and environmental conditions or constraints exist that can largely determine the strategies available to individuals or groups in the process of accommodating to newcomers. For instance, there are a variety of factors that influence the different ways in which people integrate. These include family structure and function, adherence to certain religious beliefs and practices, gender, power relationships between the majority and minority groups, personality characteristics, and age of onset of intergroup contact. Moreover, some newcomers experience more social discrimination because of their minority status. Ethnicity, race, religion, language, and/or dress often distinguish many immigrants from the host country's culture. Immigrants from various groups differ on these characteristics. Therefore, strategies for intersection should highlight commonalities and mitigate differences between groups. The strategies should include a sense of place and space which highlights commonalities between newcomers and the greater community; where groups can develop similar interpretations of the relative merits of the various cultural attributes. Newcomers may be more inclined to undergo behavioral changes not because of personal interest or inclination but due to a new found sense of shared values with the host society. For example, communities with a high percentage of children and a stay at home parents may benefit from playgrounds; cultures that place emphasis on sports may benefit for sport organizations such as little league or parks that contain sport facilities. The point is, whatever distinctions exist in culture, there are always overlapping attributes that can be drawn and exploited to achieve community cohesion.

Establishment of common goals is a good form of intersection. For example, production by organizations takes place within cultural and spatial environments. Production can assume many forms, from neighborhood watch to little league baseball games or any group event that involve members of the community. Producers and other members involved in the same kind of event activity share understandings about what they produce. This common cultural environment may be relevant to how the relationships

among those members are structured. The belief systems shared by organizations significant to each other create imperatives to conform to the prevalent conventions in the cultural environment, thus accounting for the similarity of organizational structures and actions.

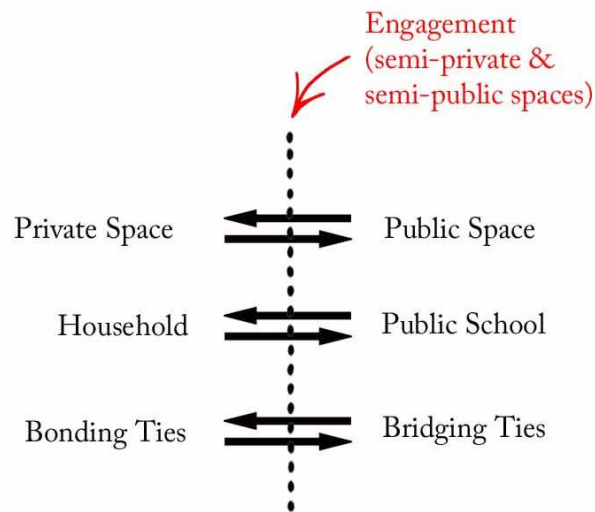
## Conclusion

It has often been assumed that the mere existence of an enclave has been a barrier to the integration of new comers to the larger society. There is considerable evidence in this thesis to contradict this assumption. The American experience indicates that the existence of separate communities has not prevented assimilation. The minority communities have had a number of positive contributions to make to the process of immigrant absorption and to the stability of the resulting social system.

The thesis here attempts to shed further light on the mechanisms by which individuals and families become part of the new community. By examining these mechanisms, which I call "engagement", I hope to answer questions about how migrants re-integrate, and why they select different paths. The guiding assumption behind this thesis is that community integration can be understood in terms of multiple paths. If multiple paths are found, the theoretical implication is that no single explanation of engagement will prove adequate.

Through engagements (intervention, activism, mediation, diaspora, and intersection) the enclave functions in other ways to further the process of absorption. The enclave is the mediator, a receiver, and a transmitter of homeland culture and of the new values and roles of the host society. In the process of transplantation, the ethnic community is itself Americanized. The members of the enclave are of necessity integrated to some degree into the political, occupational, and educational spheres of American society. The associational structure internal to the immigrant community also becomes a channel of communication to American society; the churches, parochial schools, mutual aid societies, lodges, etc. – are engagements of intervention thereby bringing American culture to the enclave.

Engagements must be composed so that one experiences an ordered sequence of interactions, from fully enclosed intimate relationship, to groups of friends and kin, and finally to an open form in society. From a family member to a co-worker, and then from co-workers to the public, one experiences a social sequence of ties that are bonding and bridging; strong and weak; and vertical and horizontal. Instead of being abrupt, the changing from the intimate interactions to the public interactions is made gradual through various intermediary transitional encounters.



**Figure 7.4:** *Transitional encounters are best engagements.*

An important connotation of the engagements identified in this thesis is that, in addition to providing insight into the social sciences, it also provides insight into design. For good or, unintentionally, bad, it has an impact; it effects change. However, these concepts of engagement do not lend itself to every situation. For instance, slum clearance and the replacement of poor-quality housing with newly built public housing of better quality would create the necessary intervention in the physical environment. It was expected that when the physical environment changed, the social environment would also change. What mattered was a physical environment that fostered human contact: small blocks,

mixed uses, clear distinctions between public space and private space, and serendipitous meetings of neighbors. Areas in which people have a reason to walk around, where there are well-designed public spaces characterized by mixed use. What mattered was a neighborhood conducive to building social capital. People living in better housing, it was believed, would change their behavior and stop engaging in violent and unlawful acts. In absence of constant police monitoring, this did not happen. Many public housing projects became as dangerous as the slums they replaced; many became even more dangerous.

The strategies were aimed to make residents feel safe inside and outside of their homes. For that to happen, Planners and designers needed to cultivate an entirely new culture for the housing development and create a new found sense of community for residents. This is an engagement of intervention since it deals with the absorption of one a culture into one that is more desired, the mainstream culture.

Although the engagement was designed as an intervention, it actually takes form in activism. The physical environment fostered human contact: small blocks with clear distinctions between public space and private space, and serendipitous meetings of neighbors. Areas in which people have a reason to walk around, where there are well-designed public spaces characterized by a sense of ownership. The neighborhood is conducive to building ties and hence, the promotion of community culture.

However, residential segregation and social exclusion of public housing give rise to distinct values and norms that are at odds with those of mainstream society in regard to work, money, education, home, and family life, or even to an oppositional collective social identity that entails a willful refusal of mainstream norms and values relating to school success. These values and norms in turn lead to a set of self-defeating behavioral problems, such as labor-force nonparticipation, out-of-wedlock births, welfare dependency, school failure, drug addiction, and chronic lawlessness. These types ties in poor neighborhoods and it is associated with cultural norms and standards of violence and crime that guide inner-city youths into adulthood.

Criminal activities are not products of poor neighborhoods or ethnic neighborhoods. Rather, they are products of social ties that are prone to law breaking behavior. Thus a

more appropriate design strategy for housing projects is the engagement of diaspora coupled with intersection to the new middle-class community. The first effect seems to be an extensive shrinkage in the individual migrant's field of social relations. It is the dispersion of hometown associations which usually results in members living in another community. The second effect is the capitalization of primarily junctions of characteristics, an overlapping of attributes or convergence of paths to promote absorption of mainstream values and norms.



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